

~ The School IN
THE AMERICAN
SOCIAL ORDER

The Dynamics of American Education

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HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY · Boston
New York · Chicago · Dallas · Atlanta · San Francisco
The Riverside Press Cambridge

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The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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Introduction

EDUCATION at any given time or place is in large measure the product of the civilization of which it is a part; however much it may be influenced by custom and tradition, it is always sensitive to contemporary social forces. It is not too much to say that social forces beating in on the school from without in the long run determine the essential tenets of its philosophy, the degree and kind of educational opportunities that will be afforded the various social classes, the content and organization of the curriculum, the preparation and status of teachers, the sources of financial support, the agencies of administration, and the form of structural organization which the educational system takes.

The purpose of educational institutions is to prepare the learner to participate intelligently and helpfully in the social order of which he is a part. But society is rarely static for any long period of time. New social classes emerge and seek to shape events in their own interest; the prevailing ideology is modified or supplanted by one essentially new; political and economic power passes from one dominant element in society to another, the role of government is modified, and new political institutions emerge; the whole pattern of economic life may be greatly changed by technological progress; and the whole society may be transformed from one that is essentially religious or ecclesiastical to one that is essentially lay or secular. When changes such as these occur in the social order, the old educational institutions may function so inadequately that they prepare youth to take their place in a society that no longer exists. There is a tendency for educational policy and practice always to lag behind contemporary social change. When the lag becomes too great, educational reformers and statesmen usually set about bringing the school up-to-date by redefining its goals, reorganizing its curriculum, and changing its methods. Yet the dynamics of educational change is to be found, not primarily in the work and influence of educational philosophers and reformers, but in the social forces operating in the society.

Educational policy and practice, then, to be adequately understood must be viewed in their broad social setting. The history of education is but one aspect of the history of a people and is so interwoven with their total history as to make a separate treatment of it inadequate. The history of education in any particular period or social order should be viewed against the background of the more general historical development of the period.

The content of this volume conforms to this view with respect to the close relation between educational history and broad social history. In each social order studied, attention is directed first to the essential features of the social order itself, to the dominant ideology, to the social structure, to the clash of economic interests, to the sources of political power and the form of political institutions, to the workings of the prevailing economic, political, and social arrangements. This treatment of the social order is followed by a more detailed study of the educational policies and practices of the period under examination. This organization will enable the reader to get a clearer view of the history of American education and to see it in relation to the social forces that have produced our particular type of civilization.

The recent period in American history is given extended treatment in this volume. This emphasis is deliberate; it is based upon the belief that all who are directly concerned with educational policy and practice in America must cultivate a comprehensive and realistic view of the society into which they are helping to induct youth.

NEWTON EDWARDS

HERMAN G. RICHEY

Acknowledgments

THE AUTHORS are under particular obligation to the late Charles H. Judd, formerly Morton D. Hull Distinguished Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Education of the University of Chicago, for encouragement in the preparation of this volume, for critical reading of the entire manuscript, and for suggestions for its improvement. Whatever imperfections that may be found in the book, however, are to be charged only to the authors.

Much of the data presented in Chapter XV has been drawn from the results of an investigation of the educational implications of population change being carried forward by the authors on a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

The following publishers and organizations have generously given permission to quote from their publications or to reproduce charts and graphs: American Book Company, American Council on Education, American Council on Public Affairs, American Federation of Labor, American Journal of Sociology, American Magazine, American Statistical Association, Atlantic Monthly, The Brookings Institution, The Bruce Publishing Company, Carl Shurz Memorial Foundation, Carnegie Institution of Washington, University of Chicago Press, F. S. Crofts and Company, D. Appleton-Century Company, Dodd, Mead and Company, Dorrance and Company, The Educational Forum, Ginn and Company, Globe Book Company, Mrs. A. O. Hansen, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Harper and Brothers, Harvard University Press, D. C. Heath and Company, Henry Holt and Company, Houghton Mifflin Company, University of Illinois Press, Johns Hopkins Press, Journal of Land and Public Policy Economics, King's Printer (Canada), J. B. Lippincott Company, Little, Brown and Company, Longmans, Green and Company, The Macmillan Company, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Milbank Memorial Fund, University of Minnesota Press, Mississippi

Valley Historical Association, National Bureau of Economic Research, National Education Association, New York University, Oxford University Press, Public Affairs Committee, Ronald Press Company, Rural Sociology, Russell Sage Foundation, Charles Scribner's Sons, Simon and Shuster, Survey Associates, Teachers College, Columbia University, Telegraph Press, Twentieth Century Fund, Vanguard Press, George Wahr, Warwick and York, The William and Mary Quarterly, University of Wisconsin Press, Kate V. Wofford, Yale University Press.

The authors are indebted to Marta Anderson and Emmy Foster for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript. They are especially indebted to Mrs. Foster for drawing charts and for other help in putting the manuscript in final form.

PART ONE

The School in Colonial Society

PREVIEW



THE AMERICAN COLONIES should be viewed, not as isolated settlements fringing the shores of a great continent, but as integral parts of an expanding European civilization. They were, in fact, Europe's western frontier, and they were bound in a thousand ways by the traditions and customs of the Old World, by its ideology and by its religious, social, economic, and political institutions. The history of colonial life, therefore, is in no small degree the history of transplanting European culture to American soil. But that is by no means the whole story. The colonists did not hesitate as they struggled to subdue a raw continent to modify inherited ideas, values, and institutions to meet their needs. Two phases, then, of colonial history bulk large: (1) the persistence of European culture, and (2) the development of patterns of institutional arrangements to meet the peculiar needs of American life.

In Part One, the history of education in the American colonies is treated from the point of view indicated in the preceding paragraph. The first chapter is devoted to a treatment of those aspects of the European inheritance that had the most profound effect upon education in the colonies. The second chapter deals with the experiment to establish Puritan commonwealths in New England and with the role that education played in Puritan social policy. The third chapter traces the transfer of power—political, economic, and social—from the Puritan theocracy to the merchant-capitalists and the rising yeomanry and mechanics, and appraises the changes in educational policy and practice that such a transfer brought about. The fourth chapter shows how education in the middle colonies was affected by the mingling of many diverse population elements from Europe and by the retarded development of a common culture. The last chapter in this part traces the transfer of English ideas and institutions to the South, the rise of a planter aristocracy, and the arrangements this aristocracy worked out for the education of youth.

Chapter 1 Old Institutions in a New Setting

THE COLONISTS who established homes along the shores of Virginia and New England during the opening years of the seventeenth century did what colonists usually do under similar circumstances: they transplanted to the new environment the old institutions with which they were familiar in the homeland. The men who came to Jamestown with Captain John Smith or to Massachusetts Bay with Governor John Winthrop were not transformed into Americans by the mere crossing of the Atlantic. They remained Englishmen in temper and outlook and they brought with them the traditions of a long-established culture. Their attitudes with respect to government and religion, the economic organization of society, the arrangement of social classes, and the education of youth were attitudes entertained by one group or another of the Englishmen that went to make up seventeenth-century England. It is not strange, therefore, that early American institutions were cast in Old World molds, that they reflected the values and sentiments that lay at the basis of the English way of life.

But as men and women set themselves to the arduous task of reducing a raw continent to their needs, they began to modify inherited ideals, values, and institutions. As each succeeding generation pushed the frontier steadily westward and Europe receded in distance and thought, century-old traditions lost their binding force on men and a new social order began to emerge, more democratic than the old, and with purposes and institutional arrangements more distinctly its own.

The new social order which gradually took form in the settlements fringing the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Georgia was characterized by diversity of cultural patterns and institutional arrangements. Life in New England towns took on a different color from that on

the farms and plantations of Virginia and the Carolinas. An observing traveler moving southward from New England near the end of the seventeenth century would have been impressed, as he passed from colony to colony and from region to region, by differences in modes of life. He would have detected striking differences in the forms of political organization, in the economic structure, in the arrangement of social classes, in the religious attitudes of the people, and in the provisions made for the education of youth.

These differences were due, in part, to all the factors in the local environment that made for variation, such as climate, fertility of soil, and the configuration of the country. But they were also due to Old World inheritances. From the beginning, the ideology of New England Puritans was different from that of the Englishmen who settled in the middle and southern colonies. Diverse elements in the population of England and the Continent were drawn to America and each element transplanted to American soil some portion of its Old World inheritance. Puritans in New England, Quakers in Pennsylvania, Catholics in Maryland, and Anglicans in Virginia exhibited a variety of attitudes toward the problems of social organization. Landed gentry and merchant, yeoman and tenant, wage-earner and indentured servant — all were drawn into the stream of migrants from England to America and all contributed to the development of the colonial social order. Nor was England the only nation from which population was drawn in the building of colonial America. The Dutch in New York, the Swedes in Delaware, the Scotch-Irish and Germans in Pennsylvania and in the back-country South, the Swiss in North Carolina, and the French Huguenots in South Carolina injected different elements of Old World culture into the stream of American life.

Clearly, then, colonial society was a product of many factors, the result of varied and converging streams of influence. Viewed in a broad perspective, it appears to have been European in its essential elements: the colonies were, in fact, the outposts of Europe, the fringe of a new frontier. But they were more than that. Only a few decades had passed from the time of the original settlements before American life began to take on a color and spirit distinctly different from that of the Old World. Although it retained the hallmarks of its origin, it exhibited a progressive tendency to become distinctly American, and manifested striking variations that were to produce

GAINING A FOOTHOLD IN THE WILDERNESS



Equipment for Life in the Wilderness

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Seventeenth-Century Plowing in New England

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social orders as different as those of Puritan New England and the planter South.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

One of the most important Old World influences on American educational thought and practice during the colonial period was the class structure of society which the colonies inherited from the mother country. Educational policy differed considerably, to be sure, from colony to colony; but everywhere — in New England, the middle colonies, and the South — it reflected that arrangement of social classes which, long maintained in England and on the continent of Europe, was now transplanted to American soil. The motives which prompted men and women to seek their fortunes in the New World were many and varied. Each hoped, of course, to better his own condition in life, to secure for himself a more satisfactory status, but few individuals, if any, came with the conscious intent of establishing a democratic social order.

THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND OF THE COLONIAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The class social structure which the colonists brought with them across the Atlantic had its roots deep in English, indeed in European, history. In England, as elsewhere, the relation of social classes to one another was conditioned largely by the economic structure of society. For at least a century and a half before 1600, English economic life had been undergoing a momentous revolution, the essential feature of which was the transition from a feudal to a bourgeois economy.

In medieval England, as in other parts of Europe, power — economic, political, and social — was vested in a relatively small element of the population. The hands that operated the power controls were the hands of king, feudal lord, and priest, particularly those of the latter two. While the crown, the nobility, and the church were engaged in a long and bitter struggle for place and power, the rest of the population had to remain content as tillers of the soil or as artisans or merchants in the few straggling towns that had come into being. The most powerful element in the population was the feudal lords, men whose vast manorial estates, worked by serfs, spread over the countryside of England. Scarcely less important were the clergy.

They were guardians of the life of the spirit, monarchs of the world of thought, dispensers of learning and wisdom, and as members of the Universal Church possessors of no mean part of this world's goods.

As the Middle Ages wore on, however, a new social class developed, destined to challenge the supremacy of feudal lord, priest, and even of the crown itself. Slowly, towns developed and in them manufacturers, merchants, and bankers accumulated fortunes and rose to positions of place and power. New hands now began to reach for the power controls in society. The rising bourgeoisie were dissatisfied with the existing order of things, an order which restricted their freedom of action and thought and denied them the recognition they were entitled to receive. At first lowly and despised, this class bided its time, entrenched itself behind its money bags, found an ally in the smaller landed gentry, and finally forced its representatives in greater number into the House of Commons.

The rise of towns and of a burgher class was accompanied by new social classifications in the open country. Trade and commerce brought money into circulation, and a money economy gradually undermined the feudal order. Serfs were able, by selling surplus produce to the townspeople, to accumulate small savings. With money in their pockets, they were in a position first to commute their services to the lord of the manor into money payments, and then to become tenants, or even acquire small holdings of their own. Before the rising power of the burgher middle class, the old feudal aristocracy began to go down, and, with the passing of feudalism, the smaller landed gentry and the yeoman — the owners of small farms — rose to positions of greater importance.

Feudal lords were not the only ones to whom the rising bourgeoisie threw down the gage of battle. In England, as in other parts of Europe, the sixteenth century saw the middle class rise in revolt against the power of the church in a movement known as the Protestant Revolution. The concern of Protestantism with theological tenets should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the great revolt was, in no small measure, an uprising of the bourgeoisie against the power of the church, against tithes and taxes, and against restraints, in one form or another, on the freedom of individual thought and action. Nor was the English monarchy to go unchallenged by this new middle class. The spirit of business enterprise was wholly in-

compatible with an arbitrary and capricious government; men who risked their fortunes in business ventures insisted not only on knowing but on determining the rules of the game. Restraint on government — constitutional law — was a natural accompaniment of the emergence of a business class. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the second third of the seventeenth century the bourgeoisie and their allies, the landed gentry, were able to challenge successfully the arbitrary government of the Stuart monarchy and send Charles I to the scaffold. And somewhat later, it will be recalled, after the Cromwellian period and a short-lived reaction, they forced James II to yield to the rising power of Parliament and to seek safety in flight from his kingdom. The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 marked the triumph of the bid for power of these new elements in the English social structure. Henceforth the crown was to be subordinate to Parliament, and in Parliament the representatives of the burgher class were to play a leading role.

In the process of passing from a feudal to a bourgeois economy, the old scheme of social classification had been greatly disturbed; a new pattern of social grouping had emerged. It was this new class structure of society that was to have an important influence on American institutions.

The structure of English society at the opening of the seventeenth century. The landed aristocracy, on the eve of the colonization of America, constituted the most important element in English society. Members of this class owed their position very largely to the crown, especially to Henry VIII, who conferred upon his favorites vast tracts of land confiscated from the church. The landed aristocracy, moreover, had not overlooked the opportunities afforded by the enclosure movement to strengthen its position. From whatever source this element of the population may have accumulated its titles or its lands, it was the most powerful politically, enjoyed the greatest social esteem, and perhaps possessed the greatest wealth. It was represented in the House of Lords and commonly gave its loyal support to the Anglican Church and to the crown.

The second class in the descending social scale was composed of the landed gentry, country gentlemen or squires, whose names were not adorned with titles, but whose acres were many and whose influence was great. The social position of the landed gentry, however, was being challenged by the rising capitalistic class, by merchants,

manufacturers, and traders, some of whom were now able to purchase estates and to live in a manner beyond the means of many of the country gentry themselves. The influence of the ideals and manner of life of the English country gentry on Virginia and Carolina planters of a later date would be hard to overestimate.

At the opening of the seventeenth century, the merchant-capitalists were one of the most vigorous and important elements of the population. No longer content to export raw wool, they were now flooding the markets of the world with woolen cloth. Nor was that all. England was in the midst of a commercial revolution that seemed to have no bounds. Great trading companies were being formed to exploit the markets of such distant lands as Russia, the Levant, Morocco, and India. Men who risked their capital in trade often realized handsome profits, sometimes as much as 200 or 300 per cent. And if profits were not to be had in lawful trade, freebooters like Drake and Hawkins might overhåul a Spanish galleon returning from Mexico or Peru and bring home a prize of gold or silver equal to a king's ransom. The merchant-capitalist was making his bid for riches and position, and the future was his.

In the open country, next in importance to the landed aristocracy and the country gentlemen and squires were the yeomen, men whose thrift had enabled them to purchase small farms of their own. Below the yeomen in importance was the great mass of farm tenants, artisans, journeymen, day laborers, and servants, most of whom were struggling to eke out a bare subsistence.

At the bottom of the social scale was the large class of dependent poor, beggars, criminals, vagabonds, and thieves, with which the countryside was infested. The most important factor in creating this numerous dependent class was the enclosure movement. As the markets for English wool and woolen cloth expanded, a vast acreage of farm lands was turned into pastures. During the one hundred and fifty years preceding 1600, fully half the manors of England were enclosed.¹ The enclosure movement disrupted the agricultural economy of England. It set thousands of agricultural workers — whole families, and even whole villages — adrift without work and with no means of livelihood. Everywhere the care of the poor was a staggering burden; in some places fully a third of the population were on the relief rolls.

¹ Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life*, p. 83. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938.

The colonists who migrated to America during the opening decades of the seventeenth century were perfectly familiar with the class distinctions that had long characterized English society. Most of them were drawn from the middle and lower classes and, in general, were disposed to accept without important modifications the class social structure to which they were accustomed. The establishment of a democratic society was not their purpose in coming to America; they hoped, rather, to secure for themselves a more favorable position within the framework of the old established order. In some instances, in fact, as in Maryland under the Calverts, in New York under the Dutch Patroons, and in the Carolinas under the Lords Proprietors, attempts were made to establish conditions that were a throwback toward feudalism. As events turned out, in America as in England, a superior social class emerged, composed mainly of ministers, magistrates, merchants, and planters. As in England, too, men of position, influence, and wealth were able to dominate the state, make it an instrument of power, and shape public and social policy to serve their own ends. There was little equalitarianism in early America; it required time and the force of circumstance on a new continent to transform an essentially aristocratic society into one with democratic principles.

A TWO-CLASS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

A second important Old World influence on American education during the colonial period was the inherited two-class educational system. Naturally enough, the prevailing arrangement of social classes in seventeenth-century England reflected itself unmistakably in educational institutions.

THE UNIVERSITY IN THE ENGLISH SOCIAL ORDER

At the apex of the system were the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge, devoted as they long had been primarily to theology and studies auxiliary to it. Since the church drew its personnel in relatively small numbers from the higher social classes, these institutions were less exclusive than they were to become later. Already, however, the Renaissance ideal of a gentleman's education had made its influence widely felt in England, and, although none but a cleric was supposed to attend the colleges of Oxford and Cam-

bridge, the sons of the wealthy were now flocking to them in increasing numbers. From about the middle of the sixteenth century, protests were made against this influx of the sons of the upper classes into the universities.² Theology still dominated the intellectual life of Oxford, and especially of Cambridge, but the poor "scholar" who was preparing for a place in the service of the church was now rubbing elbows with the sons of gentlemen — young men whose chief interest lay in polite literature and in activities in no wise connected with the church. We owe the much-used phrase "a gentleman and a scholar" to this co-mingling of the "poor scholar and the squire's son" which had its inception in the sixteenth century.³

When viewed with respect to the social classes from which they drew their students, the English universities of the early seventeenth century cannot be regarded as highly aristocratic. But this is not the only test; one has to consider also the functional aspects of the universities. Their purpose was to prepare a relatively small element in the population for service in the church, or for those activities in which the members of the upper classes engaged in their mature years. Neither those Englishmen who remained in England nor those who migrated to America thought of colleges and universities as popular institutions. The function of their higher educational institutions was to prepare a select group of youth for places of leadership in society. Although the universities drew their students in large numbers from the middle class, they served fundamentally the needs of an intellectual élite. Even in America, despite the democratization of higher education, the modern college with its "liberal arts" curriculum still, in some cases, bears the hallmarks of its aristocratic origin.

THE LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND THE EDUCATION OF A DIRECTIVE CLASS

The education of an intellectual élite in Elizabethan England was by no means confined to Oxford and Cambridge. A network of Latin grammar schools spread over the country, providing some opportunity, at least, for bright youth from all social classes to get a humanistic education. The contemporaries of Shakespeare exhibited

² Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*, p. 54. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

a remarkable zeal for learning. Noblemen, merchants, yeomen, guilds, individuals with means from every social class, participated in the founding of grammar schools. By 1600, there were open to English youth no less than 361 schools of this kind, one school for about every 12,500 of the population.⁴ Brown estimates that about 12,000 boys were attending the grammar schools of England at the opening of the seventeenth century. It is probably true, as has been stated, that "every boy even in the remotest part of the country, could find a place of education in his own neighborhood competent at any rate to fit him to enter college."⁵ Approximately one in every 375 of the population was attending a grammar school, as compared with one in every 180 attending comparable schools in 1933.⁶

These grammar schools were designed to provide educational opportunities for poor boys as well as for those in the middle and upper classes. Most of the founders took special pains to make it clear that the schools they were establishing should be open to the children of the poor. It is clear, too, that the grammar schools did not draw their pupils from an exclusively aristocratic class. It is also certain that relatively few of the really poor attended these schools. To be sure, an occasional "poor scholar," a bright boy from the lower classes, was selected and trained for service in church or state — made into a cleric or a lawyer — but, by and large, the grammar schools were attended by boys from the middle and upper classes. An analysis by Watson of the occupations of parents who, in 1643, sent their sons to the Colchester Grammar School, probably typical of most grammar schools, reveals that a large proportion of the pupils were sons of gentlemen, clergymen, and tradespeople. Among the latter were tanners, grocers, tailors, linendrapers, a goldsmith, a dyer, an ironmonger, and a chemist.⁷

The Latin grammar schools were not highly selective or aristocratic institutions in that they closed their doors to boys of the lower classes. Like the universities, however, they served the needs of a society that was still essentially undemocratic. The grammar schools

⁴ J. Howard Brown, *Elizabethan Schooldays: An Account of the English Grammar Schools in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 7. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933.

⁵ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, xv, as quoted in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Presence: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 57. New York: New York University Press, 1936.

⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

⁷ Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice*, p. 531. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.

prepared a selected few to take their places in the ranks of the directive classes. It was here that future ministers, lawyers, merchants, country gentlemen, scholars, diplomats — men of affairs in one area of life or another — received their preparation for university study.

THE EDUCATION OF THE LOWER CLASSES

For the great mass of English children there was little or no opportunity to attend schools of any kind. After the Reformation, the control of education for the masses remained in the hands of the new church, as it had remained in the hands of the old church for centuries before. Anglicans everywhere, whether they stayed in England or migrated to America, held tenaciously to the view that education, not a function of the state, was to be provided for in the home or in private, religious, and philanthropic institutions. In practical operation, this policy resulted in the great neglect of the education of the masses of children. Most parents were not financially able to educate their children and the endowed schools were nearly all Latin schools. It is true that vernacular elementary schools were not unknown. In fact, some parishes maintained schools of this kind and supported them in part out of public funds. But, even so, most English children were not provided even the rudiments of an education. And where vernacular elementary schools were provided, they were regarded as essentially for the lower classes, as instruments for inculcating proper religious and social attitudes. The gulf which separated the Latin grammar schools and the universities from the vernacular schools for the masses was wide and was spanned only by the exceptionally bright and ambitious boy.

As has already been pointed out, economic conditions in England were such as to produce a numerous pauper class. Parliament was constantly confronted with the problem of providing the means to keep the poor from starving and of making provision for the support and care of their numerous children. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, England formulated its policy for dealing with the poor in a succession of statutes which culminated in the famous Poor Law of 1601. Two principles established in this act were to be influential at a later date in America. The first of these was embodied in the requirement that all property-owners in a parish should be taxed for the care of the poor in that parish. The New England colonists had long been familiar with the crushing burden

of poor relief, and it is not strange that they should have sought to escape this burden by passing laws, as in Massachusetts in 1642, which required all boys and girls to be taught a lawful calling. More important still was the provision of the Poor Law that poor and dependent children should be apprenticed and that masters should teach their apprentices a useful trade. This practice was transplanted to America and expanded upon. As will be pointed out in greater detail later, apprenticeship in the colonies was commonly employed as a means of providing not only vocational but also religious and academic training for poor children. In some colonies, all children who were not being taught a trade and the elements of reading were to be apprenticed in order that these ends might be accomplished.

THE INHERITED CLASS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

From England, then, and to some extent from the continent of Europe, the colonists inherited a class system of social arrangements and an educational system which reflected those arrangements. In the colonies, as in the Old World, secondary and higher education — Latin grammar schools and colleges — served primarily the needs of a small directive class. Schools concerned with the teaching of reading and writing in English — where they existed at all — were primarily terminal schools for the masses. They were designed to teach the children of the common people to read, to grasp the principles of some religious sect, and to socialize youth in terms of the existing principles of social organization.

A democratic school system in America was neither an inheritance nor, as often supposed, a gift of Puritan New England. It has been an achievement, perhaps the most significant cultural achievement, of the American people. It springs from, and is part of, the democratic way of life. Through the centuries it has taken its form and expanded its purposes to meet the needs of an evolving democracy.

THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION IN EDUCATION

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION ON THE COLONIZATION OF AMERICA

Twenty-five years after Columbus sighted land off San Salvador, Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on the church door in

Wittenberg. By the time the peoples of Europe began to establish colonies in America, large elements of the population in northern and western Europe had rallied around the banner of one or another of the Protestant reformers. It was from these Protestant groups that all the colonies except Maryland drew the great majority of their early inhabitants. Educational policy and practice in these colonies were profoundly influenced by Protestant ideas with respect to religion, government, and social organization.

Colonial America was peopled by representatives of practically every Protestant sect of any importance. From Germany, Lutherans and German Reformed (Calvinists) were drawn in large numbers. Out of Germany came also adherents of the more radical religious sects — Anabaptists, Mennonites, Dunkers, Amish, New Born, Moravians, and many others. French Huguenots, fleeing persecution of the most violent kind, took refuge in South Carolina and to some extent in the cities of other colonies; members of the Dutch Reformed Church settled in New Amsterdam; Swedish Lutherans established a colony in Delaware; and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in large numbers settled in the back-country South.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND THE CLASH OF CLASS INTEREST

The early colonization of America, however, was an enterprise carried forward in the main by English Protestants — by Anglicans, Separatists, Puritans, and Quakers. The Reformation in England, it will be recalled, was directed very largely by the crown. Henry VIII made himself head of the church, but would suffer little change in ritual or theology. By confiscating the monasteries and dividing their lands among his favorites, he was able to create a new landed aristocracy, loyal both to the crown and to the church. From the beginning, the new church in England had a semi-feudal basis, reflected both the political and economic interests of the upper classes, retained a symbolism in its ritual which appealed to the aristocracy, and permitted relatively little popular participation in its government. Under Henry's son, Edward VI, England officially became more radically Protestant only to become definitely Catholic again under Queen Mary. When Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, she was confronted with grave problems both in state and church. Being the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, whose marriage had never been sanctioned by the Roman Church, she was

regarded as illegitimate by the Papacy, and her right to govern was challenged. Moreover, the rising power of Spain was casting its shadow over England and the two countries were soon to make ready to meet in mortal combat. Like her father, Elizabeth was little disposed to brook opposition and she met the situation with the Act of Supremacy (1559) and the Act of Uniformity (1559). Interested little in theological disputes and subtleties, and concerned chiefly with laying the foundations of a great commercial state, Elizabeth was ready to turn to the Protestants for support, although at heart she was probably more Catholic than Protestant.

The religious settlement at which Elizabeth arrived was characterized by two important elements: (1) the supremacy of the state over the church, and (2) a compromise in religious doctrine, church organization, and ritual. By asserting the right of the crown to rule the consciences of men, Elizabeth paved the way for religious persecutions which were to drive thousands to America, where they hoped to be able to worship God as they pleased. By adopting a compromise position in religion satisfactory neither to Catholics nor extreme Protestants, the way was paved for religious and political dissent which was to cost one king his head and another his throne. But the Established Church of England, buttressed by the landed nobility and by men of means and social position, continued, as we shall see, to exercise a profound influence on the course of history both in England and in her overseas colonies. The undemocratic elements in Anglicanism were to be important factors in the shaping of American institutions, particularly in the South and in New York.

Not all Englishmen were willing to accept the principle of absolutism in church and state, to regard bishop and king as God's anointed, responsible only to Him. Many were offended by the ceremonies of the Established Church, such as the wearing of surplices by the clergy, the kneeling at communion, the sign of the cross at baptism, and the use of organ music. All these were reminders of Catholicism, evidence that the Established Church was far removed from the simplicity of Christianity in apostolic days. At first, the Puritans, as these critics of the Established Church were known, directed their attack on the ceremonials of the church, but later they challenged its government as well. For the absolutism of bishop and king they would substitute the presbyterian system of government, an arrangement which placed ecclesiastical power

very largely in the hands of the minister and elders of the local congregation. A presbytery consisted of the ministers and elders of the local congregations within a district; representatives of the presbyteries of a larger area made up the synod; and above the synods stood the assembly.⁸ Clearly, the presbyterian system of church government was a challenge to the authority of church and state, and one can well understand what James I had in mind when he said, "No bishop, no king."

But the deeper meaning of Puritanism is not to be found in its attack on the ceremonials of the church, in its strict moral code, or in its system of church governance. Puritanism was a middle-class revolt, a revolt of the burgesses and the smaller landed gentry against king and landed aristocracy. The battle for religious freedom could not be separated from the battle for political and economic freedom. The trade interests of the London burgesses and of others who joined them in the Puritan cause required a freedom from restraint quite as impelling as the urge for freedom of conscience. Puritanism was an expression of individualism in intellect, in religion, in government, and in economics. It contributed to the emergence of a capitalistic class and it promoted the development of parliamentary government. Those of our own day can well understand the association of capitalism and constitutionalism, the desire of men of means to be free of restraint, whether in the area of government or economics.

Major movements against the established order are almost sure to be accompanied by lesser movements of a more radical type, and such was the case with respect to Puritanism. About 1580, Robert Browne gathered around himself a small band of artisans and laborers who rejected outright the authority of the state over the church. Since they would separate entirely from the Church of England and permit each congregation to govern itself without state interference, they came to be known as Separatists or Independents. Here was a doctrine which, followed to its logical conclusion, led straight to religious freedom and to government by consent—to democracy in both church and state.

The three major contending groups in the religious controversies of early seventeenth-century England played leading roles in the colonization of America, and each exercised a profound influence

⁸ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

on the colony or colonies that it established or dominated. Anglicans, always loyal to the aristocratic tradition in government, religion, education, and society generally, dominated the early colonization of the South and became an important element in other colonies, notably New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Wherever the Anglican went, he was likely to be a strong defender of upper-class English ideals and institutions and he held tenaciously to the belief that education was a private or religious function and no proper concern of the state. The Separatists, despised because of their lowly origin and feared because of their dangerous beliefs, were harried out of England, found refuge at Plymouth Rock, and became the Pilgrim fathers of America. In this country they did not carry their ideals to a logical conclusion, but their influence on the development of democratic institutions was of great significance. The Puritans, a far more aggressive group, dominated most of New England and were not without influence in other colonies, such as Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania. No other group in colonial times was so influential in the development of educational institutions. The bourgeois character of Puritanism was a factor, too, in the development of New England into an important trading and business community.

THE INHERITANCE OF THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION IN EDUCATION

At the opening of the seventeenth century, religion was still a dominant intellectual interest in England and on the Continent. We moderns may find it difficult to understand why men were so deeply concerned with religion, why they were not willing to let one another go their respective ways, worshiping how and when they pleased. But it must be remembered that institutionalized religion was the focal point of many aspects of life, that the religious garb cloaked many interests — political, economic, and social. Religion was a powerful instrument of social control and direction, an instrument scarcely less important than the state itself. It was a means of controlling thought, attitudes, and loyalties, of getting and keeping political power, of fixing or breaking up the scheme of economic arrangements, and of defining the relation of social classes.

The tradition that the school was a handmaiden of the church, that education at all levels should serve the ends of institutionalized religion, had been long established when the first colonies were

planted in America. Everywhere in Europe, in Catholic and Protestant countries alike, the chief purpose of the vernacular elementary school was to inculcate in youth an acceptance of the religious beliefs of the particular sectarian group responsible for the school's existence. Everywhere, too, the various religious groups into which the peoples of Europe were divided regarded the secondary school as an agency for the training of leaders in the church. Religious ends were not the only ones served by secondary education, but they were the most important. And in the universities theology still held the center of the stage.

Nowhere was the religious tradition in education more deeply rooted than in England. An examination of the statutes of the founders of the Latin grammar schools makes it perfectly clear that the dynamic purpose in the establishment of these schools was the desire to further the cause of religion. The same conclusion is inescapable when the curriculum of these schools is analyzed or when a study is made of the manner of their administration. In the early seventeenth century, none of the Latin grammar schools, whether supported by the church or not, was free of ecclesiastical control. Schools owed their very existence to the authority of the church, their teachers were licensed by it, and at all times they were subject to ecclesiastical visitation and inspection. And at Oxford and Cambridge the religious purpose in education was quite as obvious as in the Latin schools. To be a fellow in any of the colleges at Cambridge one had to be in holy orders. It is true that young men from the upper classes who did not intend to enter the ministry were beginning to frequent the universities in large numbers, but most who took degrees were looking forward to some kind of service in the church.

The religious tradition in education was transplanted to America in its full vigor and its roots struck deep in American soil. For more than a century, indeed during most of the colonial period, religion furnished education its dynamic motive. The content of the curriculum at all levels was profoundly affected by the religious ends education was made to serve, and the administrative control of education was directly or indirectly influenced by ecclesiastical authority. Few forces in American life have been so important in shaping educational policy and practice as the religious tradition inherited from the Protestant Reformation.

THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE

Another influence on American education scarcely second in importance to that of religion was the heritage of classical culture. The secondary schools of sixteenth-century Europe were the product of two converging streams of influence. The classical content was in the main a product of the Renaissance. The religious purpose in education, always strong in the Middle Ages, was now derived very largely from the Reformation (Protestant and Catholic). It is true that the broad humanism of the early Renaissance did not thrive in the fierce heat of religious controversy; that, in the study of Latin and Greek authors, language structure came to be stressed more than thought content; that one of the chief ends of a grammar-school education was the mastery of written and spoken Latin for practical everyday use. The ancient languages — Latin, Greek, and Hebrew — were the "holy languages," the languages of the Old and New Testaments and of the early church fathers. To hold his own in the religious controversies of the day, one must be able to go to the Scriptures and to the early history of the church in the original. Moreover, since Latin was the language of most respectable written discourse — of law, diplomacy, and scholarship — men of affairs in all areas of life must be able to speak and write it. Indeed, the practical uses of Latin tended to cause an overemphasis on language form to the exclusion of the study of Latin authors as the source of a humanizing culture. In this study of the classics there was also a tendency to confuse the means with the ends sought. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that the study of the classics had sunk to the level of pure formalism. For many intellectually curious youth, grammarians were unable to obscure the ideas of the ancients or to prevent an appropriation of much that was best in Greek and Roman thought. In the midst of theological controversy and the multitudinous rules of grammar, humanism lingered on, even if it did not thrive.

Among the ideas transplanted to America, few were more firmly fixed than the belief that the study of the classics, and of Latin in particular, should constitute the chief activity carried on in the secondary schools, as well as a major part of the work of the colleges. The content of the curriculum above the elementary school was pretty well dominated by the classical tradition during the whole

colonial period, and indeed for many years thereafter. As we shall see later, at least nine-tenths of the time spent in the Latin grammar schools was devoted to a study of Latin, and in the colonial colleges much attention was devoted to a study of ancient languages. A knowledge of Latin, and to a lesser extent of Greek, became the badge of the educated man. To turn an apt quotation from Cicero, or Horace, or some other of the great writers of classical antiquity, was a sure way of demonstrating one's scholarship and learning. And, later on, modern foreign languages were, in a measure at least, admitted to a fellowship with the classics. The curriculum tended to become language-centered. New subjects — mathematics, science, history, economics, sociology, and agriculture — found their way into the curriculum slowly, so completely was it dominated by the classical heritage of earlier days.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES

American educational institutions, like many others, were cast in Old World molds. The types of schools established in the colonies — dame school, writing school, and Latin grammar school — were all built on Old World models. Likewise, Harvard College was as near an imitation of Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, as conditions in a pioneer society would permit. Textbooks were English importations and the methods employed in teaching differed little, if any, from those of the old country. Apprenticeship, an institution for the care and trade training of the poor in England, was developed in America still further and made an instrument for providing both academic and vocational education for poor and neglected children and, in some colonies, for all children whose education was not being provided for otherwise. It had long been a practice in England for philanthropically minded men of means to leave legacies for the endowment of schools, and in America this practice was continued. Land was plentiful and often public lands were set aside for the endowment of schools. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this early habit of giving land for the use of schools found expression at a later date in congressional grants of land for the support of education. It is very possible, too, that educational philanthropy in this country, which has resulted in a more liberal support of education by individuals than in any nation in the world, is but a continuation

of an ideal and attitude long established in England before Jamestown was settled.

THE RISE OF CAPITALISM AND PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The influences on American life and culture discussed up to this point were, in the main, rooted in long-established custom and tradition; they represented the heritage from the Middle Ages transformed and modified by the Renaissance and the Reformation. The class structure of society, the two-class educational system, the religious tradition in education, and the reliance placed upon the writings of classical antiquity as the source of humanistic values were conservative forces which contributed to the maintenance of the established order of things both in society and education. In some respects, both the Renaissance and the Reformation were reactionary movements. At the close of the Middle Ages, when the thought of Europe had been so long dominated by theology, the Revival of Learning had much to contribute by making available the art, philosophy, literature, and science of the ancients. But humanism looked to the past and not to the future and humanists were too often disposed to be hostile to, if not contemptuous of, the dynamic forces of their own day. The Reformation was also, although to a lesser extent, a throw-back to the past in that it tended to make religion once more the dominant intellectual interest of men. But as the seventeenth century opened, forces were gathering momentum in Europe which were to create a new economy and a new culture. Two of these new forces were the rise of capitalism and the establishment of parliamentary government.

From the beginning, the American colonies were an integral part of the great commercial and colonial empire established by the daring and foresight of English merchants and statesmen. It would be a mistake to regard the colonies as isolated outposts, uninfluenced by the changing intellectual interests of the age. And the fact cannot be overlooked that the British Empire was being wrought out by a capitalistic middle class, that the dynamics of empire is to be found, in large measure at least, in the desire for material gain. It is true that patriotism and religion were impelling motives in the building of the Empire, but the profit motive was stronger than either. Nor were Americans content that Englishmen should reap

all the profits of their colonial enterprise. From the outset, American civilization was profoundly influenced by economic interests and motives. Whatever may have been their purposes in coming to America, the colonists soon turned their attention to the exciting task of accumulating worldly goods. In the process of building up landed estates or of accumulating fortunes in the markets of the world, men lost much of their religious zeal and of their enthusiasm for the literature of classical antiquity. And slowly but surely American education began to emancipate itself from the dominance of religion and classicism; in purpose and content it began to reflect the demands of a new society built upon a broad foundation of business enterprise.

In a very real sense, the development of constitutional law and of the republican form of government is the product of the rise of a capitalistic society. As has already been pointed out,⁹ regularity in government is but a counterpart of accounting in business. And the struggle for parliamentary government in seventeenth-century England on the part of successful business men and the country gentry was not lost on the American colonists. From Maine to Georgia, merchant, planter, and yeoman, though their interests might at times conflict, were no less concerned with bending government to their will than were the men who forced James II to abandon his throne. Free political institutions in America, in part an English inheritance and in part the product of forces operating in American life, came in time to be the most powerful factor in shaping educational policy and practice.

SCIENCE AND RATIONALISM

To the student of the history of culture, one of the most important movements in western Europe from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century was the development of science. In 1543, Copernicus published his revolutionary work on astronomy, *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs*. In the same year appeared Vesalius' *On the Structure of the Human Body*, and two years later Cardan published his great treatise on algebra under the title, *The Great Art*. As Preserved Smith observes, these

⁹ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization, I: The Agricultural Era*, p. 16. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

are "three of the most momentous works of science that the world has ever seen," and they initiated a brilliant era of scientific discovery.¹⁰ In astronomy, the pioneer work of Copernicus was carried forward by Kepler and Galileo to the triumphs of Newton and Laplace. Perhaps no scientific discoveries have so changed man's concept of the universe in which he lives or his relation to it as these discoveries in astronomy.

One cannot in brief space even catalogue the important scientific discoveries which now followed one another in rapid succession. Discoveries in physics were scarcely less significant than those in astronomy. William Gilbert (1540-1603) did pioneer work in magnetism. Kepler made some advance in the study of optics, to be followed by Snell and Descartes, who, working independently, discovered the fundamental law of refraction.¹¹ Galileo's contributions to a knowledge of mechanics and dynamics were perhaps more important than anything he did in the field of astronomy. To quote Preserved Smith again, Galileo "found this branch of natural philosophy little but a mass of ignorance and error; he left it a well-built and comely science."¹² And, in less than a half-century after Galileo's death in 1642, Newton was to discover the law of gravitation.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw remarkable advances in the science of mathematics. In his great work on algebra (1545), already referred to, Cardan made a fundamental contribution to an understanding of the theory of equations. The Dutch mathematician, Stevin, invented decimals as a method of notation in 1585.¹³ Soon after the opening of the next century, Napier came forward with the invention of logarithms, and his work was expanded upon and refined by other mathematicians, notably Gunter, Kepler, and Briggs.¹⁴ Notable work was done on the theory of numbers by Descartes, Pascal, and Fermat; in trigonometry by Pitiscus, Napier, Vieta, and others; and in analytical geometry by Descartes and Fermat. And building on the work of earlier mathematicians, Newton (1642-1727) and Leibniz (1646-1716) were able independently to invent the infinitesimal calculus.

While scholars were exploring the mysteries of astronomy, physics, and mathematics, adventurous souls were setting sail for new lands.

¹⁰ Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture, I: The Great Renewal, 1543-1687*, p. 18. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

Soon they were to sail the seven seas and open the vistas of new continents and strange lands. From almost every point of the compass new knowledge was accumulating about the earth, its size, its shape, its continents, and its seas, and about the manners, customs, and institutions of its peoples. This new knowledge stirred the imagination and forced a reconstruction of old beliefs, attitudes, and values. The work of the explorers paved the way for a more scientific geography; it also made possible notable advances in zoology and botany.

During the Middle Ages, for a knowledge of anatomy and medicine men had relied almost exclusively on the writings of Galen or Aristotle, or some other of the ancients. But in 1543 Vesalius, in his great work, *On the Structure of the Human Body*, broke with tradition and presented in detail the results of his own studies made with the dissecting knife. Nearly a century later (1628), Harvey made his momentous discovery of the circulation of the blood. Gradually, too, through the work of Redi, Leeuwenhoek, and others, the age-old belief that plant and animal life are generated spontaneously from decaying matter was dispelled.

For our purposes, the importance of the remarkable advance in science from the reign of Elizabeth to the American Revolution lies in its effect on the thought pattern of the age. Men always seek to establish a body of fundamental principles, a value system, that will serve as a touchstone to behavior, to thought and action in all areas of their life. During the Middle Ages the core values of society, the body of "absolute principles" which would guide men in their daily life, were found in revealed truth and in the writings of Aristotle, the church fathers, and the more important medieval philosophers. The Renaissance sought its core values in the writings of classical antiquity, and in the age of the Reformation the Protestants turned once more to revealed truth, with each individual more or less free to exercise his own individual judgment. But as scientific discoveries multiplied, a profound change came about in the thinking of the intellectual class in Europe. In the eighteenth century, reason was exalted and men sought to find in science the basic principles of human nature, of society, and of the universe itself. It was the age of rationalism; reason was the touchstone by which all institutions and practices were to be evaluated. Man was no longer regarded as depraved by nature, but innately noble and capable of perfectibility.

The dynamic concept of progress now took form, and men came to entertain the belief that if human action could be given a rational basis old abuses and injustices in church and state, and in society generally, would be done away with.

The development of science and the increasing reliance on reason did not have a very immediate and direct effect on educational policy and practice. Slowly, however, the twin guardians of the citadel of learning, classical antiquity and institutionalized religion, had to retreat before the new forces released by the spirit of scientific inquiry.

SUMMARY

If one is to bring the American colonies into the proper focus during the one hundred and seventy years which elapsed between the settlement of Jamestown and the Revolution, one must view them, not as isolated settlements fringing the wilderness of a great continent, but as parts of a world order. The colonies were planted and developed during an age of great events, not only in the history of Europe, but in the history of mankind. And colonial institutions and thought were profoundly affected by the course of events in the world outside.

At the opening of the seventeenth century, the peoples of Europe were in the midst of a long and bitter religious controversy which was ultimately to resolve itself in religious freedom. For another century, however, religion was to continue as a dominant, if not the dominant, intellectual interest of Europe. Closely associated with the effort to achieve freedom of individual judgment in religion was the rise of the bourgeoisie and the consequent change in the class structure of society. In England, and to some extent on the Continent, a middle class composed of prosperous merchants, capitalists, and artisans was challenging the supremacy of the old nobility. It was this new middle class that was supplying the capital necessary to develop a world-wide commerce, to plant colonies, and to wage a titanic struggle for empire. In England it was this middle class, too, that was establishing the principles of parliamentary government. Both in England and on the Continent representatives of the middle class were making momentous scientific discoveries and formulating a philosophy of rationalism.

The age from Elizabeth to George III was a great age. It witnessed the substantial achievement of religious liberty, the rise of the middle class to a position of pre-eminence, a rapid development of capitalism, the establishment of colonies and the conquest of empire, the triumph of parliamentary government in England, the accumulation of a vast store of scientific knowledge, and the formulation of a rationalistic philosophy which aimed to emancipate mankind from the abuses of ignorance and injustice. It is against this background of European thought and action and institutional change that American colonial history must be viewed.

Old World influences on American education during the colonial period were many, one of the most important of which was the class structure of society. Class distinctions were transplanted to America and they operated very definitely in the shaping of educational policy and practice. A two-class school system was a natural outgrowth of prevailing social classifications in Europe; it constituted an important Old World borrowing which, as time was to prove, was extremely difficult to modify. More important still, perhaps, was the religious tradition in education. Schools and colleges alike, certainly during the early colonial period, were thought of as serving primarily religious ends. The objectives of education, the content of instruction, the means of support, and the organs of control were all profoundly affected by the prevailing view that education should serve the ends of institutionalized religion. The classical tradition in education — an influence of the Renaissance — was scarcely less important than the religious tradition. Latin and other ancient languages were long to occupy a dominant position in the curriculum of the secondary schools and colleges. The types of educational institutions established, the textbooks used, and the methods of instruction employed were in the main Old World borrowings.

These influences were backward-looking; they tended to perpetuate tradition and long-established custom. There were, however, other Old World influences which were forward-looking and dynamic, although their effect on education was less immediate and direct. These new forces were the rise of a capitalistic society, the development of representative government, the growth of science, and the added importance assigned to reason in the direction and control of human affairs.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 1

1. Do you agree with the point of view that educational policy and practice are in large measure the product of social forces beating in on the school from without? Justify your position.
2. Colonists in a new land usually establish institutions that: (a) resemble closely those of the mother country; (b) are modifications of old institutions to meet the needs of the new environment; (c) are essentially the product of the new conditions of life. Which of these three types of adjustments would you say best describes early American educational institutions?
3. Do you see operating in our educational institutions today any of the ideas and practices inherited from England and Europe?
4. Can you illustrate from your knowledge of any American community how the schools are affected by existing social forces and conditions?
5. Are the schools with which you are familiar adequately adjusting their programs to the needs of the community? To the demands of economic, social, and political conditions in the nation?
6. In trying to define the proper relation of the school to the American social order it has been suggested that: (a) the schools attempt to create an essentially new social order; (b) the schools develop in youth an uncritical, unemotional attachment to the existing pattern of economic, social, and political arrangements; (c) the schools accept the core values of American society but that they seek to develop in youth the critical understanding of the workings of our political, economic, and social arrangements, essential for participation in making public policy. Which of these propositions most nearly conforms to your point of view? Indicate what would be the effect on the curriculum of the adoption of this point of view. Of the adoption of each of the other points of view.

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Chapter 2 ~ The School in an Ecclesiastical Rural Social Order:

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE that American thought and the spirit and form of American institutions have been profoundly influenced by the English colonists who founded settlements along the coast of New England in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century and by their descendants who carried forward the enterprise of building a new society. The contributions of colonial New England to American life cannot be fully realized until one attempts to unravel the warp and woof of our common culture today and to trace the several strands to their respective origins. Attitudes toward such matters as the dignity of labor, the worth of the individual, religious worship and moral conduct, freedom under the law, and the functions and form of local government reveal the influence of the founders of the New England commonwealths.

The genius of New England, however, found its fullest expression in the cultivation of the intellectual life. A decade had not passed after the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony before a printing press had been established and a college founded. Not many more years passed before statutes were enacted which had as their purpose the attainment of universal literacy and the establishment of a colony-wide system of schools. In many respects, the stern New England Puritan was an unlovely figure. In the standards of behavior which he had adopted for himself and which he attempted to force upon his fellows, and in the kind of society he tried to establish, we moderns find much that impresses us as illiberal in spirit and undemocratic in purpose. It is from New England, nevertheless, more than from any other part of the nation, that we inherited the tradition that a system of public education is essential in any well-ordered state.

THE BUILDERS OF A NEW SOCIETY

The leaders who planned and planted the New England colonies were out of sympathy with many aspects of English life. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the transformation of English society from a feudal to a bourgeois economy brought about a realignment of social classes and a sharp definition of religious and political issues. Prosperous merchants and the smaller landed gentry, with their artisan and yeoman adherents, drew together to form an aggressive middle class — a class bent upon challenging the power of the traditional rulers of England, landed noble, priest, and king. If one looks beneath the subtleties of theological dispute and legal argument, one discovers that the major movement in English history in the opening years of the seventeenth century was this struggle for place and power. In the struggle was involved the determination of the locus of authority in church and state as well as the structural organization of both of these important institutions.

PARTIES TO THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN CHURCH AND STATE — ANGLICANS, PURITANS, AND SEPARATISTS

Three major parties emerged in the struggle. At the extreme right stood the Anglicans, members of the Established Church of England, who held tenaciously to the principles of absolutism in church and state. Christian and subject owed unquestioning obedience to "bishop and king," whose authority was of God. This union of absolutist church and absolutist state was well designed to keep power over men's lives, over their thought and action, in the hands of the hereditary rulers of England.¹

But the smaller landed gentry and their burgher allies, conscious of their growing importance, wealth, intelligence, and superior morality, were little disposed to let the Anglicans have their way without a struggle. Both their economic and religious interests led them to challenge the principle of absolutism and to set over against it the principle of individual freedom, at least up to a certain point. Thus, there emerged a second party, the Puritans, who were neither extremely radical nor conservative. Beginning with the moderate

¹ Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800*, p. 8. *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols. in one), I. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

demands that the Anglican Church be purified of such "Roman" practices as the wearing of the cap and surplice or making the sign of the cross at baptism, the Puritans, in time, raised the issue of the source of authority in church and state.² Over against the principle of divine right they set the principle of representation; over against anointed bishop and king, they set the synod and the Parliament. They were by no means champions of a pure democracy, but in synod and Parliament they had discovered institutions admirably adapted to serve their own class interests. One misses altogether the spirit and purpose of English Puritanism if one regards it merely as a movement to remove certain abuses in the Anglican Church. The Puritans aimed at nothing less than the domination of the church and the strict imposition of their beliefs upon others. They were equally intent on influencing, if not controlling, the course of political events. If they had had their way, Parliament would have been made an instrument to checkmate the crown and it would have increasingly reflected the growing strength of Puritanism.

The third articulate religious group thrown up by the controversies of the day was known as Separatists. In the main, the Separatists were humble folk, small farmers, laborers, and artisans whose instructors were contemptuously described by the Bishop of London as "cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such-like trash."³ The good bishop appears to have been misinformed or sparing with the truth; as a matter of fact, the leaders of the movement were well-educated Englishmen, some of them graduates of Cambridge University. But it is true that the Separatists as a group were made up primarily of "social underlings" and they came to constitute the extreme left wing of English Protestantism. They espoused the radical doctrine that each individual had the right to worship God in his own way and to formulate his own religious creed. And, what was more, desiring religious freedom for themselves, they were willing to accord it to others.⁴ Moreover, the Separatists did not believe in an established church; since all people could not be expected to be of the same mind, those who did not agree should be permitted to form congre-

² Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *The American Colonies, 1492-1750*, p. 124. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.

³ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, 52. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

⁴ Carl Lotus Becker, *Beginnings of the American People*, p. 88. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

gations of their own and to worship free from outside compulsion.⁵ Less aggressive than the Puritans, the Separatists wished neither to purify nor to dominate the Church of England. They were content to separate from it and to go their own way. Here were doctrines that struck at the existing pattern of political, ecclesiastical, and social arrangements in England. When transplanted to the New World by the Pilgrim fathers who crossed on the *Mayflower*, they became a creative force in the making of a new society.

Neither Queen Elizabeth nor the early Stuarts, James I and Charles I, had any notion of letting the Puritans and the Separatists have their way in England. It is unnecessary here to give a detailed account of the means adopted by the English sovereigns to force religious conformity or to stamp out the dangerous political and social doctrines entertained by the nonconformists. James I bluntly asserted that he would make the Puritans conform or else harry them out of the kingdom. Under the whip of religious persecution and in the face of a growing absolutism in government, many nonconformists lost hope of working out in England the kind of society they envisioned and turned to America as the place where they could carry into practical operation their ideas of social organization. In fact, to many it appeared that in the American wilderness God had prepared a special place for his chosen people to carry out their great experiment. As the future was to disclose, the Puritan migration was not to be the last time when men, defeated in purpose and dissatisfied with the arrangements of the established order, turned westward to the frontier in the hope of starting anew and of working out for themselves a new world and a new destiny.

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND — THE IDEALS AND PURPOSES OF THE EARLY LEADERS

It is necessary to get a somewhat closer view of the men who were directing the venture of establishing a new society in New England, to understand their purposes, and to envision the kind of society they were endeavoring to build. As we shall see later, the school was to play an important role in their total plan of social organization.

As every schoolboy knows, the first important permanent settle-

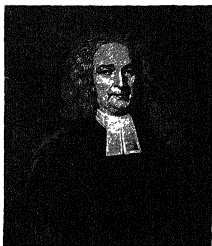
⁵ Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization*, p. 71. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938.

PURITAN LEADERS IN NEW ENGLAND



Brown Bros.

John Winthrop



Brown Bros.

John Cotton



Brown Bros.

Cotton Mather



Brown Bros.

Samuel Sewall

ment in New England was made by the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth in 1620. These were a small band of Separatists whose religious and political principles we have previously commented on. The great majority of those who landed at Plymouth Rock had belonged to the lower social classes in England. Although some of the leaders were men of good education, the rank and file were small farmers, artisans, and laborers. It was their plan, on leaving England, to settle in Virginia, where they had made arrangements to go. But a storm — or, as some may say, destiny — forced them out of their course and they found themselves afloat along the shores of New England without a charter, without any legal authority to establish a settlement, and without any agreed-upon plan of political or social organization. But, before going ashore, they came together to sign a compact, the famous Mayflower Compact, whereby they agreed to establish a civil society and to abide by laws duly made. Thus, they put into practical operation the principle that government derives its just authority from the consent of the governed. And, in establishing the congregational form of church organization, they applied the same democratic principle. The lowly Pilgrim was not an impressive figure when compared with the Massachusetts Puritan or the Virginia planter, but it was given to these Pilgrim Separatists to catch a vision of the day when government would be responsive to the popular will and when the state would not be accorded the right "to compell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical Government by lawes and penalties." ⁶

The men who directed the Puritan migration to Massachusetts were men of a different temper. They were drawn from the great middle class of English society. Some of them were country squires with large landed estates, men like John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony, who had an annual income the equivalent of fifteen or twenty thousand dollars today and no less than fifteen male servants. Some were merchants who had succeeded in accumulating substantial fortunes, and not a few were scholars who held their degrees from English universities. Massachusetts was not two decades old before one hundred and thirty university graduates, mostly ministers, had joined the Puritan movement out of England. The rank and file of the settlers, however, were small merchants, yeomen, tenants, artisans, and servants of the gentlemen who were directing

⁶ As quoted in Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

the movement. The great majority of the first comers were persons of little wealth or none at all.⁷

The motives which prompted the Puritan migration were many and varied. The fact has been frequently underemphasized or overlooked altogether that many who joined the Puritan exodus, including some of the leaders themselves, were influenced by the hope of material gain. In the southeastern counties of England, where Puritanism was the strongest, a severe depression in the textile industries had set in, in 1629, and it continued for a number of years.⁸ Poor crops added to the sufferings of the unemployed. As a contemporary expressed it:

This lande grows weary of her inhabitants soe as man is heer of less price amongst us than a horse or sheep. All towns complain of the burthen of their poore though we have taken up many unnecessary, yea unlawful trades to maintaine them. . . . We stand heer striving for places of habitation. . . . and in ye mean tyme suffer a whole continent as fruitful and convenient for the use of man to lie waste without any improvement.⁹

No less a person than John Winthrop himself was feeling the "pinch of hard times." He gave as one of his reasons for considering going to America the fact that his means in England were so reduced that he was unable to continue his present "place and employment." His fortunes had declined to the point where, without selling his land, he could not pay his debts. But, however strong the economic motive may have been, it seems clear that with most it was less impelling than the religious. This was especially true of the leaders of the movement. It may be, as Carl Becker concludes, that "few would have come for religion's sake alone,"¹⁰ that the rank and file came with the expectation that the doors of economic opportunity would open in the American wilderness. But men like Winthrop, and Dudley, and Cotton had caught the vision of a new society, a society of which they themselves would be both the architects and the builders.

⁷ Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁸ Nellis M. Crouse, "Causes of the Great Migration, 1630-1640," *New England Quarterly*, V (January, 1932), 9.

⁹ As quoted in Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁰ Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

THE STRUCTURAL DESIGN OF A NEW SOCIETY

To understand clearly the educational policy of early New England, one must view it against the background of the total cultural pattern; to appraise it properly, one must take account of the role the educational system was made to play in the maintenance of the social order. Too often historical writers have viewed the schools of early New England in the light of later developments and have attributed to the men who were engaged in laying the foundations of the educational system motives and principles which they themselves would have regarded as strange and even dangerous. It is certain that one must have some insight into the nature and structure of the social order the leaders were undertaking to build if one is to understand the future significance of the educational policies they put into force. For example, the builders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony would have been shocked and alarmed if they had thought that their school system would ever contribute to the establishment of a democratic state, because to them democracy was the meanest and most contemptible form of political organization man had yet devised or proposed.

RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT

One misses entirely the spirit of early New England unless one keeps in mind the important fact that religion was the dominant intellectual interest. In all New England, if one excepts Rhode Island, the men who were directing the course of events were primarily concerned with the establishment of Bible commonwealths, with the maintenance of an ecclesiastical social order firmly buttressed by the civil authority and by a class-structured society.

The Puritans endowed their God with many of the attributes of an Oriental despot; He was a God of authority, and more often a God of wrath than a God of love. To some, He extended His grace and elected them unto salvation; toward others He hardened His heart and turned His face from them. It was the duty of the elect, God's vice-regents on earth, to obey His will and to enforce His law, which He extended over every aspect of life, secular as well as ecclesiastical. This type of religious belief, introduced into New England by the followers of John Calvin, the unmitered pope of Geneva, was a fit instrument for the establishment in Massachusetts of an oligarchy

of ministers and magistrates. For the first sixty years of its history, Massachusetts was a Bible commonwealth in which church and state were but reverse sides of the same thing. The state was the executive arm, the handmaiden of the church. It stamped out, so far as it could, religious dissent; it suppressed freedom of thought and of speech; and it established schools and a college to develop in youth an attachment to the existing order.

The following quotation from Parrington describes with penetrating insight the early church-state in Massachusetts:

It was an oligarchy of Christian grace. The minister was the trained and consecrated interpreter of the divine law, and the magistrate was its trained and consecrated administrator; and both were chosen by free election of the Saints. If unfortunately the Saints were few and the sinners many, was not that a special reason for safeguarding the Ark of the Covenant from the touch of profane hands? Hence all legislative experiments by annually elected deputies, no matter how exactly those experiments might fall in with the wishes of the majority, were sternly frowned upon or skillfully nullified. Not only were such popular enactments, it was held, too often prompted by the carnal desires of the natural man, but they were no better than an insult to God, as implying the insufficiency of the Scriptures to every temporal need. Unregenerate and sinful men must have no share in God's work. The Saints must not have their hands tied by majority votes. This explains, quite as much as mere love of power, the persistent hostility of the leaders to every democratic tendency. Such institutions as grew up spontaneously out of the necessities of the situation, were sharply hedged about by restrictions. The town meeting, which was extra-legal under the charter, was safeguarded by limiting the right of voting to freemen, except in a few trivial matters; and the more popular deputies, who inclined to become self-willed, were forced to accept the principle of magisterial veto on their actions.¹¹

Attitude of Puritan leaders toward democracy. There was little equalitarianism in New England Puritanism. In the seventeenth century few outstanding leaders in New England looked with favor upon democracy in any form. Certainly they did not believe in popular political institutions. John Winthrop, long the governor of the young colony, was outspoken in his disapproval of democracy. The

¹¹ Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

same was true of John Cotton, the most influential spiritual leader in the early history of Massachusetts. The democratic state had no warrant in Scripture and Winthrop did not propose to see it established in Massachusetts. Winthrop argued that "the best part is always the least, and of that part the wiser part is always the lesser."¹² He wrote:

Democratie is, among most Civill nations accounted the meanest & worst of all formes of Governm't: & therefore in writers, it is branded w'th Reproachfull Epithets as . . . a monster, &c: & Histories doe recorde, that it hath been allwayes of least continuance & fullest of trouble.¹³

In the following passage, John Cotton concisely expressed his conception of church and state and of the location of authority in both.

It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his church: than to accommodate the church frame to the civill state. Democracy, I do not conceive that ever God did ordeyne as a fit government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved, and directed in scripture, yet so as referreth the sovereignty to himselfe, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best forme of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church.¹⁴

Winthrop and Cotton and the small group of ministers and magistrates who dominated early Massachusetts, it must be remembered, had grown up in a semi-feudal society, they had a long tradition of aristocracy behind them, and they believed sincerely that they were the special recipients of God's grace and will. Add to all this the self-interest and the will to power which most men have, and that theocracy in church and state which Cotton lauded becomes intelligible.

Restrictions on the right of suffrage and the subordination of state to church. If political power was to be exercised by God's chosen few, a way must be found to limit the suffrage and to render ineffective the growing insistence of common folk that they be permitted to take a hand in things. For the first sixty years in Massachusetts

¹² Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690*, p. 98. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

¹³ As quoted in Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

the right to vote for representatives to the General Court, as the colonial legislature was called, was restricted to church members. However, to become a church member was no easy matter. First of all, one had to obtain the approval of the minister, who took care that those who were opposed to the existing order were excluded. Having secured the approval of the minister, one must then appear in person before the congregation prepared to lay bare before the public eye the innermost depths of one's soul. As Carl Becker has vividly put it:

to enter its [the church's] portals was an ordeal which the average man will not readily undergo, involving, as an initial procedure, a confession of faults and a profession of faith, a public revelation of inner spiritual condition, an exposure of soul to the searching and curious inspection of the sanctified. . . . To enter the covenant was to renounce all private spiritual possessions, to give one's intimate convictions into the keeping of others, to subscribe to a very communism of the emotional life.¹⁵

Many sensitive persons shrank from the ordeal and chose to go their way without the blessings of church membership. All in all, it is not surprising, therefore, that church membership and the suffrage were confined to a relatively small minority.

In all the other New England colonies, excepting again Rhode Island, there was in the seventeenth century a close relationship between church and state; care was taken not to let political power slip into the hands of those who would use it to challenge the existing order of religious and social arrangements. In Plymouth, the liberalism implicit in Separatism prevented, for a while, the establishment of a state church and the suffrage was more widely extended than in Massachusetts. But even here "liars, drunkards, swearers," Quakers, and other "opponents of the 'true worship of God,'" were denied the ballot. Moreover, to be a "freeman" one must have an estate of twenty pounds. It has been estimated that after 1640 not more than a third of the adult males were "freemen." It is true that certain non-freemen, known as inhabitants, were permitted to vote, but only freemen could serve as members of the legislature or cast a vote for the governor and assistants.¹⁶

Similarly, in Connecticut political institutions were somewhat

¹⁵ Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹⁶ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 168

more liberal than in Massachusetts. Thomas Hooker, the founder of the colony and a liberal of the first rank, had taken sharp issue with the theological oligarchy in Massachusetts, and in Connecticut there was no established church. The suffrage was not conditioned on church membership, but only freemen could vote and only the General Court could admit one to the status of freeman.¹⁷ The restriction on the suffrage was probably not as severe as in Massachusetts; nevertheless, political power was jealously guarded by the favored few. In 1692, the non-freemen were described as being many times the greater number of people. In the colony of New Haven the theocracy was about as strongly entrenched as in Massachusetts. Here, also, church membership was required for voting and a small group of religious leaders, as in Massachusetts, were able to hold office from year to year.¹⁸

Luckily, Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson succeeded in establishing in Rhode Island a haven for all who found Puritanism oppressive. Rhode Island was not, to be sure, a democracy, but there was religious freedom and separation of church and state.

The New England town. A clear understanding of the town is essential for the student of social institutions in New England. Many factors—geographical, economic, and social—operated to bring about this form of community life. Nature had decreed that agriculture in New England should not, as a rule, be carried on in large plantation units, as in the South, but on small farms. Neither the climate nor the soil was conducive to the cultivation of staple crops. For the most part, the soil was thin and stony, although it yielded a fair return to careful husbandry. The intensive form of agriculture which had been adopted contributed to the town form of local social organization. The compact type of settlement was also stimulated by the policy of granting land to community groups rather than to individuals, by the desire of religious leaders to keep congregations from becoming dispersed, and by the existence of good harbors, which soon enticed New Englanders to the sea for fishing and commerce.

Usually a town embraced an irregular area of some twenty to forty square miles. If a group of people, a congregation or part of one, wanted to settle a new town, they petitioned the legislature. If the petition was granted, the boundaries of the town would be laid off

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

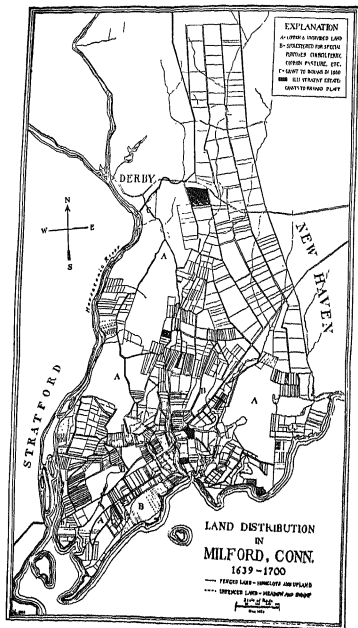
¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

and the title to the land vested in a group known as the proprietors. The town became in reality a corporate entity with the right to send its representatives to the colonial legislature and to manage its own local affairs in town meeting and through its own elected officers. The village site would be laid off, and the land, still held in common proprietorship, would be portioned out in town meeting to the families of the proprietors and to other inhabitants. Each head of a family was usually assigned a home plot ranging from an acre or less to twenty-five or thirty acres. Here he built his home and his barn and perhaps a blacksmith shop or a tannery. If a farmer, he would also be allotted strips of land in the surrounding fields for the cultivation of his crops. All these the individual held as his own, but the woodlands, meadows, and pastures were reserved for common use. The unoccupied land was held for later distribution to newcomers.

The open town meeting was a public forum for the conduct of local affairs. Here town officials, selectmen, were elected, committees of one kind or another appointed, land apportioned to newcomers, and funds voted for the support of schools. In the management of town affairs the democratic spirit was more in evidence than in the management of the affairs of the colony, but, even so, it would be a mistake to suppose that all could participate in the determination of local policy. In Massachusetts, for example, during most of the seventeenth century the town suffrage was bestowed upon all "English-men, that are settled inhabitants and House-holders in any Town, of the age of *twenty-four years*, and of honest and good Conversations, being Rated at *eighty pounds* Estate in a single Country Rate. . . ." ¹⁰ This latter provision was enough to disqualify a large percentage of the inhabitants.

The waning power of the theocracy. For a while the religious leaders of New England were able to maintain an ecclesiastical social order in which the civil authority was used to carry out the policy of the church, but almost from the beginning one notes a popular dissatisfaction with the rule of the few and with the strict regulation of nearly every aspect of private and public life. In a frontier society it was impossible to repress the spirit of democracy and individualism, however much leaders in church and state might invoke divine

¹⁰ W. H. Whitmore (ed.), *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1889), pp. 147-48, as quoted in John Fairfield Sly, *Town Government in Massachusetts (1620-1930)*, pp. 75-76. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.



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sanction of their rule. Gradually, power — political, economic, and social — slipped from the hands of the ministers, magistrates, and gentlemen, who were the early leaders, to the hands of new and important elements in the population, namely, merchants, farmers, and artisans. As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the old order collapsed in Massachusetts, and elsewhere it was undergoing a transformation. As we shall see later, a powerful merchant class had developed which was quite as much interested in its account book as in its Bible and which was out of sympathy with the intolerance and restricted point of view of Puritanism. It was two merchants, Thomas Brattle and Robert Calef, who had the courage to raise their voices in denunciation of the witchcraft persecutions. More important still, perhaps, was the development of a large class of small farmers, the solid core of New England society. This New England yeomanry was essentially democratic and it became increasingly conscious of its strength and importance. As men became busily engaged in building their homes in well-kept, elm-shaded villages, in improving their acres and adding to them, in making in home and shop the articles of everyday use, in building ships, and in competing for profits in the markets of the world, they lost much of the old religious fervor which had impelled their fathers across the sea. The ministers and their magisterial supporters were losing their moral, as well as their political, influence. The banishment of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson in an effort to stifle freedom of thought; the sight of Quakers tied to the tail-ends of carts, stripped to the waist, and beaten on their bare backs as they trudged through village streets; the hangings that occurred during the witchcraft hysteria; the love of power of the Puritan clergy — all these, although they might be paralleled in other parts of the world, tended to turn men away from a religious faith which condemned so many of their friends and neighbors, if not themselves, to eternal punishment.

The ministers, unyielding to the last, were fully aware of the change that was coming over New England life. As Cotton Mather expressed it:

I saw a fearful *degeneracy*, creeping, I cannot say, but rushing in upon these churches. . . . I saw a visible *shrink* in all orders of men among us, from that *greatness*, and that *goodness*, which was the *first grain* that our God brought from *three sifted kingdoms*.²⁰

²⁰ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, I, 249. Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1852.

Similarly, in 1674, Samuel Torrey lamented:

Truely, so it is, the very heart of New-England is changed and exceedingly corrupted with the sins of the Times. [He complained of a] Spirit of Profaneness, a Spirit of Pride, a Spirit of Worldiness, a Spirit of Sensuality, a Spirit of Gainsaying and Rebellion, a Spirit of Libertinism, a Spirit of Carnality, Formality, Hypocrisie and a Spiritual Idolatry in the Worship of God.²¹

The heart of New England was changing. Merchants and small farmers were quietly taking over the control of things and shaping the course of events. A Cotton Mather might still be an impressive figure, or a Jonathan Edwards at a somewhat later date might temporarily stir the emotions of men to their very depths. But the New England theocracy was definitely in its twilight. As the eighteenth century opened, the age-old struggle in which men seek to lay hands on and to operate the power controls of society had moved on to another terrain and new combatants had appeared on the scene. Merchants and farmers were now to fight it out for place and power.

The rule of the theocracy in Massachusetts came to a definite end with the granting of a new charter in 1691 which guaranteed religious freedom to all Protestants and extended the franchise. The right to vote was never again to depend upon church membership. Henceforth to the Revolution all adult males who possessed a forty-shilling freehold or forty or fifty pounds of other property could exercise the suffrage.²² By industry and thrift many could now force open the door to an active citizenship, a door which had hitherto been bolted by a severe test of religious orthodoxy. It is estimated that before the granting of the charter in 1691, about one in four or five of the adult male population had the right of suffrage.²³ The moderate property qualifications contained in the charter made for a material widening of the political base. By the Revolution, approximately 16 per cent of the population of Massachusetts, or two adult males out of three, possessed the suffrage.²⁴ In the rest of New

²¹ In his election sermon of that year at Weymouth, Massachusetts. Lindsay Swift, "The Massachusetts Election Sermons," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications*, I, 402, as quoted in Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

²² Albert Edward McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America*, pp. 353-54. Boston: Published for the University of Pennsylvania, Ginn & Co., 1905.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-35.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 353-57.

England, as in Massachusetts, political power was slipping into the hands of merchants, farmers, and thrifty artisans and mechanics who were able to meet the property qualifications required to vote.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The men who planned the Bible commonwealth in Massachusetts were as jealous of social status as of political power; they were as bent upon maintaining a due subordination of social rank as upon enforcing a conformity of religious belief. Themselves the product of a semi-feudal social order in which class lines were rigidly drawn, they dreamed of establishing in New England an aristocratic society not unlike that of the mother country. To be sure, in the new order they were designing there would be no titled nobility because few of their own number were possessors of titles. But with the upper nobility, the traditional enemy of the smaller landed gentry and the bourgeoisie, eliminated, the social structure which they hoped to establish would closely resemble that of the England they had left. New England, if its early leaders had had their way, would have soon presented a picture of large landed estates cultivated by laborers and tenants and interspersed with the small holdings of a not-too-numerous yeomanry.

Climate and soil in Massachusetts and elsewhere in New England prevented the rise of a numerous landed aristocracy, but they did not prevent the establishment of a society characterized by sharp class distinctions. In the beginning, the dominant social class was made up of ministers and magistrates together with a sprinkling of the smaller landed gentry who had joined the Puritan migration out of England. Most of the members of this class were able, intelligent, and well educated. But in the course of a very few years a merchant class put in its appearance and prosperous merchants were able to force their way into the tightly closed ranks of the social élite.

Glacial soil, for the most part stony and thin, offered little opportunity for the accumulation of fortunes, but good harbors, timber in abundance for the building of ships, and near-by waters teeming with cod, herring, and whale called men to the open sea and challenged them to trade and traffic in the markets of the world. Soon New England-built ships were being sold to England, as many as thirty a year by 1676.²⁵ It was, however, fishing, next to agricul-

²⁵ Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Economic History*, p. 82. New York: Harper & Bros., 1924.

ture, upon which the economic life of early New England was founded. Fishing stimulated the building of ships, and fish constituted the basic commodity of New England commerce. As early as 1641, no less than 300,000 cod were exported and by 1675 more than 600 vessels and 4000 seamen were engaged in the industry.²⁶ New England merchants found it difficult to find a market for what they had to sell in old England, but the sugar planters of the West Indies were glad to exchange their sugar, molasses, indigo, and cotton for New England fish, provisions, horses, and lumber. The fur trade also yielded a neat profit, and New England merchants found it worth their while to exploit the markets of their southern neighbors.

Within a few decades of the planting of the first colonies, a merchant-capitalist class appeared which constantly expanded its economic, social, and political influence. John Holland of Dorchester, for example, left an estate in 1652 valued at 4000 pounds.²⁷ Edward Randolph, an Englishman sent out to Massachusetts in 1676 to investigate the condition of trade, listed 230 vessels of fifty tons or more, all of which were owned in Massachusetts. About thirty merchants, according to his estimate, were possessors of fortunes ranging from 10,000 to 20,000 pounds.²⁸ The ministry might and did look with misgivings upon the rise of a prosperous merchant class which symbolized the change of New England life from an ecclesiastical to a secular basis, but they were powerless to prevent it. As merchants expanded the volume of their trade and added profit to profit, their influence increased wherever they desired to exercise it.

The members of the dominant social class — minister, magistrate, and merchant — exercised all the devices at their command to maintain their social position and to keep all below them in due subordination. Indians were enslaved as much as possible, and, when the supply ran out, Negroes were imported from Africa by all who could afford them. Numerous laws were enacted to keep the wages of artisans and laborers down.²⁹ One had to be of superior social position to bear the title of "gentleman" or to be addressed as "mister." Pews in the village church were assigned on the basis of social status, and on the Sabbath morning each must take his place in the pew that had been assigned him. One of the perplexing

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁷ Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁸ William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789*, I, 265. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1890.

²⁹ Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

problems of village life, and one requiring an almost endless meeting of committees, was to appraise the official position, the wealth, and age of the various inhabitants in order that all might be seated in the proper order of precedence. The law was ready with heavy fines to punish any who might see fit to intrude into the pews which belonged to their betters.

Class distinctions were also reflected in the manner of dress permitted; it was not enough that clothes should hide one's nakedness and keep one warm, they must also reveal the social class to which one belonged. And when men and women of "mean condition" began to dress like their superiors, began to wear long hair, silken hose, and golden buttons, men in place and position took alarm and promptly enacted laws to put a stop to this tendency to disturb the well-ordered ranks of society. Thus, in 1651, an act of the General Court of Massachusetts expressed the attitude of the ruling class as follows:

We declare our utter detestation and dislike that men and women of meane Condition should take upon themselves the garb of gentlemen, by wearing gold or silver lace or buttons, or points at their knees or to walk in bootes or women of the same rancke to weare silke or tiffany horlles or scarfes, which though allowable to persons of greater estates, or more liberal education, yet we cannot but judge it intollerable in persons of such like condition.³⁰

The court records contain many instances of prosecutions for violation of laws against extravagant dress. In 1673, thirty women in the towns of Springfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, and Westfield were indicted as "persons of small estate who use to wear silk contrary to law." Three years later, thirty-eight women and thirty young men were brought into court, "some for wearing silk, some for long hair and other extravagancies."³¹

Second in social rank in seventeenth-century New England was a large middle class composed of small farmers and skilled artisans. Working their own small farms themselves or plying their trade as carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, millers, weavers, fullers, tailors, coopers, and bricklayers, the members of this class were not only the most numerous, but in many respects the most important, element in New England society. Industrious, ambitious, and un-

³⁰ As quoted in Jernegan, *American Colonies, op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.

³¹ As quoted in Weedon, *op. cit.*, I, 289.

ashamed to work with their own hands, they were giving labor a dignity it had not known before. As the years passed, they achieved an economic well-being and a self-respect that could not be ignored, and when the suffrage was changed to a property basis, many of them were in a position to participate directly in shaping public policy. This growing middle class, with its insistence on its importance and its rights, was an unwelcome intruder into the ranks of society as planned by the early leaders of New England, but it was destined to give New England life its essentially democratic character.

Below the yeoman and skilled artisans were the tenant farmers and wage-earners. The latter consisted of such persons as journeymen, farm or dock hands, and unskilled laborers in general. Denied the right to vote and usually addressed by the Christian name alone, members of this class constituted a definitely dependent and inferior group. Below them were the indentured servants, and, at the very bottom of society, Indian and Negro slaves. Members of these two lowest classes were never exceedingly numerous because, as a rule, they did not possess the skill which the New England economy demanded of its workers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

CONFLICTING VIEWS OF THE EARLY SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN NEW ENGLAND

Few aspects of colonial life are as difficult to appraise correctly and dispassionately as the educational policies and practices of New England, and this is especially true of the seventeenth century. Historians disagree sharply with respect to the essential purposes of education, the extent to which it was made available to the masses, and the influence of New England upon later educational development in other parts of the nation. Thus, Professor S. E. Morison, of Harvard, views the schools and colleges of colonial New England as a heroic effort of a pioneer people to cultivate the intellectual life, to perpetuate the ideals of a liberal education, and to keep the flame of humanism from being extinguished by the demands of sheer physical living.

It was no small feat to keep alive the traditions of classical antiquity in a region that had never known the grandeur that was Rome, the glory that was Greece. The New England schools and

colleges did just that; and handed down a priceless classical tradition to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—only to see it mangled and thrown aside by the professional educators and progressive pedagogues of our own day and generation.³² [He also insists that] the purpose of the first New England college was higher education in the broadest sense, not a specialized training in Protestant theology.³³

Charles and Mary Beard, however, regard the famous Act of Massachusetts in 1647 as an attempt to impose on all children the Puritan creed.³⁴ Professor Edgar W. Knight, of the University of North Carolina, likewise views the Act of 1647 as "an effort to restrict the influence of Catholics and adherents to the English Church and to impose the Puritan creed upon this first generation of native-born New Englanders."³⁵ Merle E. Curti, of the University of Wisconsin, regards education in New England, as elsewhere in the colonies, as serving primarily the ends of institutionalized religion and the class structure of society.³⁶

Similar disagreement exists with respect to the actual working of the educational system. "In popular education," writes Professor E. B. Andrews, "New England led not only the continent but the world, there being a school-house, often several, in each town. Every native adult in Massachusetts and Connecticut was able to read and write."³⁷ But Professor Charles M. Andrews, writing at a later date, says that the laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance, and that, when honestly enforced, the results obtained were not noteworthy.³⁸

To one group of historians our system of public, free democratic educational institutions stems from New England Puritanism; in the early legislation relating to education and schools, some see the design of things to come, the essential principles of a democratic school system. Thus, Professor Ellwood P. Cubberley saw in the

³² Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Pronaos*, pp. 15-16. New York: New York University Press, 1936.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁴ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, I, 179.

³⁵ Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 85. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934 (new edition).

³⁶ Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 4-5. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part X. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

³⁷ E. Benjamin Andrews, *History of the United States*, I, 128. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894 (revised edition).

³⁸ As cited in Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Massachusetts Act of 1647 "the cornerstone of our American state school systems." He attaches great importance to the fact that the state in New England was the active agent in compelling the establishment and maintenance of schools. "It can be safely asserted," he says, "in the light of later developments, that the two laws of 1642 and 1647 represent the foundations upon which our American state public-school systems have been built."³⁹ Again one meets opposing views. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard say:

These laws, which seem to have been honored in the breach as well as in the observance, have been greeted by a modern educator as making for the first time in the English language "a legally valid assertion of the right of the state to require of local communities that they establish and maintain schools of general learning." The unwary are liable to be misled by this contention. Unquestionably the first of these acts was conceived partly in the spirit of the English poor law; while the second flowed from a great desire to impose on all children the creed of the Puritan sect. The fact that the education was ordered by "the state" was of no special significance, for the state and church were one in Massachusetts at the time; indeed, if the Mathers were to be believed, the church was superior to the state.⁴⁰

Professor Edgar W. Knight likewise fails to discover in the Act of 1647 a foundation stone upon which the American educational system was later constructed:

Into the provisions of this act . . . strange meanings have been tortured. It has been claimed that here are the beginnings of those secular features which now characterize the American school system. In no American sense, however, does this appear to be a provision for public schools. The authority asserted was that of the Puritan congregation, which was identical with the state but was more powerful than it. . . . But it may be seriously questioned whether the "old deluder" act [Act of 1647] was not an obstacle instead of an aid to free, universal, secular education.⁴¹

Education in seventeenth-century New England, as always and everywhere, was anchored in the society of which it was a part; it operated within the purposes and ideals of the contemporary social

³⁹ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The History of Education*, p. 366. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

⁴⁰ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.

⁴¹ Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-07.

order. As we have seen in the preceding sections of this chapter, the founders of New England were primarily concerned with the establishment of ecclesiastical commonwealths buttressed by the authority of the civil state. They had in mind a definite way of life and they proposed to use the state, which they themselves controlled, to carry it into effect. One will fail to see the broader significance of educational legislation in the early years of the history of New England unless one views this legislation as a part of the whole body of laws employed by the founders to give effect to their ideas with respect to religion, government, and the arrangement of social classes. In Massachusetts, especially, laws were enacted to regulate nearly every aspect of life, private and public, spiritual and material. Resort was had to the civil authority to enforce religious orthodoxy, to persecute and drive out heretics, to control the press, to keep wages down, to maintain class distinctions through the regulation of dress, and to regulate manners and morals in the greatest detail. In a society in which the spirit of authoritarianism was so strong, it would have been passing strange if no attempt had been made through institutionalized education to socialize youth in terms of the core values of the existing order.

The leaders of early New England saw very clearly that education could be a powerful agency of social control and direction, that "the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Common-wealth." Accordingly, they used the state as a means of requiring the establishment and maintenance of schools to promote the interests of church and commonwealth, which were but the reverse sides of the same thing. But it must not be supposed that either church or commonwealth was democratic in the modern sense — democracy was not yet the order of the day either in the American colonies, in old England, or elsewhere. It is clear that those responsible for the enactment of the educational legislation in early New England were not consciously promoting the interests of a democratic society, for, as we have already seen, they regarded democracy as the meanest form of political organization. Education and the schools would serve the interests of the commonwealth, but it was the Puritan commonwealth and not the democratic state of later years they had in mind.

Fundamental principles of social policy have a way of outliving the particular circumstances in which they develop. So it was with

the principle that "the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Common-wealth," whether the common-wealth be democratic or otherwise. It must be said to the credit of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, that it put this important principle into practical operation and passed it on as a legacy to future generations. That every well-ordered state, regardless of the ideology governing its organization, should maintain an efficient system of public schools became firmly fixed in the New England tradition. As time passed and the New England commonwealths emancipated themselves from aristocratic and clerical control and became more democratic, this old principle in a new setting became a dynamic force in the development of American democracy.

Another contribution of New England is scarcely less important. It is that the state should be concerned with the education of all children whether rich or poor, that the school should be open to all the children of the community. Here, again, the founding fathers wrought better than they knew. Their purpose was not equalitarianism; schools were not designed to open the doors to social and political opportunity, but to bring youth to a willing acceptance of the prevailing pattern of religious, political, and social arrangements. In the kind of social order the leaders had planned, it was essential that schools be established and that all have an opportunity to attend. This principle, too, outlived the circumstances of its origin. As democratic commonwealths emerged during the national period in New England and elsewhere, early New England practice was not without its influence in the establishment of the policy of opening the schools to all, regardless of class background or economic condition.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONY-WIDE SYSTEMS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

During the period from 1642 to 1671, all the New England colonies except Rhode Island were brought under the operation of statutes designed to insure that all children acquire the minimum education regarded as essential in the Puritan commonwealth. None of these statutes requiring compulsory education, it must be kept in mind, made any reference to the maintenance of schools or to attendance on schools. The state prescribed the minimum educational standards, but the responsibility for meeting the standards

[illegible][illegible]

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was placed squarely on the home. If the home failed, then the institution of apprenticeship was relied upon as a means of accomplishing the desired ends. All the compulsory-educational legislation of New England had this one thing in common: if parents or masters did not teach the child to read, or to write, or the principles of religion, or a trade, as the statutes might require, the child was to be taken away from the parent or master and apprenticed to someone who would carry out the intent of the law.

This compulsory-educational legislation was clearly an extension of the poor laws of old England as embodied in the statutes of 1562 and 1601. The Statute of Artificers (1562), among other things, made provision for a nation-wide system of apprenticeship. But the poor continued to increase, and in the Poor Law Act of 1601 special attention was given to the apprenticeship of poor children. In each parish, the justices of the peace were required to nominate overseers of the poor, whose duty it was, together with the church wardens and certain other householders, to place out poor children as apprentices. The main intent of the law, in this respect, was to provide for the maintenance of children rather than to insure that they be taught a trade, or otherwise be educated.⁴² But in the New England colonies, and, as we shall see later, in other colonies as well, the English Poor Law was enlarged upon and extended so as to provide both vocational and academic education.

In 1642, the General Court of Massachusetts enacted a statute which made it the duty of all parents and masters to see to it that the children under their care be taught a trade and the elements of reading. The selectmen of the several towns were required, under penalty of a fine, to determine whether parents and masters were teaching their children and apprentices some calling or trade and whether children were being taught to read sufficiently well to enable them to understand "the principles of religion and the capital lawes of the country." It was also the duty of the selectmen, with the consent of any court or magistrate, to put out as apprentices the children of such as were not "able and fit to employ them and bring them up" as the law required. Of course, persons to whom children were apprenticed were required to teach them a trade and the elements of reading.

⁴² Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783*, p. 177. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

This act remained in force until 1648, when it was modified in some respects. It was still the duty of the selectmen to see to it that children and apprentices were taught to read in order that they might be able to read "perfectly" the English tongue and thereby arrive at a knowledge of the capital laws. Children and apprentices were also to learn an orthodox catechism and be able to answer questions propounded to them in regard to it. And, finally, all parents and masters were required to "bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labor, or imployment." Again, as in 1642, the selectmen could, with the help of two magistrates or the county court, take children and apprentices from families in case the requirements of the law were not being met and apprentice them to someone who would carry out the intent of the law. Boys were to be apprenticed until twenty-one years of age and girls until eighteen.⁴³

Three distinct motives were back of these laws requiring universal education. The economic motive is very obvious. In a frontier society such as this there was great need for skilled labor, the price of labor was high, and the general tendency was for artisans to become small farmers. One sees, too, the desire to prevent the development of a numerous pauper class such as infested the parishes of old England and raised the cost of poor relief. In some respects the Act of 1642 was a poor-relief measure in that it would shift the burden of caring for poor and neglected children from the town government to the masters to whom the children were apprenticed. The religious motive is so obvious as to require little comment. It was fundamental that all children be taught to read in order that they might understand the principles of religion upon which the whole social experiment was based. And, finally, the political motive is reflected in the requirement that all be taught to read in order that they might understand the capital laws. This provision in the act had reference to a broadside published in Cambridge in 1642 under the title "Capital Lawes."⁴⁴ This insistence that youth be able to read and acquire a knowledge of the capital laws takes on added significance when one recalls how the state undertook to regulate so many of the details of the individual's life.

The Massachusetts Act of 1642, as amended in 1648, became a

⁴³ Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America*, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

⁴⁴ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

model for all the other New England colonies except Rhode Island. In its Code of 1650, Connecticut adopted almost verbatim the Massachusetts Act of 1648. New Haven, which was an independent colony from 1638 until its union with Connecticut in 1665, provided for a system of compulsory education in 1655.⁴⁵ The act made no reference to training for a trade as the Massachusetts and Connecticut acts had done, but it went farther than either of them in its provision for education of an academic type. The deputies of the court in each plantation, or other officers in public trust, were ordered to see to it that children and apprentices "attain at least so much as to be able duly to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue . . . and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of Christian religion necessary to salvation."⁴⁶ Parents and masters failing to give the children under their care the required education were to be warned, and, if that did not bring the desired results, they were subject to a fine. And if the system of fines proved ineffective, the proper officers were authorized to apprentice the neglected children to someone who would carry out the intent of the law. Five years later, in 1660, the law was amended so as to require that all boys be taught to write a legible hand. By 1660, then, New Haven had developed the most comprehensive system of compulsory education to be found in New England, or, for that matter, in any other place in the world. Of course, after Connecticut absorbed the colony in 1665, the Connecticut Act of 1650 became operative throughout the enlarged colony.

Plymouth was the last of the New England colonies to adopt the policy of compulsory education. Its Act of 1671 embodied a number of the provisions of the Massachusetts Acts of 1612 and 1648, together with some of the provisions of the New Haven Act of 1655. Children and apprentices were to be taught to read, to have a knowledge of the capital laws, to understand the principles of the Christian religion necessary for salvation, and to be given training in some lawful calling, labor, or employment. The deputies and selectmen were authorized to warn and fine neglectful parents and masters,

⁴⁵ Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America*, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁴⁶ *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven from May, 1653, to the Union*, pp. 583-84 (edited by Charles J. Hoadly. Hartford, 1858), as quoted in Elsie W. Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments*, p. 79. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899.

and, where necessary, to take children from parents and apprentice them to masters who would carry out the requirements of the law.

With the enactment of the Plymouth law of 1671, all of New England except Rhode Island came under the operation of a compulsory-education act. New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts from 1641 to 1679, as was Maine from 1652 to the end of the colonial period. Rhode Island, with its emphasis upon religious and political freedom, was always the "land of the other-minded." Compulsory socialization of youth in terms of a dominant religious or political ideology was no part of its public policy.

The enforcement of compulsory-education legislation. These early compulsory-education statutes were by no means paper laws; the statutes themselves contained adequate provisions for their enforcement, and existing town and court records indicate that a serious attempt was made to enforce them. The records disclose that, in some instances at least, parents and masters were brought into court for failure to carry out the requirements of the statutes, and sometimes, too, the selectmen of the town were indicted for neglect of duty in enforcing the compulsory-education acts. Just how well these laws were enforced it is difficult to say. In 1690, the General Court of Connecticut complained that many persons were unable to read the English language and thereby incapable of reading "the holy word of God or the good laws of the colony."⁴⁷ Of course, small, pioneer farming communities could scarcely be expected to possess the material or intellectual resources necessary to enable them to realize the high ideal of universal literacy. But that popular education was materially advanced by these early New England statutes does not appear to be open to doubt.

Declining interest in compulsory education. During the closing quarter of the seventeenth century, conditions in New England were such as to bring about a substantial modification of legislation requiring compulsory education. Soon after the opening of the eighteenth century, there was no place in New England where the law required that all children be taught to read.⁴⁸ A number of factors help to explain this change in policy. For one thing, religion was beginning to lose its dynamic force in New England life; as the second and third generations of New Englanders came on the

⁴⁷ Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

scene, they were much less disposed to follow the leadership of the ministry than had been the case with their fathers. Then, too, in 1675 Indian wars broke out with a severity that dislocated to a considerable extent the economic and social life of the people. These wars accompanied, if they did not occasion, a general lowering of old standards of behavior. The General Court of Connecticut found it necessary to legislate against some of the contemporary evils which it alleged had been produced by the Indian wars. Among the conditions to be corrected were:

prophanation of the Sabbath; neglect of catechising of children and servants, and family prayer; young persons shaking of the government of parents or masters; boarders and inmates neglecting the worship of God in the families where they reside; tippling and drinking; uncleanness; oppression, in workmen and traders.⁴⁹

The Indian wars and their disruptive consequences were followed by what is known as the Andros régime. From 1686 to 1689 all the New England colonies, it will be recalled, were united in one dominion under the governorship of Sir Edmund Andros. The old colonial charters were revoked and laws made for all New England by the governor and a single council. During the Andros régime all laws relating to the compulsory education of children were in effect repealed.⁵⁰ The closing years of the seventeenth century marked a decline in the zeal for compulsory education and, as we shall see in the next chapter, during the eighteenth century the policy of compulsory education for all was completely abandoned.

COMPULSORY MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS

The statutes requiring compulsory education, as pointed out previously, contained no provisions with respect to compulsory-school attendance. In fact, no mention was made in them of schools at all; the whole responsibility for the education of children was placed upon parents and masters. Whether children were taught in the home or sent to an organized school, in case such a school existed, was a matter which parents and masters would have to decide for themselves. It soon became apparent, however, that schools would have to be maintained if children and youth were to receive the amount and kind of education deemed essential by the leaders of church and commonwealth.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Voluntary establishment of town schools paves the way for compulsory-school legislation. Beginning in 1635, a number of the towns in Massachusetts and in some of the other New England colonies took measures to establish schools, even though there was no law as yet which required them to do so. The town records of Boston disclose that in 1635 one Philemon Pormont was entreated to become schoolmaster in that town, and many writers have dated the founding of the Boston Latin School from the date of this invitation. It is not known, however, whether Pormont accepted the invitation or whether a school was actually opened. In fact, the records do not disclose that the town of Boston appropriated funds for the support of any kind of school before 1643.⁸¹ It is true that in 1636, at a meeting of the richer inhabitants of Boston, a subscription was taken for the maintenance of a "free school," but if the school was actually opened, it must have been supported for a number of years by contributions and tuition fees. In 1644, however, the records do disclose that the town of Boston appropriated eight pounds toward the keeping of a school during the previous year. This may have been the Boston Latin Grammar School, but the evidence on this point is not conclusive. It may be pointed out in passing that the origin of the Boston Latin School is shrouded in uncertainty despite the many positive assertions that it was established in 1635.

By 1647, as Professor Marcus Wilson Jernegan has shown, eleven of the sixty towns in New England had "voluntarily established, managed, and supported town schools."⁸² The methods adopted to support these schools were many and varied. In some instances, land belonging to the town was set aside as an endowment, as in Boston and Dedham; land belonging to private individuals was donated, as in Dorchester; or taxes were levied on all property-holders, as in Charlestown. In most places those able to pay were charged tuition.

The voluntary action of these towns was paving the way for a new educational policy, namely, that of compulsory maintenance of schools on the part of all towns of a certain size. The same general motives which prompted the enactment of compulsory-education legislation also prompted the passage of laws requiring the maintenance of schools.

Legislative provisions for compulsory town schools. In carrying the policy of compulsory schools into operation, Massachusetts again

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

took the initiative. In 1647, the General Court passed an act which was the basis of the public-school system of Massachusetts for many years and which was influential in the establishment of the public-school systems of other New England colonies as well. As previously indicated, some have seen in this statute the beginning of the American public free school system; others see in it only an attempt to impose the Puritan faith on the oncoming generation.

After setting forth in the preamble the religious motive for requiring the establishment of schools, the act goes on to provide that towns of fifty householders shall appoint a teacher to teach "all such children as shall resort to him to write and read," the teacher to be "paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint." The act further required that all towns of one hundred families or householders should set up a grammar school to prepare youth for Harvard College. Neglect or refusal to obey the law was punishable by a fine of five pounds. This act is of such importance that we quote it in full with the spelling modernized.

It being one chief object of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,

It is therefore ordered, That every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint: *Provided*, Those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns; and

It is further ordered, That where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth

so far as they may be fitted for the university: *Provided*, That if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order.⁵³

This act, with some modifications, remained in force during the rest of the seventeenth century. In 1671, the fine was increased to ten pounds and later (1683) to twenty pounds in the case of towns of two hundred families. The act was so amended in 1683 as to require all towns of five hundred families to maintain two reading and writing schools and two Latin grammar schools. After Massachusetts became a royal province, the law was re-enacted with some modifications. Towns of fifty families must now be constantly provided with a schoolmaster to teach children to read and write and every town of one hundred families was required to set up a grammar school and procure for it "a discreet person of good conversation and well instructed in the tongues."

The Massachusetts Act of 1647 became the basis of legislation in other New England colonies. Connecticut adopted it practically verbatim in 1650. New Haven passed no act requiring towns to establish schools, but when it was annexed to Connecticut in 1665 the Connecticut Act became operative in it. Soon after the two colonies were united, the law was changed so as to require only one grammar school in each of the four counties. In 1677, the General Court complained that the law in regard to the maintenance of Latin grammar schools was not being obeyed and the fine was increased to ten pounds. The following year the law was also made more strict with respect to reading and writing schools. Now all towns of thirty families were required to keep a reading and writing school. After the overthrow of the Andros régime, to which attention has been called, only two towns in Connecticut, Hartford and New Haven, were required to maintain Latin schools.

Plymouth, due perhaps, in part, to the fact that among its leaders there were fewer university graduates than was the case in Massachusetts and Connecticut, was somewhat slow in getting its program of public education under way. As early as 1658, the General Court recommended to the towns that they consider securing schoolmasters to teach children to read and write. In 1673, the General Court set aside thirty-three pounds annually from the profits arising from the

⁵³ As quoted in Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Cape Cod fisheries for the maintenance of a grammar school. Later, in 1677, all towns of fifty families or more which maintained a grammar school were to receive from five to ten pounds from the proceeds of the fisheries, and all towns of seventy families which did not maintain a grammar school were required to pay five pounds annually to the next town that did maintain one.⁵⁴ After Plymouth was incorporated into Massachusetts in 1691, the Massachusetts laws, of course, governed the enlarged colony.

Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont were part of Massachusetts and subject to its laws requiring compulsory schools. New Hampshire became an independent colony in 1679, but it failed for a number of years to place on its statute books any requirements for the maintenance of schools. In 1693, however, an act was passed requiring all towns (Dover excepted) to provide a schoolmaster under a penalty of ten pounds fine.⁵⁵ As we have already seen, Rhode Island refused to pass any legislation requiring compulsory education. Similarly, it never required any of its towns to establish and maintain schools. This is not to be taken to mean, however, that Rhode Island was without the benefit of institutionalized education.

Motives for the enactment of compulsory-school legislation. The body of legislation requiring the maintenance of schools enacted by the New England colonies during the seventeenth century was indeed remarkable. Nowhere else in the English-speaking world, and perhaps in no other place at all, had the state or any other social agency taken such vigorous measures to provide schools for the education of children and youth. The reason for the enactment of these laws has sometimes been found in the intense religious zeal of early New England leaders, in the desire to make education serve the needs of institutionalized religion. Such a generalization is too facile, the explanation is too simple. It is no doubt true that the religious motive was stronger than any other, but the spirit of humanism was also present. Certainly, there was some appreciation of "good literature" for its own sake, some regard for the humanizing and liberalizing influence of the great writers of classical antiquity. As the General Court of Plymouth expressed it in 1677, in the preamble to its law requiring the establishment of grammar schools,

⁵⁴ *Plymouth Colony Records*, XI, 246-47, as quoted in Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, p. 303. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

⁵⁵ This statute seems not to have been published in the laws and there is some doubt that it was ever passed.

"the Maintainance of good litterature doth much tend to the advancement of the weale and flourishing estate of societies and Republicues."⁶⁶ Finally, the fact must not be overlooked, and this is of great importance, that the founders of New England had a planned society in mind; the social design was worked out in much detail. This design included not alone the establishment of the true church; it included also the relation of church and state, the location of religious and political authority, and the orderly arrangement of social classes. The leaders knew well the essential elements in the cultural pattern they were trying to establish and they hoped to give these elements a permanency and a stability. Life in nearly all of its aspects was to be lived according to an ordered pattern; practically every stimulus was to have its definite and known response. Not only was one to know the kind of behavior expected of him; one was enveloped by a multitude of legal sanctions aimed to enforce obedience. Under such circumstances it was highly important that all be able to read the "capital lawes." It is to the credit of New England leaders that they had the mental acumen to discern that institutionalized education is an important instrument for inducting the individual into his culture. Also, it was important to the future development of public education in America that New England leadership utilized the civil state as a means of establishing and maintaining schools.

The enforcement of the law. It seems clear that educational policy in seventeenth-century New England was formulated by a small group of educated leaders, most of whom were numbered among the clergy; it is not at all clear how well they succeeded in getting the masses to obey the laws they were able to put on the statute books. On this point historians have sharply disagreed. Some hold that the laws requiring the maintenance of schools were more honored in the breach than in the observance, while others hold that they were reasonably well enforced. As a matter of fact, sufficient documentary evidence, in the form of town and court records, does not exist to give one anything like an adequate picture of the operation of these laws. We do know, however, that enforcement, especially of the provisions relating to the maintenance of Latin grammar schools, was often inadequate; it is equally true that these

⁶⁶ *Plymouth Colony Records*, XI, 246-47, as quoted in Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

laws were by no means dead letters. From the fragmentary town and court records, it is clear that many of the New England towns before 1700 undertook seriously to maintain schools; it is clear, too, that some were negligent of the matter and that some even exhibited great cleverness in evading the law.

The town records disclose that Boston began appropriating funds for the support of a school as early as 1644. This was probably a Latin grammar school from the beginning, and, so far as the records disclose, it was the only school in Boston receiving public support until the opening of a writing school in 1684. It is not clear how the town of Boston met the legal requirement under the law of 1647 to maintain a school to teach children to read and write. Charlestown opened a school in 1636, agreeing with Mr. William Witherell to keep the school for twelve months at a salary of forty pounds.⁵⁷ In 1661, the famous Ezekiel Cheever was the master in Charlestown, which would seem to indicate that the school being kept was a Latin school. Ten years later, in the contract with Benjamin Thompson, it was agreed that he should "prepare such youth as are capable of it for the college."⁵⁸ In a town meeting in Cambridge in 1648, it was agreed that some of the town common land should be sold "for the gratifying of Mr. Corlett for his pains in keeping a school in the town . . . provided it shall not prejudice the cow common."⁵⁹

Many other examples of town action in establishing schools might be cited. But not all the towns were obeying the law. The court records of Essex County show that during a period of forty-four years six towns were indicted for failure to obey the law, although only one was actually fined. One of these six towns, Haverhill, was presented on three different occasions.⁶⁰ Failure to keep the statutory schools seems to have become more common during the last thirty years of the century. Writing in 1672, Thomas Shepard, a minister in Charlestown, said: "There is a great decay in Inferiour Schools; it were well if that also were examined, and the Cause thereof removed, and the Foundations laid for Free-Schools [Latin grammar], where poor Scholars might be there educated by some Publick

⁵⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, Vol. XX; MS. *Town Records*, 1629-64, II, ii, as adapted from Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America*, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁵⁸ As quoted in Walter Herbert Small, *Early New England Schools*, p. 4. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1914.

⁵⁹ As quoted in Small, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁰ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Stock." ⁶¹ In 1689, Cotton Mather complained of the "too general Want of Education in the Rising Generation." ⁶² In 1667, the General Court of Connecticut raised the fine for failure to keep a Latin school from five to ten pounds, giving as its reason the neglect in some places to obey the law. And in Massachusetts, just after the turn of the century, in 1701, the General Court complained that many towns were neglecting to enforce the compulsory-school law.⁶³

The evidence indicates that the Latin grammar schools received less popular support than the reading and writing schools. Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, of Harvard University, after a careful examination of the records, concludes that eleven towns in New England had Latin schools of one kind or another for an appreciable length of time during the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Small, on the basis of town records, drew up a list of twenty-seven towns in which grammar schools were kept for a shorter or longer period of time. He makes the following significant generalizations about the Latin school of the seventeenth century:

This list shows that in two generations as many as twenty-seven grammar schools were begun, and possibly seven others; and one was attempted but lacked popular support. At this time there were eighty-one towns in Massachusetts. It is unfortunate that the population of these towns cannot be ascertained, to enable us to know how fully they conformed to the law. The 1765 census in Massachusetts showed one hundred eighty-four towns, of which only eighty-one had over a thousand inhabitants. From this it might be inferred that the proportion of towns having grammar schools in 1700 was as large as it should have been; that, in fact, nearly all towns had complied with the law. Another view, however, is obtained from a list of polls given in by twenty towns in Middlesex county (Massachusetts) in 1708. Nine of the twenty showed more than one hundred families, but only five had attempted a grammar school, and but four had succeeded in its establishment. The list of Harvard graduates from 1644 to 1700 shows that some towns credited with grammar schools did not send a single student to the college, while other towns, for instance, Salisbury, Plymouth in 1646, Dedham, Ipswich, and Concord, even before their schools were established, sent students, evidently prepared by the ministers of the towns. The

⁶¹ *Eye-Salve* (Cambridge, 1673), quoted in Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, I, 330, as quoted in Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶² *The Way to Prosperity* (Boston, 1690), pp. 33-34, as quoted in Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶³ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

great body of the college students came from the well-established and continuous schools at Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Charlestown. When all obtainable light has been shed upon the subject but one conclusion can be reached: the grammar school was not a popular institution; it was conceived, supported, and perpetuated by the few; its extension was slow; its course in most towns was erratic; and yet, considering all the struggles of this period, it was a marvelous institution, the bed rock of future educational systems.⁶⁵

SCHOOLS AND THE CONTENT OF INSTRUCTION

The schools of early New England — the dame school, the writing school, the Latin grammar school, and the college — were all definitely imitations of the schools of old England.

The dame school. It had long been the custom in England for some woman in the community to gather a few children into her home and to teach them, for a small fee, their A B C's and the rudiments of reading while she carried on the routine work of the household. The dame school, as this type of school was called, was early transplanted to New England. Since dame schools were, as a rule, private ventures not required by law or supported by public funds, the records of their existence are very incomplete. There is reason to believe, however, that they were relatively numerous in the seventeenth century. Since the Latin grammar schools and even the town reading and writing schools usually required that pupils entering them be able to read at least simple English, many children must have begun their education in a dame school. In most New England communities the dame school was supported by the small tuition fees paid by the children's parents, but in some instances it was supported partially or wholly by public funds. It may seem strange today that the town schools proper were not open to beginning pupils, that the responsibility for the initial stage of the child's education should have been placed on the home. But, after all, education in New England was primarily a family responsibility. As we have already seen, the whole body of compulsory-education legislation was framed without reference to schools or schooling; parents were left to their own devices to meet the requirements of the law. And when town schools were established to which children might be sent, the home was not relieved of the whole of its responsibility. The dame school, kept by some woman in her home to

⁶⁵ Small, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.



U.S. Office of Education

The Dame School

teach the children of the community, and perhaps her own as well, represented the first step in the development of a system of institutionalized education.

The curriculum of the dame school was a simple matter. Pupils were taught their A B C's, a little spelling, the rudiments of reading, and moral and religious precepts. Girls were frequently taught sewing and knitting and the making of samplers. An occasional dame might undertake to teach her wards a little writing and counting, but as a rule these were activities to be carried on in more advanced types of schools. Both boys and girls could attend the dame school, and the boys, after having learned to read words of two or three syllables, could go on to the town reading and writing school or the Latin school. But for girls the dame school marked the end of formal education, unless, perchance, some member of the family or a private tutor carried them farther along the road of learning.

The public elementary school. The writing school was a second type of educational institution brought over by the colonists. It gave special attention to writing and arithmetic, although instruction in

reading was frequently provided for boys who needed it. The teaching of writing and arithmetic required special ability; it also required special equipment, such as pens, paper, and ink. It was, perhaps, due to these special requirements that the writing school had developed as an institution separate from the reading school. In this country, however, the tendency was for the town vernacular elementary school to give instruction in all three subjects — reading, writing, and arithmetic, although the teaching of arithmetic in the seventeenth century was not particularly common outside commercial centers. The law requiring towns to maintain schools at the lower levels usually required that provision be made for teaching children to read and write. Although children were supposed to have made some progress in reading before entering the town school, and in some instances were excluded if they had not done so, instruction in reading and writing was commonly provided in the town elementary school regardless of its name. In Boston, for example, there were only two types of public schools, the Latin school and the writing school. But in 1684, when the first writing school was opened, the master was appointed to teach children to read and write.⁶⁰ Although the separate writing school was not unknown and in some instances writing and arithmetic were taught by a special "scrivener" who moved about from place to place, the writing school never became very popular. Sometimes, as at Boston, the town elementary school was known as the writing school, but it afforded instruction in reading as well as in writing and arithmetic. In common practice, the private, or semi-public, dame school initiated the child into the mysteries of reading, and when the pupil went on to the public town school, he continued his reading and took up writing and perhaps arithmetic also. Thus, the typical American elementary school of the three R's gradually took form.

The Latin grammar school. The classical tradition was one of the most powerful influences on the development of education in New England. The Puritans were the children of the Reformation; they were also the heirs of the Renaissance, more so than they themselves suspected. The secondary schools of sixteenth-century England, on the model of which the Latin grammar schools of New England were constructed, were in large measure the product of

⁶⁰ Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Public Schools of Colonial Boston, 1635-1775*, p. 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

two great movements; from the Reformation they drew their religious purpose and from the Renaissance their classical content. In the Latin schools of old England, the scholars studied little but Latin and Greek for seven years or so. The ideal was to teach boys to read, write, and speak Latin as a living language and to ground them in the rudiments of Greek. Some attention, of course, was given to religious instruction, but none to mathematics, science, history, or modern languages. For seven years the youthful scholars struggled with the intricacies of Latin grammar or the reading of such classic Latin authors as Cicero, Terence, Caesar, Livy, Virgil, and Horace. After a grounding in Greek grammar, they took up the study of Isocrates, Hesiod, or Homer.⁶⁷

A striking fact about education in colonial New England was the closeness with which the curriculum followed that of the mother country, and of no institution does this seem to have been more true than of the Latin grammar school. It is true that we have no exact account of the curriculum of any of the Latin schools of seventeenth-century New England,⁶⁸ but from the entrance requirements of Harvard College and from the curriculum of the Boston Latin School in 1712, it seems reasonable to suppose that the English model was followed very closely. The Latin schools, it will be remembered, were designed to prepare pupils for entrance to Harvard and the entrance requirements of the college in 1642 are probably a reliable index of the content of the Latin-school curriculum at that time and for some years to come. The entrance requirements were as follows:

When any Schollar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classically Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speak true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigim's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.⁶⁹

We have also an exact account of the program of instruction in the Boston Latin School in the year 1712. There is evidence that the curriculum had been in effect under Ezekiel Cheever, master of the school for many years preceding his death in 1708. Morison

⁶⁷ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶⁹ *New England's First Fruits* (London, 1643), *Mass. Hist. Col.*, 1792, I, 242-46, as quoted in Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, p. 292.

describes and comments on the curriculum of the Boston Latin School as follows:

The three first years were spent in learning by heart an "Accidence" or Beginning Latin Book, together with the *Nomenclator*, a *Latin-English phrasebook and vocabulary called Sententiae Pueriles*, and for construing and parsing the *Distichia* attributed to Dionysius Cato, a collection of maxims popular since the early Christian era. Corderius's Colloquies and Aesop's Fables were also read, in Latin. The fourth year began Erasmus's Colloquies, continued Aesop, studied Latin Grammar, and read Ovid *de Tristibus*. The fifth continued Erasmus and Ovid, including the *Metamorphoses*, and began Cicero's *Epistolae*, Latin prosody, and Latin composition with Garretson's "English Exercises for School-Boys to Translate." The sixth year began Cicero *de Officiis*, Lucius Florus, the Aeneid, and Thomas Godwyn's excellent English treatise on Roman history and antiquities, which had been used at the University of Cambridge in John Harvard's day; they continued the *Metamorphoses*, made Latin verse, dialogues, and letters, and began Greek and Rhetoric. The seventh and last year, boys of fourteen to sixteen began Cicero's Orations, Justin, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, made Latin dialogues, and turned "a Psalm or something Divine" into Latin verse, with a Latin theme every fortnight. In Greek, they read Homer, Isocrates, Hesiod, and the New Testament. And from Cotton Mather's statements, it seems probable that infant prodigies like himself (who finished school at the age of eleven) began Hebrew as well.⁷⁰

The Boston Latin School, however, can scarcely be regarded as typical of the Latin schools of the seventeenth century. A few towns, like Boston, had a separate Latin school with a more or less permanent master devoting practically all of his time to the teaching of Latin and Greek. In schools of this kind, the master might have an assistant to teach the younger pupils Latin grammar as well as English and writing. But many Latin schools, so-called, were not separate from the school which gave instruction to younger children in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Frequently, the Latin-school master devoted most of his time to the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic and gave the remainder of his time to the preparation of a few boys for entrance to Harvard. The law requiring towns to keep a Latin school was

⁷⁰ Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-03.

The Grammarians Funeral.

O R,

An ELEGY compos'd upon the Death of Mr. John Woodmancy,
formerly a School-Master in Boston : But now Published upon
the DEATH of the Venerable

Mr. Ezekiel Chevers,

The late and famous School-Master of Boston in New-England ; Who Departed this Life the
Twenty-first of August 1708. Early in the Morning. In the Ninety-fourth Year of his Age.

Eight Parts of Speech this Day wear Mourning Gowns
Declin'd Verbs, Pronouns, Participles, Nouns.
And not declined, Adverbs and Conjunctions,
In Lilies Porch they stand to do their functions.
With Preposition ; but the most affection
Was still observed in the Interjection.
The Substantive seeming the limbed best,
Would set an hand to bear him to his Rest.
The Adjective with very grief did say,
Hold me by strength, or I shall faint away.
The Clouds of Tears did over-cast their faces,
Yea all were in most lamentable Cases.
The five Declensions did the Work decline,
And Told the Pronoun Tu, The work is thine :
But in this case those have no call to go
That want the Vocative, and can't say O !
The Pronouns said that if the Nouns were there,
There was no need of them, they might them spare :
But for the sake of Emphasis they would,
In their Discretion do what ere they could.
Great honour was confer'd on Conjugations,
They were to follow next to the Relations.
Ams did love him best, and Doceo might
Alledge he was his Glory and Delight.
But Lego said by me he got his skull,
And therefore next the Herse I follow will.
Audio said little, hearing them so hot,
Yet knew by him much Learning he had got.
O Verbs the Active were, Or Passive sure,
Sum to be Neuter could not well endure.
But this was common to them all to Moan
Their load of grief they could not soon Depon.
A doleful Day for Verbs, they look so moody,
They drove Spectators to a Mournful Study.
The Verbs irregular, 'twas thought by some,
Would break no rule, if they were pleas'd to come.
Gaudeo could not be found ; fearing disgrace
He had with-drawn, sent Mareo in his Place.
Possum did to the utmost he was able,
And bore as Stout as if he'd been A Table.

Felo was willing, Nolo some-what stout,
But Male rather chose, not to stand out.
Possum and Felo with'd all might afford
Their help, but had not an Imperative Word.
Edo from Service would by no means Swerve,
Rather than fail, he thought the Cakes to Serve.
Fio was taken in a fit, and said,
By him a Mourful P O E M should be made.
Fero was willing for to bear a part,
Altho' he did it with an aking heart.
Fero excus'd, with grief he was so Torn,
He could not bear, he needed to be born.
Such Nouns and Verbs as we defective find,
No Grammar Rule did their attendance bind.
They were excepted, and exempted hence,
But Supines, all did blame for negligence.
Verbs Offspring, Participles hand-in-hand,
Follow, and by the same direction stand :
The rest Promiscuously did croud and cumber,
Such Multitudes of each, they wanted Number.
Next to the Corps to make th' attendance even,
Jove, Mercury, Apollo came from heaven.
And Virgil, Cato, gods, men, Rivers, Winds,
With Elegies, Tears, Sighs, came in their kinds.
Ovid from Pontus halt's Apparell'd thus,
In Exile-weeds bringing De Tristibus :
And Homer sure had been among the Rout,
But that the Stories say his Eyes were out.
Queens, Cities, Countries, Islands, Come
All Trees, Birds, Fishes, and each Word in Um.
What Syntax here can you expect to find ?
Where each one bears such discomposed mind.
Figures of Diction and Construction,
Do little : Yet stand sadly looking on.
That such a Train may in their motion chorb,
Profradia gives the measure Word for Word.

Sic Mæstus Cecinit,

Benj. Tompson.

Broadside Published on Occasion of the Death of Ezekiel Cheever, Colonial
New England's Most Revered Schoolmaster

Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society

usually regarded as having been met if a town could show that it employed a master who was qualified to teach Latin and who taught it to such boys as resorted to him. If no pupils desiring instruction in Latin turned up, that was no fault of the town; the master could then devote his time to the teaching of other subjects. Nor is this merely a hypothetical situation; instances could be cited of masters who held themselves in readiness to teach Latin to the youth of the town, but no youth appeared for instruction. The law of 1647 in Massachusetts, requiring the larger towns to maintain a Latin school, really meant that the towns falling in this class would have to employ a college graduate to teach the town school; it did not mean that the town would have to support a separate grammar school. Apparently, in many towns the requirements of the law were met by a single master who taught the three R's to the masses of the children in the town and Latin to the few boys who were preparing for entrance to Harvard College.⁷¹

The college. Since the social order which the founders of New England were building was buttressed by the church, provision for the appropriate education of ministers was of great importance. Among those who came over from England during the early years of the Puritan migration were many ministers who held their degrees from English universities. It soon began to appear, however, that New England must take measures to educate its own ministers.

In 1636, the General Court, or colonial legislature, of Massachusetts appropriated four hundred pounds for the establishment of a college. Soon thereafter the authorities of the Bay Colony were faced with the thorny problem of dealing with Mistress Anne Hutchinson and her heretical followers. Mistress Hutchinson and her fellow Antinomians placed their faith in revealed truth and were, therefore, opposed to the higher learning. But once this revolt against orthodoxy was suppressed, Mistress Hutchinson banished, and, incidentally, a severe blow given to freedom of thought, it was possible to go forward with the work of establishing the college. In the summer of 1638 the first freshman class took up its studies in a dwelling-house which had been purchased by the Board of Overseers for the use of the college.⁷² A few months later, John Harvard bequeathed to the college half of his estate — the total being somewhat less than eight hundred pounds — and the whole of his library of

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

some four hundred volumes. The name of the college was now changed in recognition of its benefactor.

The founders of the little college had to face many problems before they were able to establish it on a firm foundation. They found it necessary or expedient to dismiss the first two heads of the institution for reasons we cannot go into here. The funds which had been appropriated by the General Court and which were derived from Harvard's bequest were used to erect a college building.⁷³ The college did not receive very much support from public funds, although after 1654 the General Court did pay the President's annual salary of some one hundred or one hundred and fifty pounds. But the people of New England rallied to the support of the college, some giving it farm produce, some bales of cloth, and some small grants of money. Even so, around 1650 the total college income, including tuition fees, was no more than two hundred and fifty pounds annually.⁷⁴ Meager funds meant that the college could employ only three or four young tutors who were constantly being drawn off into the ministry by the offer of better salaries. It was not possible to maintain a permanent teaching force until the last two decades of the century.⁷⁵

The number of students attending Harvard in the seventeenth century was relatively small. Not many parents were able to provide the fifty to seventy-five pounds necessary to see a boy through a college course.⁷⁶ Moreover, the college was not regarded as a popular institution; its function was to train a few leaders for service in church and commonwealth. The total number of students who had studied at Harvard before the year 1700 amounted to less than six hundred; the total number of graduates during the seventeenth century was four hundred and sixty-five.⁷⁷

The main purpose in establishing and maintaining Harvard College was to provide the churches with a learned ministry — ministers both learned and loyal to the core values of the Puritan commonwealth. On a gate in the Harvard Yard is now engraved the opening statement of *New England's First Fruits*, the first commencement program of the college, published in 1643. It reads:

After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livli-hood, rear'd

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust.⁷⁸

In reading this first account of Harvard College, it is easy to underline the dread of an illiterate ministry and to conclude that the chief, if not the sole, function of the college was the training of ministers. It is equally easy to underline the advancement of learning and the perpetuation of it to posterity and thus see in this statement a kind of "charter for academic liberalism." Neither interpretation would be wholly correct.

It would be a grievous error to hold that Harvard College in the early days was merely a theological seminary designed to teach ministerial students the principles of the Puritan faith. Nor can one accept without some qualification the statement of Morison that "the purpose of the first New England college was higher education in the broadest sense, not a specialized training in Protestant theology."⁷⁹ As Perry Miller points out, Puritanism was a piety, but "it was at the same time an intellectual system, highly elaborated and meticulously worked out."⁸⁰ As a piety, Puritanism was solidly based on the belief that the highest truth was revealed in clear and unmistakable terms in God's Word. The seeker after the truth would not find it by the exercise of "carnal reason," nor by the study of heathen poets or medieval philosophers. The key that unlocked the doors of truth was revelation, not reason. Justification by faith and reliance on revelation might well lead to the repudiation of the intellectual inheritance. In fact, the left wing of the Puritan movement did just that. Led by such men as Dale and Webster in England or by Mistress Anne Hutchinson in New England, the Antinomians opposed university training for the clergy, and as Perry Miller points out:

Unsophisticated laymen could never understand, after they had been taught that the natural mind was abysmally incompetent and that God had uttered the truth in clear and simple dicta, why they should still need ministers skilled in the sciences, in rhetoric,

⁷⁸ As quoted in Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, p. 75. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939.

⁷⁹ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁸⁰ Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

logic, and physics, in order to hear and comprehend the explicit word of God. They argued with a naïve plausibility that since regeneration infused God's own substance into the elect, then a regenerated man thereafter required no other mentor than the Holy Ghost, no other instruction than its ever-present promptings. "For it is *only the Inspiration of God*, that inables a man to know the *things of God*, and not a mans *study or Humane Learning*. . . . No man can know *Christ and His Gospel* . . . but by the most *present Teaching and Revelation of God himself by his Spirit*." From the time of the Anabaptists at Münster, Protestant theologians strove with might and main to keep justification by faith from becoming a justification of illiteracy.⁸¹

However, the men who were responsible for the social design in New England were not of a mind to pay attention to the left-wing radicals of the Puritan movement, to those who would make of it little more than a piety. Opposition to an educated clergy meant two things. It represented an attack on the well-ordered ranks of society, the undermining of the prestige, the place, and position of the holders of university degrees. More than that, it represented a repudiation of that body of knowledge and learning of which the ministry had long been the especial custodians. Despite the protests of the Antinomians or the misgivings of the unsophisticated who might place reliance on revelation, the more responsible New England leaders were determined to provide for an educated ministry; they would not permit the control of their theocratic state to fall into the hands of the unlettered; and they would not suffer their class interests to be jeopardized. As a speaker at a Harvard commencement once put it, without the college "the ruling class would have been subjected to mechanics, cobblers, and tailors; the gentry would have been overwhelmed by lewd fellows of the baser sort, the sewage of Rome, the dregs of an illiterate plebs which judgeth much from emotion, little from truth."⁸² Moreover, men are never, it seems, entirely satisfied with the passive acceptance of revealed truth — with dicta and authority. They may accept it, as did the New England leaders, but they seek to find the reasons for it, they try to put a rational underpinning beneath the superstructure of dogma. In New England this was no less true than it had been with the schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸² As quoted in Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Harvard College, then, was designed primarily to provide an educated ministry, but it was an education broadly conceived. The program was designed to prepare young men to enter any profession, whether it be the ministry, the law, or statecraft. During the seventeenth century less than one half of the alumni of Harvard entered the ministry.⁸³ In New England, as in old England, an education appropriate for a minister was deemed appropriate for all who might seek a bachelor's degree. At Harvard, as at Cambridge, the intellectual fare of the undergraduate consisted of the liberal arts — grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; ethics, metaphysics, and natural science; and Hebrew, Greek, and ancient history. Many of the Latin authors had been read in the grammar school and Latin was the language of instruction in the classroom. Of course, considerable time was given to the study of the Bible and to Protestant theology.⁸⁴

In devising a curriculum for the college, elements were drawn from classical antiquity, from the Middle Ages, and from the Renaissance and the Reformation. In short, the Puritans adapted to their purposes the intellectual inheritance of the race, rejecting only those portions which did not support or conform to their religious views. "They were first and foremost heirs of Augustine, but also they were among the heirs of Thomas Aquinas and the pupils of Erasmus." ⁸⁵

THE SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS

The early legislation in New England requiring compulsory education placed the cost of this endeavor entirely upon the family — on parents or masters of apprentices. Neither the state nor any of its political subdivisions assumed any part of the responsibility of providing the means for the support of the program. But when it became apparent that schools were necessary to supplement or to take the place of the home in providing educational opportunities, legislation was enacted which authorized the local communities to support their schools by taxation, or such other means as might be deemed satisfactory. In some instances, indeed, provision was made for colony-wide taxes as a source of school revenue.

The Massachusetts Act of 1647 placed on the several towns the responsibility for seeing that schools were kept, but each town was

⁸³ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

⁸⁵ Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

left free to decide for itself the method of school support it would adopt. The schoolmaster's salary was to be paid "either by parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint."⁸⁶ Thus, the selectmen of the town were empowered to support the schools by taxation or by tuition fees, or, if they deemed it advisable, by a combination of the two.

Connecticut, in its Code of 1650, copied verbatim the provisions of the Massachusetts Act of 1647 relating to methods of school support. Nearly a quarter of a century later, in 1672, Connecticut modified its requirements with respect to the maintenance of Latin grammar schools. Henceforth, only the four county towns of Hartford, New London, New Haven, and Fairfield were required to keep a school of this type. Each of these county towns was granted six hundred acres of land to be used for the benefit of the Latin school to be maintained in it.⁸⁷ A few years later, in 1677, the broadest kind of discretion was bestowed on the towns with respect to the manner of school support. It was ordered by the General Court that, "where schools are to be kept in any town, whether it be the county town or other, what shall be necessary to the maintaining the charge of such schools, it shall be raised upon the inhabitants by way of rate, except any town shall agree upon some other way to raise the maintenance of him they shall employ in the aforesaid work. . . ." ⁸⁸ Later legislation in Connecticut continued the policy of bestowing on the officials of the town a broad discretion in the matter of ways and means of school support. In New Hampshire, after it became a royal province, the selectmen were given ample authority to support the town schools by taxation.

The town records reveal that relatively few schools in the seventeenth century were open to pupils free of tuition. The two most common sources of school revenue were tuition fees and town taxes. Frequently, a town would set aside certain public lands for the benefit of the school, and many public-spirited individuals made donations or left legacies for the maintenance of schools. In some instances, as at Boston, the schools were supported almost entirely at public cost. In other places, the town would agree to pay the

⁸⁶ As quoted in Small, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁸⁷ Clews, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

⁸⁸ *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, II, 307-08 (edited by James Hammond Trumbull and Charles J. Hoadly. Hartford, 1850-90), as quoted in Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

schoolmaster a fixed sum and allow him to supplement it as best he could by charging specified tuition fees. Again, it might be agreed that the master should charge certain tuition fees, the town to make up the difference between the amount thus raised and the sum agreed upon in the contract. In some instances, a tuition fee was charged of all boys of a certain age whether they attended school or not. A fairly typical arrangement was that of Northampton in 1687: "The town agreed to pay in general by way of rate the above named sum of £40, that is so much of it as the scholars, readers at 3d. per week and writers at 4d. per week, did lack of amounting to the above said sum. . . ." ⁸⁰ Watertown, in 1667, agreed to pay the schoolmaster a specified sum, less the amount that might be derived from tuition fees charged pupils living outside the town. Pupils living in the town could attend free of charge.⁸⁰ Lynn, in 1702, guaranteed the schoolmaster ten pounds to be paid by the town. Over and above this he was to have what would be derived from tuition fees, "2d. per week for such as are sent to read, 3d. per week for them that are sent to write and cypher, and 6d. per week for them that are sent to learn Latin, to be paid by parents and masters." ⁸¹ The following interesting arrangement was made for the support of its school by Dedham in 1685:

1 that the one half of the Schoole charges as well for quality as quantity Shall be raised upon the ratable Estate of our inhabitants whether nearer the school or further of.

2 that all such persons as dwell within one mile and A quarter from the School having male children Shall pay for each Such child five Shillings A year from six years old to twelve years old.

3 that those that dwell within two miles and A half of the Schoole, and beyond the mile and quarter Shall pay two Shillings Six pence A year for their male children from Seaven years old to twelve years old.

4 that gramer Scholers Shall be rated and pay to the Schoole five Shillings pr head mor then English Scholers that dwell within A mile, and a quarter of the Schoole.

5 that those inhabitants that dwell mor than two miles and A half from the Schoole Shall be freed from all charges by rates upon their childrens heads for the Schools until they Shall receive benifit

⁸⁰ As quoted in Small, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁸⁰ Small, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.

⁸¹ As quoted in Small, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

thereby, and then Shall be rated and pay as those within A mile and quarter: all wayes provided that such childrin be taken care of, so that they shall be Sufitiantly taught to read and wright.

6 that the one halfe of the Schoole charges Shall be raised upon the heads of the children according to those rules of proportion mentioned above.⁹²

It was a common practice to remit the tuition fees of pupils whose parents were too poor to pay. Thus, in Brookline, in 1687, the master's salary was to be paid in part by tuition fees "laid equally on the scholars heads save any persons that are poor to be abated wholly or in part."⁹³ And in Braintree, in 1702, it was provided "that any poor persons in this Town who shall send any children to sd school & find themselves unable to pay upon application to the Select men it shall be in their power to remit a part or ye whole of ye sum."⁹⁴

That many New England towns were taxing themselves to provide a substantial part of the cost of maintaining schools is clear from the record; it is equally clear that the picture, so often drawn, of every town with its school free and open to all is entirely without foundation in fact. It must be said, however, that the poor child was seldom, if ever, turned away from the school door because of the inability of his parents to pay the required tuition rates.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 2

1. Is it correct to regard the schools of seventeenth-century New England as public schools?
2. How do you account for the fact that greater stress was placed on the education of the masses in the New England colonies than in any of the other colonies?
3. What aspects of the educational systems of seventeenth-century New England do you regard as democratic? As undemocratic?
4. Indicate how educational policy and practice in early New England were influenced by (a) political ideals, (b) religious motives, (c) relation of state and church, (d) the town form of community organization, (e) class social structure, (f) inherited intellectual attitudes.

⁹² *Dedham Records*, V, 164, as quoted in George Leroy Jackson, *The Development of School Support in Colonial Massachusetts*, pp. 45-46. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1909.

⁹³ As quoted in Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 3

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

5. It has been said that educational policy and practice in the early New England colonies laid the foundations upon which our later educational systems were built. Evaluate this statement.
6. Formulate a brief statement summarizing the essential elements in the educational policy of seventeenth-century New England. Distinguish between compulsory education and compulsory maintenance of schools.

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Chapter 3 The School in an Emerging Capitalistic Social Order:

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

AS INDICATED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, the men who founded New England, who led Pilgrim and Puritan across the seas to establish Bible commonwealths in the wilderness, had worked out, in their own minds at least, a definite social design. God had provided the time and the place for the building of a spiritual city far removed from the heresies and abuses of the Old World; He had sifted three kingdoms for choice grain for the planting of His church in the wilderness; and He had selected the leaders, who were to be the special recipients of His grace and the custodians of His will. The social order designed by the leaders was a closely knit church-state. As the leaders of New England read their history, sacred and profane, God had never looked with favor on the rule of the many either in church or commonwealth. Consequently, they proposed the establishment and maintenance of a social order in which the popular will would have only limited expression. With political power in the hands of the few — in the main, the same relatively small group which governed the church — it was possible to employ the state to carry into effect the social design of the founders. And the state was extremely active. All manner of laws were enacted to enforce acceptance of, and conformity to, the political, religious, economic, and social ideals of the leaders. Education, above all other means, perhaps, was regarded as the best way to accomplish these ends. Outside Rhode Island, the educational systems of the early New England colonies were designed, among other things, to socialize youth in terms of the ideology underpinning the prevailing social order. Through instruction in the home, in the school, and in the college, youth, it was hoped and believed, would be led to accept the religious principles of the founding fathers, the con-

centration of political and economic power in the hands of the few, and a well-ordered arrangement of social classes.

Winthrop and Cotton and other New England leaders labored valiantly and long to maintain the Puritan social order, but, almost from the first, forces developed which were in the end to defeat their experiment. New England was not two generations old before the foundations of the Puritan commonwealth began to show signs of crumbling. By the opening of the eighteenth century, New England society was taking on a purpose and a form very different from that of the original design. As the century progressed, significant changes occurred in the economic order, social conflicts developed out of which the middle and lower classes registered significant gains, and shifting currents of thought and feeling were sweeping men away from a religious to a more secular view of life. A society modeled on that of old England and modified to suit the purposes of Puritan leadership was slowly being reshaped by forces distinctly American in origin. Moreover, as the economic foundations of society changed, as shifts occurred in the locus of both political and social power, and as new attitudes and values emerged, it was only natural that certain modifications should have taken place with respect to both the purpose of education and the means of its diffusion. However, before taking up in any detail what these changes in education were, it seems necessary to consider more fully some of the significant movements in New England life.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC ORDER

One of the distinguishing features of eighteenth-century New England was the growth of a class of merchant-capitalists and large landowners. Capital, of course, was scarce in the early days of settlement, although from the very first one could find an occasional person of some means, especially in Massachusetts. It was not long, however, before men gave up the hope of deriving much more than a moderate living from the thin and stony soil, and many of the more ambitious turned to the sea in search of profits from commercial ventures. As we have already seen, even in the closing decades of the seventeenth century, men of considerable means began to appear in New England. As the eighteenth century opened, a merchant class was emerging as one of the most important

BETTER HOMES OF SEVENTEENTH-AND
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND



The Old Stone House, Guilford, Connecticut, 1639



Joseph Cabot House, Salem, Massachusetts, 1748

Courtesy of Essex Institute

ements, perhaps the most important element, in New England society. As time passed, merchant princes in the coast towns, men like the Faneuils, Browns, Bowdoin, and Phillipses, accumulated large fortunes, built imposing city homes, and played a role in the life of New England quite as important as that played by the larger planters in the life of the tobacco colonies in the South. One misses altogether the main currents of New England life unless one understands something of the varied and far-flung activities of these merchant-capitalists who were transforming the social order to its very foundations. Theirs were the hands which, in very large measure, were operating the power controls in New England from the opening of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of the Revolution.

THE VARIED ACTIVITIES OF THE MERCHANT-CAPITALISTS

The New England merchant was likely to be a man of many enterprises, a kind of general capitalist. He sent his ships far and wide in search of profitable trade. He carried the enormous catch of the Newfoundland fisheries to the ports of southern Europe and to the English and French planters in the West Indies. He exported the surplus commodities of New England — lumber, livestock, meat, wheat, and flour — to the West Indies, where he exchanged them for specie, bills of exchange, molasses, or other produce of the West Indian planters. He bought and sold in England; he bought more than he sold because England herself produced many of the commodities New England had for sale. The quantity of goods New England could buy from the mother country was conditioned in large measure by the bills of exchange her merchants were able to obtain in commerce with the West Indies. The New England merchants also trafficked with their fellow colonists to the south whenever and wherever they could drive a bargain. Though many of their descendants were to look upon slavery with horror, they themselves plied the slave trade with both vigor and profit. Each year their ships carried thousands of gallons of rum to the African coast to be exchanged for slaves; the slaves were then sold to planters in the West Indies or the Southern colonies and the proceeds exchanged for molasses for the making of more rum in New England or the purchase of more slaves. The slave-trader, however, did not always find things easy; at times he had to face severe competition. Thus, James Brown, in 1736, received the following complaint from his brother on the Guinea Coast:

There never was so much Rum on the Coast at one time before . . . Slaves is very scarce: we have had nineteen sails of us at one time in the Rhoad, so that those ships that used to carry pryme slaves off is now forced to take any that comes.¹

Even Peter Faneuil, whose charity made possible the building of Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty, was not above employing his good ship, the *Jolly Bachelor*, as a slaver. Just before the Revolution between sixty and seventy vessels were plying the slave trade, many of them from the ports of Boston, Newport, Salem, and New York.²

The merchant-capitalist often invested his money in ships. Craft of many kinds were required. By the middle of the century, some four hundred vessels were employed in the fishing industry of Massachusetts alone.³ Ships were needed in large numbers to carry New England commerce to all parts of the world and ships were made and sold to England. As early as 1724, shipbuilders in England were complaining to the government that they were being ruined by the competition of New England. At the outbreak of the Revolution, 30 per cent of the ships in the merchant marine of England had been built in America, chiefly in New England.⁴

Men with surplus capital had a weather eye out for any enterprises that would yield a neat profit and many of them invested their savings in rum distilleries. By the middle of the century, the manufacture and sale of rum was playing an extremely important role in the economic life of New England. Distilleries were to be found in large numbers in Boston, Newport, Medford, and in smaller numbers in lesser seaport towns. In 1750, an agent reporting to the "Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury" stated that there were sixty-three distilleries in Massachusetts making molasses into rum,⁵ the output being no less than one and a half million gallons annually. Twelve years later, Newport, Rhode

¹ Quoted by G. S. Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times* (Providence, 1912), p. 248, as quoted in James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, p. 230. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

² Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life*, pp. 435-36. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938.

³ Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *The American Colonies, 1492-1750*, p. 371. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.

⁴ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

⁵ William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789*, II, 640-41. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1890.

Island had twenty-two distilleries. Weeden comments on the importance of rum in the economic life of New England as follows:

In whatever branch of trade we find ourselves now, we are impressed by the immense prevalence and moving power of rum. Negroes, fish, vessels, lumber, inter-colonial traffic in produce, all feel the initiative and moving impulse of rum. . . . It was merchandise in Guinea, on the Banks of Newfoundland, in the Southern colonies, in exchange for furs with the Indians, and "as store for the consumption of about 900 vessels engaged in the various branches of their trade at sea." ⁶

Quantities of rum were consumed by the people generally, especially by the lower classes, who could not afford the more expensive liquors and wines. Rum was served at public gatherings and festive occasions — at weddings and funerals and even at ordinations of the clergy. Common laborers were often allowed portions of rum as a part of their rations and, as John Adams observed, in the evenings one could find the taverns frequented by people drinking drams of flip and toddy.⁷

The merchants of New England also found a rich opportunity to multiply their profits in their dealings with the small farmers, who composed, of course, the bulk of the people. It was not always easy, as is often supposed, for the small farmer to make a go of it. In the first place, it was becoming more difficult for him to get land to work. In the early period, the title to land was vested in the proprietors of each town, who allotted part of it to themselves and part to non-proprietors or inhabitants, and held part of it for later division. As the older towns filled up, the descendants of the original proprietors laid claim to the undivided land and began to sell it. High-priced land in the older settlements, crowded conditions, and soil exhaustion were forcing people to move out to the frontier to form new settlements. In this situation, the merchants, land speculators, and men of means and influence of one kind or another in the coastal towns saw their opportunity. They proceeded to buy up huge tracts of land in advance of the settlers and to hold it for high prices. After 1735, Connecticut and Massachusetts adopted the policy of selling whole townships to the land speculators.⁸ In 1737, six townships were sold at public auction in Connecticut, and

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 641.

⁷ Jernegan, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

somewhat later Massachusetts sold a whole township to a single person.⁹ When the actual settlers moved in and performed the arduous labor of developing the town—felling forests, building roads, and the like—the capitalists in the eastern towns reaped the gains of unearned increment on lands not yet sold. Worse than that, not infrequently the actual settlers were denied the rights of local government; the management of the affairs of the town, including taxation, being vested in the grantee capitalists.¹⁰

Land speculation was but one way in which the merchant class derived profits in its relations with farmers. The farmer was often in need of capital to buy his land, to build his house, or to purchase livestock and supplies. He borrowed the necessary funds from the merchant-capitalist on a short- or a long-term loan or bought what he needed from the merchant on credit. When the farmer harvested his crops, he undertook to pay off his debts, but again found himself at a disadvantage because he had no control over prices. The markets were likely to be flooded, and the merchants were usually able to keep prices down. Once caught in the meshes of debt, the farmer often found it extremely difficult to extricate himself. Frequently, he ended up by losing his farm and was forced to start all over again.¹¹ Year by year, many of the small farmers, especially those farther to the west, saw a large part of the gains from their labor flow into the coffers of the land speculators and the merchant-capitalists. It was but natural that many among the yeomanry, especially those nearest the frontier, should have come to look with bitterness upon the Eastern capitalists whom they regarded as responsible for their plight. "Wall Street" had become a reality before it had been given a name.

It is not necessary to detail further the various activities of the merchant-capitalists; enough has been said to give some indication of the way they were transforming the New England economy and of the dominant role they played in the economy they were helping to create. It was an economy, as we shall see later, which the transplanted European educational system was ill-designed to serve. But, before taking up the specific educational changes which the new order of things was making necessary, we must examine further certain other changes in the economic, social, and intellectual life of New England in the eighteenth century.

⁹ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

¹⁰ Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

¹¹ Nettels, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-15.

SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND THE GAINS OF DEMOCRACY

In their far-flung and varied enterprises, the merchant-capitalists were creating the capital necessary for a more advanced civilization. At the same time, they symbolized another important movement in eighteenth-century New England, namely the rise of a new conservative, aristocratic class in little sympathy with democratic liberalism. In the social processes which had transformed the Puritan into the Yankee, little had happened to make him more democratic in his outlook on life. In the frontier settlements that fringed the New England coast in the early days, when there was little accumulated capital and few were able to escape the drudgery of hard labor, Puritan leaders found the basis of their superiority in the conviction that they were God's elect, special agents for the accomplishment of His great design. Leaders of a later day were no less concerned with the hallmarks of a specially favored class, but they were entirely willing to substitute the possession of worldly goods for the more intangible evidence of superiority. Imposing homes, rich apparel, imported wines, domestic slaves — these were tangible and unmistakable badges of one's social superiority. The colonial governors and the members of the small cliques that surrounded them, or true aristocrats of the Old World, might exhibit some disdain for the rising capitalists, but the New England Puritan, turned merchant prince, was in no wise abashed in their presence.

New England merchants were no less at home in manipulating colonial politics than in directing their commercial ventures or in establishing their claim to social superiority. When laws were required to protect or to promote their interests, they knew how to exercise their great influence; in most crucial matters they were able to have their way without too much opposition from lesser folk. They were able to dominate the colonial councils, the upper branches of the legislatures; their influence in the more popular assemblies was by no means negligible; and even in the town meetings they were often able to secure the passage of desired measures.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the upper classes in New England had their way without opposition. Paralleling the development of a small directive group was another movement of no less significance, the rise of the common man to a place of economic and political importance. After all, it was the farmers and

artisans who constituted the bedrock of New England society; it was they who were laying the foundations on which a democratic social order was to be erected. As we saw in the preceding chapter, most of the leaders of early New England looked with disfavor on democracy in church and commonwealth and in society generally. But men who had been social underlings in Europe — peasants, artisans, tenants, and day laborers — were not disposed to remain social underlings in America; they resisted any attempt to prevent social mobility, to keep them in the social status in which they were born. The suffrage might be denied them, laws might be enacted requiring them to wear clothes indicative of their social status, on the Sabbath morning they might be seated in church pews according to their rank, and in daily life they might be addressed as Tom or Dick or as goodman or goodwife; but they would not accept such an arrangement of things as final. At the opening of the eighteenth century, New England was not a democracy, but the class structure of society inherited from Europe, and buttressed by the efforts of minister, magistrate, and merchant to maintain it, was slowly breaking up in the face of the development of an independent yeomanry. The tide of a rising democracy had set in.

Many forces were sweeping men along toward a more democratic way of life. The congregational form of church organization, instituted by the Separatists in Plymouth and reluctantly adopted in Massachusetts, represented from the beginning a more democratic form of religious life. In the earlier years of the seventeenth century, Roger Williams in Rhode Island and Thomas Hooker in Connecticut had struck powerful blows in defense of democratic liberalism and their influence continued to be felt. Some of the clergy, like John Wise, of Ipswich, were now espousing the popular cause. It is true, also, that New England felt to some extent the impact of liberal thought from eighteenth-century Europe. However, above all else, it was the wide diffusion of land-ownership that gave vigor and vitality to democratic impulses. On the surface of things, the New England farmer of the eighteenth century did not appear to be a very dramatic figure in the pageantry of New England life, but he was far more important than he seemed. As he went about his daily tasks, tilling his own acres and adding to them as time and circumstance would permit, as he mingled with his fellow townsmen and argued with them in town meetings over the management of local

affairs, as he taught his children to be ambitious and self-respecting, he was quietly and unobtrusively injecting into the *mores* ideals and attitudes that were to be the core values of our democratic society.

But farmers were not always quiet and unobtrusive; in fact, as a class they were becoming articulate. Many of them owned enough property to entitle them to vote, and in the assemblies, the lower branches of the legislature, their representatives were in a position to champion the farmers' cause. It is not necessary to detail the conflicts that developed between the farmers, especially on the frontier, and the Eastern capitalists with respect to such matters as the ownership of land or the control of the currency. It is important, however, to remember that the farmer was beginning to insist upon his right to take a hand in the direction of social policy and that in the struggle that ensued, definite gains were registered for democracy.

Allied with the farmers in their struggles against the ruling classes were the artisans, tenants, and day laborers. In a number of the more populous centers some of the artisans had accumulated enough capital to own their own tools and to set up shops of their own in which they employed a number of journeymen. Not an inconsiderable number of these master artisans had accumulated sufficient property to entitle them to vote in the election of members to the colonial assemblies. Many others of the artisan class — blacksmiths, fullers, bricklayers, shipwrights, weavers, shoemakers, and carpenters — had little property of their own and sought work where opportunity afforded. They belonged to the disfranchised class, as did, of course, large numbers of tenants, fishermen, sailors, peddlers, small shopkeepers, day laborers, and indentured servants. In local political affairs, however, the common people were beginning to make their influence felt. Thus, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts complained that a Boston town meeting might be "called together at any time upon the Petition of ten of the meanest Inhabitants, who by their constant attendance there generally are the majority and outvote the Gentlemen, Merchants, Substantial Traders, and all the better part of the Inhabitants; to whom it is Irksome to attend at such meetings, except upon very extraordinary occasions."¹² As the colonial period drew to a close amidst the distant rumblings of revolution, the common people of New England were ready to follow the lead of Samuel

¹² William Shirley, *Correspondence* (C. H. Lincoln, ed., New York, 1912), I, 418, as quoted in Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-54.

Adams in his determination to put an end to the rule of an aristocratic minority and to establish a state really based upon popular sovereignty.

SHIFTING CURRENTS IN THOUGHT AND FEELING

Much of the thought of early New England, certainly much of the recorded thought, was theological to the core. The world of nature and of man, even in its most simple manifestations, was explained in terms of divine will if not of divine providence. It is not strange that this was so, because for a thousand years and more the intellectual life of Europe had been cast in the religious mold; except for the comparatively brief interlude of the Renaissance, the clergy had been able to hold the citadel of learning against all assaults. Add to this the deep conviction of Puritan leaders that New England was the appointed place for the ultimate reformation of the true church, and it is not difficult to understand the religious framework within which most of early New England thought was cast. But for two reasons, if no others, thought in New England was tending to become more secular. First of all, men who undertake to establish homes in the wildernesses of an undeveloped continent are almost sure to become engrossed in the prosaic but essential business of making a living; however high their spiritual aspirations may be, they are likely to be swept along in the direction of material things. In the second place, Puritanism was in no small measure a bourgeois movement; no amount of theological robing could altogether hide the bourgeois in the Puritan.

One is not surprised, therefore, that slowly at first and later more swiftly the currents of thought in New England swept away from the piety that was Puritanism toward the materialistic conception of life that was capitalism. As the second and third generations came upon the scene, economic interests assumed a new importance; the spiritual light in the city builded upon a hill began to fade; seed which God had sifted for planting in the wilderness began to grow strange fruit — bitter fruit for men like Cotton Mather whose hearts were fixed on the maintenance of the old order. If Mather may be believed, the Glory of the Lord was departing from New England, and there is abundant evidence to indicate that after about 1670 a revolt had set in against the strict Puritan moral code. It is always

dangerous to take too seriously contemporary complaints about the moral decadence of a people, but it is clear that there was a lowering of moral standards during the last thirty years of the seventeenth century. In 1692, Cotton Mather complained that "some of our Rising Generation have been given up to the most abominable Impieties of Uncleaness, Drunkenness, and a Lewd, Rude, Extravagant sort of Behaviour. There are the Children of Belial among them, and Prodigies of Wickedness."¹³ Whether many of Mather's contemporaries should be regarded as "Children of Belial" may be questionable, but at any rate not a few of them were given to the frequenting of taverns, to the drinking of rum and brandy, to mixed dancing, to playing cards, and to attending theaters. One thing seems certain: the cold winter of Puritanism was passing into the warm springtime of human nature. An ecclesiastical society was being transformed into one of deepening secular interests.

Evidences of a more secular order of things could be detected on every hand. The influence of the clergy, especially in political matters, was definitely on the decline; it was no longer that force which in the old days had moved heaven and earth. It was a far cry from John Cotton to those ministers who, just before the Revolution, spoke apologetically when dealing with political issues. The law and medicine were opening the doors to professional careers and the law might now lead to political preferment. Cotton Mather might continue to produce heavy and learned religious tomes and Jonathan Edwards in his theological writings might demonstrate that his was one of the great intellects of the age, but other books were appearing which had to do with secular things. Thomas Prince, of Boston, in writing his history of New England, was attempting to apply rigorous standards of historical scholarship.¹⁴ Not infrequently one could find a man like Samuel Adams who was deeply read in the political classics of Europe, in the works of Locke, Vattel, Rousseau, Hume, or Montesquieu. Moreover, the scientific writings of such men as Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Gilbert, Kepler, Descartes, and Leibniz were not without their influence on New England thought. As the eighteenth century progressed, a small number of New Englanders were giving their attention to the study of natural

¹³ As quoted in Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690*, p. 197. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

¹⁴ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, 160. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

phenomena. Some of them were members of the Royal Society in England and prepared data for its publications. The leading man of science in New England, John Winthrop, was made professor at Harvard in 1738.¹⁵

The secular spirit was also manifesting itself in the rise of newspapers and in the formation of numerous clubs of like-minded individuals to discuss scientific and philosophical questions or the news of the day. The cultivation of the fine arts, as well as new forms of amusement and sport, was also indicative of the increasing secularization of life.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE IN THE NEW ORDER

Changes that were occurring in the economic, political, social, and intellectual life of New England naturally reflected themselves in educational policy and practice. As we have seen, religion was losing its grip on the intellectual life; the stream of men's interests was broadening. More and more, both thought and activity were directed toward the improvement of economic conditions. The state was no longer primarily an instrument of religious policy; men composing the various social groups now saw in it a powerful means of promoting or maintaining their conflicting economic interests. It was but natural, therefore, that political power should have slipped from the hands of the clergy into the hands of the agents of the British government, the merchant-capitalists, and the farmers and artisans. The theocratic state was giving place to the secular state, and politics was becoming a more absorbing interest as contending groups maneuvered to gain positions of strategic advantage. Puritan opposition to the esthetic was breaking down and the spirit of the Enlightenment was penetrating the New England mind.

One may discern certain broad movements in education in the eighteenth century. First of all, those now in charge of the state had less regard for the school as a means of accomplishing their ends than was the case in the early days of settlement. Men were less convinced than of old that there should be a system of public education in every well-ordered state. The early Puritans had transplanted and modified somewhat the educational institutions of old England, institutions that had been shaped to a great extent by influences

¹⁵ See Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

growing out of the Renaissance and the Reformation. They regarded these educational institutions as extremely important in the accomplishment of their ends. But their ends were not the ends of the merchant-capitalists and the small farmers of the eighteenth century. To be sure, eighteenth-century New Englanders were not yet ready to discard or to reorganize thoroughly the educational system they had inherited from their fathers. Neither were they disposed to support it with vigor and enthusiasm. An educational order designed primarily to serve the interests of institutionalized religion and the class structure of society, established during the early period of Puritan leadership, was not well suited to serve the interests of the eighteenth century. The result was that the system of education, if it may be called a system, established by law in the seventeenth century lingered on. At the elementary level it was modified somewhat in an attempt to make it serve more adequately the needs of the children of the common people, at the secondary level it tended to wither away, and at the college level it developed and expanded.

Another significant tendency was the development of private schools. In the town elementary schools, children could learn to read and write and they might gain some proficiency in arithmetic. In the Latin grammar schools, they could learn the Latin language and get some insight into classical thought. In all types of town schools, due care was taken of religious instruction. But there were many things which a considerable number of the youth of New England needed and desired to learn that were not taught in any of the town schools. Private teachers, however, were not backward in sensing the drift of things and they began to offer instruction in all manner of subjects, both practical and cultural. In the private schools that were springing up in most commercial centers one detects the beginnings of the academy movement which was to gather momentum toward the end of the century.

ABANDONMENT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR ALL

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that by 1671 all New England except Rhode Island was under a system of compulsory education. Compulsory-school attendance was not required, but parents or masters were required to see to it that their children or

apprentices were taught reading and in some instances a trade as well. It was also pointed out there that during the brief existence of the Dominion of New England, an act was passed in 1687-88 which in effect repealed all legislation in New England relating to compulsory education. After Andros had been overthrown and the New England colonies had regained charters, they were free to deal once more with the matter of compulsory education. The General Court of Massachusetts in 1692 passed an act designed to re-enact all laws which had been in force in Massachusetts and New Plymouth at the time the charters had been revoked.¹⁶ The effect of this act would have been to revive the statutes dealing with compulsory education. Under the new charter which had been granted to Massachusetts in 1691, however, acts of the General Court were subject to disallowance by the Privy Council in London. The Act of 1692, which would have kept the compulsory educational legislation in force in Massachusetts, was disallowed by the Privy Council.

After the Act of 1692 was disallowed, Massachusetts never again during the colonial period undertook to enforce a policy of compulsory education for all children. The General Court in 1692 enacted a statute which gave authority to the selectmen or the overseers of the poor to bind out as apprentices "any poor children." Henceforth to the Revolution, no laws were passed requiring that children be apprenticed in case they were not being taught to read or write; the town officers could, at their discretion, bind out as apprentices poor children, but no others. When the children of the poor were bound out, the law required that their masters see to it that they be taught to read and write. A later statute, however, in 1710, omitted the requirement that girl apprentices be taught to write; it was enough for girls to be taught to read "as they respectively may be capable."¹⁷ From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the Revolution, Massachusetts made no attempt to provide through compulsory education for the academic, religious, or trade education of all children.

During the eighteenth century, the provisions of the compulsory-education statutes in Connecticut were somewhat different from those of Massachusetts, but here, too, one notes a weakening of the

¹⁶ Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783*, p. 103. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

law. In 1690, soon after the charter had been restored, the General Court of Connecticut passed an act which indicated that it proposed to enforce with vigor its former policy of compulsory education. In the preamble to the act, it was stated "that notwithstanding the former orders made for the erudition of children and servants, there are many persons unable to read the English tongue, and thereby incapable to read the holy word of God, or the good laws of the colony." To remedy this condition the act ordered

that all parents and masters shall cause their respective children and servants, as they are capable, to be taught to read distinctly the English tongue, and that the grand jurymen in each town do once in the year at least, visit each family they suspect to neglect this order, and satisfy themselves whether all children under age and servants in such suspect families can read well the English tongue, or be in a good procedure to learn the same or not, and if they find any such children and servants not taught as their years are capable of, they shall return the names of the parents or masters of the said children so untaught, to the next county court, where the said parents or masters shall be fined twenty shillings for each child or servant whose teaching is or shall be neglected, contrary to this order. . . .¹⁸

In its Revised Code of 1702, Connecticut, however, introduced a provision in the section dealing with compulsory education which greatly weakened the requirements. It was still the duty of parents and masters to see to it that their children and apprentices were taught to read, but those unable to do this could avoid the penalty of the law by showing that they had required their children or apprentices to memorize "a short orthodox catechism."¹⁹ Later, this provision, making it possible to substitute the commitment to memory of an orthodox catechism for ability to read, was made more explicit. Clearly, this loophole in the compulsory-education law was sufficiently wide for all to slip through who were disposed to take advantage of it. From the opening of the eighteenth century, then, down to the Revolution, Connecticut, like Massachusetts, had no

¹⁸ *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, IV, 30-31 (edited by James Hammond Trumbull and Charles J. Hoadly. Hartford, 1850-90), as quoted in Elsie W. Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments*, pp. 95-96. Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology and Education, VI, Nos. 1-4. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899.

¹⁹ *Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America*, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

statutes in force which required that all children be taught to read.

New Hampshire, it will be recalled, was embraced within the territory of Massachusetts down to 1679. For a number of years after it had become a separate colony, no compulsory legislation was in force, but, in 1712, the selectmen of the various towns were authorized to examine all youth above ten years of age to see if they had been taught to read. Children who were not being taught to read might, at the discretion of the selectmen and a justice of the peace, be bound out as apprentices, and in such instances the masters were required to teach their apprentices to read and write. This act cannot properly be regarded as one requiring compulsory education because there was nothing in it compelling the selectmen to act. Later, in 1766, New Hampshire passed an act which authorized the town selectmen, or the overseers of the poor, with consent of the justices of the peace, to bind out as apprentices children whose parents were unable to maintain them. Children bound out in this way were to be taught to read and it was required that boys be also taught to write.²⁰

During the whole colonial period, Rhode Island enacted no statute requiring compulsory education. Nowhere, then, in eighteenth-century New England did the law make book education mandatory for all children. This policy was in sharp contrast with that which had been put into operation in the period from 1642 to 1671. However, in appraising this change of policy with respect to compulsory education, one must not overlook the fact that in most of the colonies laws existed which required the towns to maintain schools. As these schools were supported more and more at public expense, the older type of compulsory-education legislation may not have appeared as necessary as it did earlier.

COMPULSORY TOWN SCHOOLS

The first Provincial Assembly in Massachusetts, after the restoration of charter government in 1691, passed an act which required all towns of fifty families or more to be "constantly provided of a schoolmaster to teach children and youth to read and write." Towns of one hundred families were also required to maintain a grammar school taught by a "discreet person of good conversation, well in-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

structed in the tongues." ²¹ Towns failing to obey the law were subject to presentment to the justices in quarter sessions. Conviction of disobedience involved a fine of ten pounds. This act was amended from time to time so as to increase the fine on the towns which failed to obey it, but otherwise it remained in force until the end of the colonial period.

Connecticut followed much the same policy as Massachusetts, requiring certain of the larger towns to maintain Latin grammar schools and the smaller communities to maintain reading and writing schools. In 1690, the year following the resumption of charter government, the General Court, "considering the necessity and great advantage of good literature," ordered that two Latin grammar schools be "kept and maintained in this colony," to teach all such children as might attend "reading, writing, arithmetic, the Latin and Greek tongues." ²² Pupils would not be admitted, however, unless they were already able to read the Psalter. Hartford and New Haven were the towns designated as the ones in which the Latin schools should be maintained. The necessary funds for the maintenance of these schools were to be derived in part from county-wide taxes, in part from donations, and in part from town taxes and tuition fees. Towns of thirty families or more were required to keep for six months each year a school in which children could be taught "to read and write the English tongue." The time the school was to be kept each year was no longer than six months because the court was mindful of the "necessity many parents or masters may be under to improve their children and servants in labor for a great part of the year." ²³

In 1700, the General Court of Connecticut took additional steps to insure the maintenance of both Latin and reading and writing schools. It was now required that four Latin grammar schools be maintained, one in each of the four county towns of Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. It was ordered that these Latin schools be "constantly kept." This act also reveals the strong intent of the legislature to maintain a system of town schools for the teaching of reading and writing. Towns of seventy families or more were

²¹ *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, I, 66 (edited by Ellis Ames and Abner Cheney Goodell, Boston, 1869-95), as reported by Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²² *Connecticut Colonial Records*, IV, 30-31, as reported by Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

ordered to "keep from year to year, a public and sufficient school for the teaching children to write and read." Towns of less than seventy families were required to keep a reading and writing school "for one-half of the year." These schools were to be supported in part by a tax of "forty shillings upon every thousand pounds of the public list of persons and estates unto the several towns of this colony, and proportionably for lesser sums." Towns failing to obey the law were to suffer the penalty of having their share of this colony-wide tax withheld.²⁴

In interpreting the statutes of Connecticut, and for that matter of any of the New England colonies of the eighteenth century, one should be careful not to be misled by the provision that schools be "constantly kept," or that they be kept for any definite term. As will be pointed out in greater detail later, the eighteenth century had not progressed far before New England towns began to break up into parishes or districts. Soon these subdivisions of the town began to insist that the town school be kept in them part of the time. Commonly, the town school would be kept in a half-dozen or more places during the course of the year. If the sum total of these terms equaled twelve months, then the school had been constantly kept within the meaning of the law. The point is that children in any given community seldom, if ever, had the opportunity of attending school for a term equal to that prescribed in the statutes.

The one remaining important act passed by the colonial legislature in Connecticut imposing on the local communities the duty of maintaining schools took cognizance of the dispersion of population and the rise of district schools. This act was passed in 1715 and made more stringent in 1717 by providing "that every society or parish within the colony shall be obliged to keep a school; where there are seventy families in any parish, the school shall be there kept at least eleven months in a year; and where there is a less number of families, not less than half the year."²⁵ Apparently the penalty remained as before, namely, the withholding of any share in the colony funds raised for the support of schools.

Legislation in New Hampshire with respect to the compulsory maintenance of schools was much like that in Massachusetts and Connecticut. In 1693, the legislature passed an act which required all the towns in the province, except Dover for the duration of the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

war, to "provide a schoolmaster for the supply of the town." These schoolmasters were evidently to teach reading and writing. Failure to obey the law involved a penalty of ten pounds.²⁶ Since no Latin grammar school had yet been established in the province "for the Encouragement of Learning and Vertue," the legislature in 1708 provided for the establishment of such a school in Portsmouth. The several towns in the province were required to contribute fifty pounds for the support of the schoolmaster, who was to keep a school for "writers, Readers and Latinists."²⁷ The only other acts passed during the colonial period requiring towns to maintain schools were those of 1719 and 1721. The first of these was very similar to the old Massachusetts Act of 1647 except that the penalty for failure to obey the law was more severe. It provided that all towns of fifty families should be constantly provided with "a schoolmaster to teach children and youth to read and write," and that all towns of one hundred families should set up and keep a Latin grammar school. The penalty for failure to obey the act was set at twenty pounds. Apparently the people in the various towns were not well disposed toward the maintenance of Latin schools. Two years later, in 1721, the legislature complained that "the selectmen of sundry towns within this province often neglect to provide grammar schools for their respective towns." To remedy the situation, the law was amended to require not only every town but every parish of one hundred families in the province to "be constantly provided with a grammar school." Moreover, if any town or parish required by law to maintain a grammar school failed to do so for more than a month each year, the selectmen were to be personally liable for a fine of twenty pounds.²⁸

Rhode Island, during the eighteenth century, adhered to its earlier policy of passing no legislation requiring towns to maintain schools. Historians, who have based their accounts of education overly much on legal enactments, have fallen into the error of assuming that Rhode Island was especially backward in the matter of education. As a matter of fact, an examination of town records discloses that

²⁶ There seems to be some doubt with respect to the enactment of this law. See Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

²⁷ Eugene Alfred Bishop, *The Development of a State School System: New Hampshire*, p. 22. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930.

²⁸ *Acts and Laws of his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire*, p. 120 (Portsmouth, 1761), as reported by Clews, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-68.

numerous towns in Rhode Island on their own volition were undertaking to maintain schools.²⁹

ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW REQUIRING THE MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS

It is always dangerous to assume that conditions prescribed by law actually exist in fact. If one were to examine none too critically the educational legislation of New England, one might well come to the conclusion that most of the smaller communities were provided with a reading and writing school and that in most of the larger towns' Latin schools were to be found. Certainly there was no dearth of legislation; if the laws had been well enforced, the children and youth of New England would have been provided with remarkable educational facilities. But in the preambles to these acts one meets unmistakable evidence that the laws were not being well enforced; in fact, if one may believe the lawmakers themselves, the provisions they were writing into the statute books were being disregarded in many towns, and the establishment and maintenance of schools "shamefully neglected." Thus, in 1701, the General Court of Massachusetts stated in the preamble to its new educational act that the former "wholesome and necessary law is shamefully neglected by divers towns, and the penalty therefore not required, tending greatly to the nourishing of ignorance and irreligion."³⁰ Popular opposition to the law requiring towns to keep grammar schools seems to have been particularly strong. In 1718, once again the General Court of Massachusetts registers a complaint:

Whereas, notwithstanding the many good and wholesome laws of this province for the encouraging of schools, and the penalty, first of ten pounds, and afterwards increased to twenty pounds, on such towns as are obliged to have a grammar schoolmaster, and neglect the same; yet by sad experience it is found that many towns that not only are obliged by law, but are very able to support a grammar school, yet chose rather to incur and pay the fine or penalty than maintain a grammar school,

²⁹ See Charles Carroll, *Public Education in Rhode Island*, chap. I. Rhode Island Education Circulars. Providence, Rhode Island: Published Jointly by the State Board of Education, the Commissioner of Public Schools and the Trustees of the Rhode Island Normal School, 1918.

³⁰ *Acts and Resolves*, I, 470, as quoted in Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

Be it enacted by his excellency the Governor, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the penalty or forfeiture for non-observance of the said law henceforth shall be thirty pounds on every town that shall have the number of one hundred and fifty families, and forty pounds on every town that shall have the number of two hundred families, and so, *pro rata*, in case the town consist of two hundred and fifty or three hundred families, to be recovered, paid and employed in manner and to the use as by the law is directed; any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.³¹

Nor were complaints of the neglect of the law confined to Massachusetts. In 1721, the legislature of New Hampshire stated that "the selectmen of sundry towns within this province often neglect to provide grammar schools for their respective towns, whereby their youth lose much of their time, to the great hindrance of their learning."³² The increase in the severity of the penalties imposed for failure to obey the law is also indicative of the difficulty in getting the statutes carried into effect.

Town and court records afford a much better picture than do the statutes of actual conditions with respect to the establishment and maintenance of schools. In general, it may be said that popular opinion was much more favorable toward the maintenance of reading and writing schools than toward the support of Latin grammar schools. Many towns simply neglected to establish schools as the law required, hoping that they would not be presented and fined. And, even if they were fined, it would be cheaper than hiring a schoolmaster. Some towns resorted to subterfuges to evade the law, as, for example, employing a master for a short time while the court was in session or arranging with the local minister for the teaching of Latin to any pupils who might resort to him, it being generally understood that few or no pupils would resort. It was perhaps this practice that led to the enactment of a law in Massachusetts in 1701 which prohibited towns from employing ministers as schoolmasters.

The lack of accurate census data with respect to population and the incompleteness of town records make it impossible to ascertain precisely the extent to which the laws requiring the maintenance of schools were enforced. Evidence is sufficient, however, to make it

³¹ As quoted in Clews, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

³² *Acts and Laws*, p. 121, as quoted in Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

clear that the Latin grammar school was never a popular institution. The county of Middlesex in Massachusetts, in 1708, contained twenty towns, nine of which had one hundred families or more. Only four of these nine had lived up to their legal obligations.³³ The town records show that in not a few towns the people were definitely opposed to the law requiring them to maintain a Latin school. Thus, in 1704, the inhabitants of Braintree, Massachusetts, agreed to pay the Latin schoolmaster thirty pounds a year "dureing the time he perform the work, untill the present Law refering to schools be Repealed."³⁴ The inhabitants of Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1767, instructed their representative to the General Court as follows: "That you use your endeavors to relieve the people of the Province from the great burden of supporting so many Latin grammar schools, whereby they are prevented from attaining such a degree of English learning as is necessary to retain the freedom of any state."³⁵ The preference here expressed for schools to teach children to read and write English was not uncommon.

Presentments of towns for failure to obey the law were numerous, and more often than not the towns were able to escape conviction. Laxity of the courts in the enforcement of the law no doubt reflected popular attitudes. The defenses offered by the towns when presented are often very revealing. Two of them are presented here. The first is the answer the selectmen of Andover, Massachusetts, made to an indictment in 1713.

This may certify any to whom it may concern, that the selectmen of said town have taken all the care and pains they could for to procure a schoolmaster for our town for the year last past, but could not obtain one; first, we agreed with Mr. Obediah Ayers of Haverhill for half a year, only he expected liberty if he had a better call or offer, which we thought would be only for the work of the ministry; but, however, he was pleased to take it otherwise and so left us; whereupon we forthwith applied ourselves to the college to the president for advice, and he could tell us of none, only advised us to the Fellows to ask them; and they advised to Mr. Rogers of Ipswich, for they could tell us of no other; and we applied ourselves

³³ Walter Herbert Small, *Early New England Schools*, p. 33. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1914.

³⁴ *Records of the Town of Braintree*, p. 58, as quoted in Mary Adalene Hope, "The Rise and Decline of the Grammar School in Massachusetts, 1635-1765," p. 30. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1938.

³⁵ Small, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

to him and got him to Andover. But by reason our Rev. Mr. Barnard could not diet him, he would not stay with us, and since we have sent to Newbury and Salisbury and to Mistick for to hire one and cannot get one; and we do take the best care we can for to bring our children to reading by schooldames, and we have no grammar school in our town as we know of, and we are now taking the best care we can for to obtain one, therefore we pray that we may be favored so far as may be, for we cannot compel gentlemen to come to us, and we do suppose they are something afraid by the reason we do lie so exposed to our Indian enemies. Pray consider our great extremity in that regard and we shall do our uttermost to answer to the true intent of the law in that behalf. So we rest your humble petitioners.³⁶

The selectmen of the town of Medfield made the following reply to a presentment:

Whereas the town of Medfield having been presented for some deficiency in a school according to law, we, whose names are underwritten, being selectmen of the said town of Medfield, do certify your honors that for several years past, we have had a constant schoolmaster who is very capable to learn to read and write &c in English, and is very inclinable for that work; and we have not at any time been without such a school except it were a small space of time last July, when the schoolmaster was taken ill and incapable of that work; we, the selectmen, did quickly seek out another to supply that place, and we have been constantly supplied to this time, till the same schoolmaster hath been recovered and is now engaged in that work. And may it please your honors, we are certain that we had such a school when the presentment was made. And as for the number of householders or families in our town, referring to a grammar school, indeed in former years we had such a number of families and had a grammar school some years before Medway was taken from us, and is a distinct town; we were ready to conform to our duty in the law; but now may it please your honors, our town falleth short considerably of 100 householders or families, we having sufficient knowledge of every family within the town bounds, which bounds contains no more than three miles one way and four miles the other way; and to the best of our understandings, we have reckoned up all the families in the town, and find but ninety-four families.³⁷

³⁶ As quoted in Small, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

In 1765, a census was taken in Massachusetts which shows the population of the several towns. By an examination of town records and histories it is possible to get a fairly accurate picture of the status of Latin grammar schools at that date. The picture is not complete because in many instances available information does not indicate whether a town was maintaining a Latin school. In 1765, there were one hundred and forty towns in Massachusetts with a population of one hundred families or more and all of these under the law were required to maintain a Latin school. Forty-eight of these it is definitely known were meeting the legal requirement.³⁸ It is possible, indeed probable, that other towns were maintaining schools, even though the evidence in the study from which these data are drawn does not reveal it. Still it seems a fair conclusion that the grammar-school law in Massachusetts was not being complied with in many communities. Small, after a detailed examination of many town records in Massachusetts, came to the following conclusion with respect to the popular attitude toward the Latin grammar school in the eighteenth century: "The whole century is marked by indifference to the law, or open defiance of it. More and more the conviction is forced upon us that this form of school existed not by popular will but by force of law."³⁹

THE DECLINING INTEREST IN POPULAR EDUCATION

The evidence with respect to both compulsory education and compulsory maintenance of schools indicates that from about 1690 on there was a general decline in popular interest in education, at least in the kind of education represented by the town schools. It is not difficult to understand why the fourth and fifth generations of New Englanders did not have the enthusiasm for education that characterized the founding fathers. First of all, as we have already seen, there had been a decrease in religious zeal. In the early days, religion had been the principal integrative force in New England life, the dominant unifying force in society. To no small degree the early educational program had been made possible by unity of religious purpose. But, as the years passed, the integrating force of religion was lost to a considerable degree. It was lost partly because life was becoming more secular and partly because of the growing

³⁸ Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³⁹ Small, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

toleration of various religious faiths. As Anglicans and Baptists began to establish themselves and as dissensions appeared in the Puritan ranks themselves, there was some loss of social solidarity which reflected itself in attitudes toward education. Still other forces were contributing to the social disintegration of the New England towns. Among these the dispersion of population and the decentralizing tendency of democracy were the most important. As population spread from the central village to all parts of the town, one detects the development of the spirit of individualism and localism. Antagonisms developed between groups in the same town and there was less tendency to follow a united leadership. Moreover, the theocratic state was giving place to the civil state, but the civic values inherent in a system of popular education were not yet fully apprehended. As the economic interest in life grew stronger, the tendency was to evaluate education in terms of its contribution to social and economic ends. Hence it was only a comparatively small group of leaders who saw any great value in the Latin grammar school. In a frontier society such as New England still was, even the ability to read and write in the vernacular was not very essential if one were no longer greatly concerned with the reading of the Scripture. Finally, the first generation of educational leaders who had come over in the great migration had passed on and their passing had marked an intellectual decline from which New England did not easily recover.

FINANCING THE COST OF EDUCATION

During the eighteenth century, down to the Revolution, no significant changes occurred in the law governing the support of schools. Each separate town was still permitted to follow its own policy about as it pleased. One does note, however, a fundamental change of practice on the part of most communities. There was a definite tendency to increase materially the share of the cost of education borne by the town in its corporate capacity. This tendency to shift the burden of school support from individual parents and masters to the town definitely reflects the growth of democracy, the rise of small farmers and artisans to a place of greater importance.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

From the earliest days in New England, the principle that education is a function of the state rather than the local community was accepted and put into practical operation. The General Court, the colonial legislature, was the source of authority and control. It determined whether the towns should be required to maintain schools, the kinds of schools to be maintained, the length of the school term, the possible means of support, and the qualifications of teachers.

THE TOWN AS THE LOCAL UNIT

The colonial legislatures generally made use of the town as the unit of local school administration. The town must not be confused with the central village or any aggregation of people. It was simply a civil subdivision of the state, usually embracing from twenty to forty square miles irregularly laid off.

The town meeting, where those who had the right to exercise the local suffrage met to elect town officers and reach decisions in the management of the town's affairs, was the source of authority for the administration of schools locally. In open town meetings decisions were reached with respect to such matters as whether the town would have a school or pay the fine imposed upon it for neglect to do so, the method of raising funds for school support, the location of the school, and the employment of the teacher. As time passed, however, matters of this kind were to a considerable degree delegated by the town meeting to the selectmen, the regularly elected town officers.

THE RISE OF THE DISTRICT SYSTEM

A great deal of importance attaches to the rise of the district system of school administration. It was significant because it represented a high degree of decentralization of school control. It was equally significant because it marked the separation of school and municipal administration, a separation which has continued, in the main, to the present day. The development of the district system was due largely to the dispersion of population and the growth of the spirit of democracy and localism. In the early days, people built their homes around a village center in one part of the town. Here

was located the village church and the schoolhouse, if the town had one. Early New England towns were distinctly village-centered. In time, however, as population increased, families moved out into the various parts of the town and new villages or settlements sprang up. These outlying settlements came to be known as quarters, squadrons, ends, skirts, or districts. It was not long until the people in these outlying settlements began to demand the right of local self-government. They demanded their own church, and thus the district would become a parish. They might also demand that their settlement become a road district, or a district for recruiting the militia. In time, these outlying settlements began to insist on having their own schools. They began to have a dame school in the summer and a private school of their own kept by a master in the winter. The result was a severe crippling of the town school located in the original village. The law required the town to maintain a school, but the people from the outlying districts were not much disposed to tax themselves to support a school to which it would be difficult to send their children because of the distances involved. The people in the central village, on the other hand, were not disposed to support the town school entirely by tuition fees. The outcome was a compromise, namely, the moving school, supported in the main by town taxes. The schoolmaster now moved from one community in the town to another, spending a few weeks in one or a few months in the other, depending, as a rule, upon the amount of taxes each settlement had paid into the town treasury for school purposes.

The following record of the moving school in the town of Harwich illustrates how this type of institution operated. In 1725, there were six places in the town in which the master taught for varying lengths of time. The following arrangement was worked out for the "removes" of the master:

First remove, 16 families, 29 children,
school 6 months 1 week

Second remove, 25 families, 53 children,
school 8 months 3 weeks

Third remove, 22 families, 56 children,
school 8 months 3 weeks

Fourth remove, 25 families, 47 children,
school 8 months 1 week

Fifth remove, 14 families, 32 children,
school 4 months

Sixth remove, 26 families, 35 children,
school 6 months 1 week.⁴⁰

Under this plan the master would make the circuit of the town every three and one-half years. Perhaps the children welcomed these long vacations from school of from two to three years, but it must have been disastrous to their learning. The law, which required a town to keep a school constantly, was, of course, complied with if a school was kept at all times in some one settlement in the town.

The moving school proved unsatisfactory. In time, the various districts within a town where the school was kept from time to time began to demand their quota of the town school taxes and the right to employ their own master and to run the school as they pleased. The following extract from the records of the town of Swansey in 1775 indicates what had been going on throughout New England for many years:

We, the subscribers, living very remote from any district where we might be convenient to a school for our children, do humbly petition that the town would vote us off as a district and grant that the money which we pay towards maintaining a school in this town may be laid out for schooling in the said district as near the center as may be convenient. . . . Voted the above request be complied with during the town's pleasure.⁴¹

It is clear that, although the town was still the local unit contemplated in the statutes, the district had become the unit actually employed in the practical operation of the schools. All that was needed to establish the district system was to enact statutes legalizing the practice. A step was taken in this direction in Connecticut in 1766 when the General Court authorized the towns "to divide themselves into proper and necessary districts for keeping their schools, and to alter and regulate the same from time to time."⁴² Soon after the Revolution, Massachusetts legalized the district system and in time other states in and out of New England adopted it as the form of local organization.

The development of the district system reflects the rise of the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴¹ As quoted in Small, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁴² *Connecticut Colonial Records*, XII, 497-98, as quoted in Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

middle class to a position of greater importance in New England life. Small farmers and artisans were insisting that their children share in whatever opportunities for schooling the town might afford. The moving school and the small school district were means of achieving a high degree of equality of educational opportunity; they also meant that schooling was spread extremely thin.

The school district was a democratic institution. Without it, many children would have had no opportunity to attend school at all. It fitted into the pattern of rural life in the United States. Even when cities began to develop, most of them were for some years divided into more-or-less independent school districts with their own governing bodies. And when the districts embraced in a city were consolidated into a single city-wide district, the newly created school district usually had a board of trustees separate and distinct from the municipal government. It appears that the American policy of separating school and municipal administration is more the result of historic circumstance than of any well-considered educational policy.

THE CONTENT OF INSTRUCTION, METHODS, AND TEACHERS

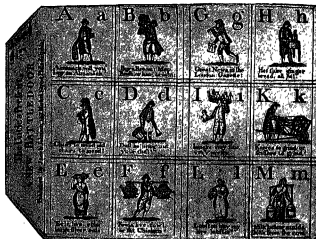
The eighteenth century witnessed the combination of the dame school and the reading and writing schools to form a single elementary school for the teaching of the three R's. The town English school was primarily concerned with teaching children reading and writing and, in some instances, the fundamentals of arithmetic. Of course, children still were surrounded by a somber religious atmosphere. Nearly all the reading matter put into their hands was of a religious nature. In the elementary school, the *New England Primer*, "The Little Bible of New England," was used almost universally. One has to read this little book to realize how thoroughly it was shot through from cover to cover with religious teachings or to realize what a stern and cruel God was held up before the Puritan child. The catechism was the most important part of the *Primer* and it was etched in the child's memory in the school, in the home, and at church. It was regarded as a fit instrument for making sure that children, "young vipers, and infinitely more hateful than vipers to God," according to Jonathan Edwards, would attain that happy state of being mortally afraid they "should goe to Hell" and would

FIRST LESSONS IN READING HORNBOOK AND BATTLEDOOR



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Child of the Colonial Period with a Hornbook



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Battledoor

be "stirred up dreadfully to seek God." Once the child had finished the *Primer* with all its moralizings, catechism, religious poetry, and commandments, he was then ready to proceed to the reading of the Psalter, the Testament, or the Bible. Toward the end of the colonial period, spelling books began to appear which were somewhat less religious in content. That by Thomas Dilworth, *A New Guide to the English Tongue*, published in 1740, became the most popular in America. It was really a speller and reader combined. The doors of history, geography, and science were closed to the child; he was not even aware of their existence. After about 1725, most town elementary schools included some instruction in arithmetic. As a rule, neither teacher nor pupil had the benefit of an arithmetic text. Traditional rules and operations were recorded by the child in a manuscript and examples were set to which the rules and operations were to be applied. In time, the child produced for himself the same kind of manuscript the teacher had produced when he was a child.

The curriculum of the Latin grammar school underwent little change during the eighteenth century. In some towns, like Boston, where the Latin grammar school was kept separate and distinct from the English elementary school, boys were put through seven years of rigorous drill in Latin and they were also given instruction in the rudiments of Greek. Latin occupied three-fourths or perhaps nine-tenths of the pupil's time; he must be able to read it, write it, and even speak it with some degree of ease. The religious atmosphere was quite as evident in the Latin school as it was in the elementary English school. The master prayed regularly with his pupils and quizzed them thoroughly on the sermons they heard each Sabbath morning.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all the Latin grammar schools were of the high quality of that of Boston and of some of the other more populous towns. Many schools passed as Latin grammar schools in the eyes of the law which were in fact nothing more than English elementary schools with a few boys in them receiving instruction in Latin.

The individual method of instruction was employed in both the elementary and the Latin grammar schools. It was not until the next century that the class method of instruction came to be the common practice. Pupils were called up one by one before the master to "recite" their lessons, and woe unto him whose memory

was bad or who for some other reason had failed to "learn" what he was supposed to know. Rare was the master who failed to use the rod as an aid to learning. The "ferule" and the whipping post were regarded as essential items in the school's equipment and not a few masters were positively ingenious in devising novel ways of punishment.

The following quotation from Samuel P. Goodrich, who attended a rural school in Connecticut soon after the Revolution, is revealing with respect to the kind of education a rural child received in the latter part of the eighteenth century:

The schoolhouse chimney was of stone, and the fireplace was six feet wide and four deep. The flue was so ample and so perpendicular that the rain, sleet, and snow fell directly to the hearth. In winter the battle for life with green fizzling fuel, which was brought in lengths and cut up by the scholars, was a stern one. Not unfrequently the wood, gushing with sap as it was, chanced to let the fire go out, and as there was no living without fire, the school was dismissed, whereat all the scholars rejoiced.

I was about six years old when I first went to school. My teacher was "Aunt Delight," a maiden lady of fifty, short and bent, of sallow complexion and solemn aspect. We were all seated upon benches made of slabs — boards having the exterior or rounded part of the log on one side. As they were useless for other purposes, they were converted into school benches, the rounded part down. They had each four supports, consisting of straddling wooden legs set into auger holes.

The children were called up one by one to Aunt Delight, who sat on a low chair, and required each, as a preliminary, "to make his manners," which consisted of a small, sudden nod. She then placed the spelling-book before the pupil, and with a pen-knife pointed, one by one, to the letters of the alphabet, saying, "What's that?"

I believe I achieved the alphabet that summer. Two years later I went to the winter school at the same place kept by Lewis Olmstead — a man who made a business of ploughing, mowing, carting manure, etc., in the summer, and of teaching school in the winter. He was a celebrity in ciphering, and Squire Seymour declared that he was the greatest "arithmeticker" in Fairfield County. There was not a grammar, a geography, or a history of any kind in the school. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the only things taught, and these very indifferently — not wholly from the stupidity of the

teacher, but because he had forty scholars, and the custom of the age required no more than he performed.⁴³

The town schools were taught by persons varying a great deal in both learning and force of character. The masters of some of the Latin grammar schools, as, for example, Ezekiel Cheever and John Lovell, of Boston, were men of outstanding classical scholarship who left a deep and lasting impression on their pupils. Many of the masters in the grammar schools were Harvard or Yale graduates. During the hundred years from 1671 to 1771, the town of Plymouth had twenty-eight schoolmasters and all but two were college graduates.⁴⁴ It was not unusual for a master to teach for many years in the same community. Thus, Samuel Savil was the master in Braintree for twenty-three years, and in the town of Sandwich John Rogers and Silas Tupper each taught for more than a quarter of a century.⁴⁵ Frequently, however, the grammar-school master taught for only a few years while he was waiting for a call to the ministry. In many towns the local minister also served as the master in the grammar school, and this practice continued in Massachusetts even after the law prohibited it.

The scholastic requirements for teaching were far from rigorous. Of course, the grammar-school master was expected to have a knowledge of Latin and perhaps some Greek, and the masters and dames who taught in the elementary schools must know how to read and write and in most instances be able to teach simple arithmetic. Diligent care was taken that the schoolmaster be sound in the faith and of "sober and good conversation." Commonly, he was required to have a certificate signed by the minister of the town in which he proposed to teach and by the minister in one or more of the adjacent towns. A certificate issued in Wenham in 1743 read:

Mr. Jonathan Perkins, having been agreed with to keep school in our town for six months, we being well satisfied of his ability for that service and his sober and good conversation, do approve the said Jonathan Perkins to keep a school in our town for the time agreed on, he continuing in such conversation.⁴⁶

The ministers granted the certificate to teach; they also kept a close supervision over the school to see to it that the teachers re-

⁴³ As quoted in Clifton Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School-Books*, pp. 116-17. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904.

⁴⁴ Small, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

mained sound in the faith and of good conversation. The selectmen and committees of prominent citizens also paid periodical visits to the school to make sure that it was being satisfactorily conducted.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLLEGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

While the Latin grammar school was declining in popular favor and the town elementary school of the three R's was being brought close to the people by the spread of the district system, higher education was increasing in importance, and at Harvard, at least, it was beginning to emancipate itself from sectarian control. During the closing years of the seventeenth century, Harvard appears to have suffered a decline both in numbers and in the quality of its work. Two Dutch travelers visited Harvard in 1680, where they found less than twenty students in attendance. And, rightly or wrongly, they placed a low estimate on the scholastic attainment of the students. The first group of young men they encountered gave them the impression they were in a tavern rather than a college. The students, they reported, could hardly speak a word of Latin. Nor were they any more favorably impressed with the library, "where there was nothing particular."

But soon after the turn of the century, the little college fell on better days. College enrollment soon reflected the peace and prosperity that followed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By 1718, there were no less than one hundred and twenty-four students in attendance, counting candidates for the Master's as well as the Bachelor's degree.⁴⁷ More important than growth in numbers, however, was the refusal of Harvard to permit its intellectual life to be entirely circumscribed by the narrow tenets of Puritanism. Located at Cambridge, at the very heart of the intellectual life of Massachusetts, Harvard could not escape the influence of the secular interests and the growing liberalism of Boston merchants and men of affairs. Some of the ministers, like the two Mathers and Jonathan Edwards, and many of the farm folk in towns removed from the seacoast might still be held in the grip of Puritanism, but this was no longer true of many of the outstanding leaders in Boston. Moreover, it was the merchant class that was providing Harvard with a large percentage

⁴⁷ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936*, p. 59. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

of its students and some of its instructional staff. It was possible, therefore, for Harvard presidents, notably John Leverett and Edward Holyoke, to prevent the college from being merely a sectarian institution. In the course of the eighteenth century, the religious thought of Harvard moved slowly away from Puritanism toward a broad Unitarianism or Deism.

The curriculum and the activities of the students reflected this partial emancipation from Puritan thought. In 1728, Isaac Greenwood was installed as the first professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. Ten years later, he was succeeded by Professor John Winthrop, who continued to teach until 1779. Of his work Nettels has the following to say:

The first creative scientist in academic circles was John Winthrop, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard between 1728 and 1779. As the son of a Boston merchant, Professor Winthrop was in touch with that element among the colonial capitalists which was turning from Puritan dogma to science, and his appointment was viewed with misgivings by the theologians. He established the first laboratory of experimental physics in an American college, using the best available scientific apparatus to demonstrate the laws of heat, light, and mechanics, and in 1751 he introduced the study of calculus at Harvard. He made observations of sunspots, studied electricity, and proved that earthquakes are the result of natural forces, not of divine anger. In 1761 he led an official expedition to Newfoundland to observe the transit of Venus over the sun. His scientific contributions were printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*—the main channel of publication for the papers of colonial scientists.⁴⁸

French was not a regular study in the curriculum, but after 1750 it was customary to license a French teacher to give private instruction to Harvard students who might desire it. Through the adoption of new texts, as, for example, Locke's *Essay Concerning the Human Understanding*, the curriculum was undergoing a rather thorough reorganization.

Student activities and the subjects they selected for commencement theses also reflected the broader intellectual life at Harvard. In 1721, the first college periodical, *The Telltale*, made its appearance. Student clubs were organized, and many of the subjects

⁴⁸ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

brought up for discussion in them, as, for example, "Whether there be any Standard of Truth," were indicative of the wide departure from the Puritan outlook on life.⁴⁹ Many commencement theses still reflected the spirit of scholastic theology, but some of them revealed clearly the new currents of thought. From those reflecting the older point of view the following have been selected:

When Balaam's ass spoke, was there any change in its organs? 1731.

If Lazarus, by a will made before his death, had given away his property, could he have legally claimed it after his resurrection? 1738, 1754, 1769.

If Adam had remained in a state of innocence, would he have been translated to heaven? 1741, 1772.

Would any evidence of the truth of the Christian religion remain, if the doctrine of transubstantiation were admitted? 1755.

Is it consistent with divine justice that the human race should be subjected to death for the sin of one man? 1758, 1769.

When the shadow went back on the sun-dial of Hezekiah, did the shadows go back on all sun-dials? 1769, 1771.

Is it necessary that Mary should have been the mother of two sons, because Christ is called her first-born son? 1772.⁵⁰

The following list of theses are of a wholly different order and reflect the growing secularization of thought:

Does the issue of paper money contribute to the public good? 1728.

Is it lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved? 1743.

Can the new prohibitory duties, which make it useless for the people to engage in commerce be evaded by them as faithful subjects? 1765.

Is a just government the only stable foundation of public peace? 1769.

⁴⁹ Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

⁵⁰ *Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College, 1655-1791*, pp. 21, 27, 29, 37-38. Translated and Arranged, with an Introduction and Notes, by Edward J. Young. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, June, 1880. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1880.

Is a government tyrannical in which the rulers consult their own interest more than that of their subjects? 1770.

Is a government despotic in which the people have no check on the legislative power? 1770.⁵¹

It is easy to overestimate the growing liberalism of Harvard. After all, only a beginning had been made in the study of mathematics and science. Little systematic attention was given to English writers — to Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Addison, Swift, or Pope. And those studies which deal with human society — history, economics, sociology, geography, and anthropology — were almost wholly neglected. Harvard did not have a chair of history until the nineteenth century.

The second college to be established in New England, and the third in the English colonies, was Yale. It has often been said that Yale was established as a reaction to the growing liberalism of Harvard. This is only partly the case. John Davenport and other leaders in Connecticut had long been interested in founding a college, but they felt that the colony was not financially able to support one. There can be no doubt, however, that the establishment of Yale in 1701 was in part due to the feeling that Harvard was becoming unsound in the faith. From the beginning, Yale kept in the strict and narrow path of Congregationalism; it may be regarded as a strictly sectarian institution. The same was true of Dartmouth, founded in 1769. Like Yale, it was a Congregationalist college and was in large measure the product of the religious revival known as the Great Awakening.

VENTURES IN ADJUSTING EDUCATION TO SOCIAL NEEDS — THE RISE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Too often the history of education in colonial New England has been written as though an account of the town schools and colleges comprised the whole of it; attention of historians has been too narrowly confined to colonial laws and town records as sources of information. The examination of other sources reveals that there were other schools of very great importance. As we have seen, the town schools were dominated by influences growing out of the Renaissance and the Reformation, by classical and religious tradi-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–12.

tions. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that they were always exotic in the American climate and they tended to become more so as the eighteenth century progressed. The educational opportunities they afforded were too narrow and restricted to meet the needs of a large element in the population. Many youth who wanted to engage in one or another of the business enterprises of the day, or who desired to cultivate a certain refinement of taste, found it necessary to turn away from the town schools and seek a more practical education elsewhere. This need for a type of education that would be more functional was met by the private teacher. Unfortunately, the records do not disclose anything like as much as we should like to know about these private schools. But an examination of newspaper advertisements does enable one to patch together a fairly accurate picture of the work these schools were doing.⁵²

The contrast in the spirit and purpose of the town and the private schools is brought out vividly, perhaps too vividly, by the two following quotations. The first is a quotation from the preface of a school text published in Boston about the middle of the eighteenth century and may be taken as more or less indicative of the spirit of the town schools:

Lord what is man: Originally dust, engendered in sin, brought forth in sorrow, helpless in his infancy, extravagantly wild in his youth, mad in his manhood, decrepid in his age; his first voice moves to pity, his last commands grief.⁵³

The second is an advertisement which appeared in the *Boston Evening Post* under date of November 21, 1737:

At the North End of Boston, in the Fore Street, near the Sign of the Red Lyon, are taught these Mathematical Sciences, viz. Arithmetik, Geometry, Algebra, Fluxions, Trigonometry, Navigation, Dialing, Astronomy, Surveying, Gauging, Fortification, Gunnery; the Use of the Globes, also other Mathematical Instruments, likewise the Projecting of the Sphere on any Circle, &c. with other parts of the Mathematics. By Samuel Scammell.

⁵² For a pioneer work on the private schools in colonial America see Robert Francis Seybolt, *Source Studies in American Colonial Education: The Private School*. Bureau of Educational Research Bulletin No. 28. University of Illinois Bulletin, XXIII, No. 4. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1925. Also see his *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

⁵³ From a textbook published in Boston in 1757 under the title of *Youth's Instructor*.

Formerly a Teacher of the Gentlemen Volunteers in His Majesty's Royal Navy.⁵⁴

From the opening of the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier, in the larger commercial centers private teachers were giving instruction in almost any subject for which there was a demand. Interest in vocational subjects was especially strong. Youth who wanted to enter the business world found it necessary to study arithmetic, bookkeeping, and accounting; those who wanted to learn navigation or surveying would have to give attention to a variety of subjects, including geometry, trigonometry, and geography.⁵⁵ There was a demand, too, for "dialling, gauging, fortification, gunnery, and optics, as well as . . . navigation and surveying." As Professor Seybolt points out, "for such courses algebra, geometry, logarithms, mensuration, trigonometry, conic sections, and calculus were necessary."⁵⁶ But it is not to be supposed that the demand for instruction on the part of these private teachers was limited to vocational subjects. They were also teaching Latin, French, geography, music, dancing, painting, and "the genteelest manner."

The work of these private teachers is revealing with respect to the education of girls. Some of the schools they conducted were coeducational and some were designed for girls only. The latter type specialized in reading and writing, French, music, dancing, painting, embroidery, sewing, millinery, and hairdressing.

The private schools were commonly kept in the home of the teacher or that of someone with whom the teacher lived. Hours for instruction were arranged to meet the convenience of pupils. Evening schools were not uncommon. In some instances the teachers, in their advertisements, indicated that they were conducting boarding schools. Private teachers in colonial America have often been described as a poor lot. As a matter of fact, many of them were college graduates, and on the whole they seem to have been fully as capable as the teachers in the town schools.

The following advertisements selected from many which appeared in the Boston newspapers of the eighteenth century illustrate the wide range of subjects being taught by private teachers.

Opposite to the Mitre Tavern in Fish-street near to Scarlets-Wharff, Boston, are Taught Writing, Arithmetick in all its parts;

⁵⁴ *Boston Evening Post*, Nov. 21, 28, Dec. 5, 1737, as quoted in Seybolt, *Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁵⁵ Seybolt, *Source Studies in American Colonial Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

And also Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Sphaerical, Surveying, Dialling, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy; The Projection of the Sphaere, and the use of Mathematical Instruments: By Owen Harris.

Who Teaches at as easie Rates, and as speedy as may be.⁵⁷

At the house of Mr. George Brownell in Wings-Lane, Boston, is taught Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Treble Violin, Flute, Spinnet, &c. Also English and French Quilting, Imbroidery, Florishing, Plain Work, Marking in several sorts of Stiches and several other works, where Scholars may board.⁵⁸

To be taught by Mr. Greenwood, at Mrs. Belknap's House, at the upper end of Queen-Street, Boston, The Principles of Algebra, Sir Isaac Newton's incomparable Method of Fluxions, or any of the Universal Methods of Investigation used by the Moderns, Conic Sections, the Doctrine of Curves; or any Part of Speculative, or Practical Mathematicks, usually taught in the Schools or Colleges in Europe: Also, to such as are already instructed in the Mathematical Sciences, the Principles of Sir Isaac Newton, together with the Modern Discoveries in Astronomy and Philosophy will be explained and demonstrated in a concise and easy manner. Attendance will be given from the Date hereof, daily, from the Hour of 9 to 12 A.M. & 3 to 6 P.M.⁵⁹

Writing, Arithmatick, Merchants Accompts, Foreign Exchanges, either in French or in English, are taught at the Widow Copps, at the Lower End of Prince-street, Boston, by Charles Lewis.⁶⁰

These may inform the Publick, that Nathan Prince Fellow of Harvard College proposes, on suitable Encouragement, to open a school in this Town for the instructing young Gentlemen in the most useful Parts of the Mathematicks, Natural Philosophy and History. Particularly in the Elements of GEOMETRY and ALGEBRA; in TRIGONOMETRY and NAVIGATION: in GEOGRAPHY and ASTRONOMY, with the Use of the Globes and the several Kinds of Projecting the Sphere: In the Arts of SURVEYING, GAUGING and DIALING; and in the General Rules of FORTIFICATION and GUNNERY. To these will be added LECTURES on History and Natural Philosophy.

The Terms, on which the said Nathan Prince would engage to

⁵⁷ *Boston News-Letter*, March 14-21, 1708/9, as quoted in Seybolt, *Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, p. 11.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 21-28, 1708/9, as quoted in Seybolt, *Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, p. 12.

⁵⁹ *New-England Weekly Journal*, July 17-24, 1727; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, July 6-13, 13-20, 1727, as quoted in Seybolt, *Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶⁰ *Boston News-Letter*, March 5-12, 12-19, 19-26, April 3-9, 1730, as quoted in Seybolt, *Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

instruct young Gentlemen in the above-mentioned Arts and Sciences, may be seen at his Lodgings at the House of Seth Cushing in Exchange Lane, Boston.⁶¹

This is to inform the Publick That the School lately kept by Mr. John Leddel, now deceas'd, is still kept by Richard Green, where may be taught Writing in all its usual Hands, also Arithmetick, in all its Branches, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry apply'd to Navigation, and Book-keeping after the Italian Method, &c. &c.

N.B. Youth may be boarded at Mrs. Leddel's, as formerly.⁶²

Dancing, Small-sword, Back-sword, and the FRENCH LANGUAGE, taught by WILLIAM POPE, at the School occupied by Mr. William Turner, opposite to William Vassal, Esq;

Constant Attendance given at the above school.

Those who will please to send their Children, to dance may depend that great Care will be taken to Instruct them.⁶³

It is clear that the town schools of colonial New England were designed to meet the needs of a Puritan social order. It is clear, too, that the pattern of these schools was so rigid that it did not yield to the pressures of an emerging capitalistic society. The Latin grammar schools tended to die out; the town reading and writing school was democratized by bringing it close to the children of farmers and artisans, but its efficiency was greatly impaired in the process; the colleges continued to prepare ministers for the Congregational churches, and at Harvard the religious liberalism and the expanding intellectual interests of merchants and men of affairs were beginning to make themselves felt. In large measure, it was left for the private teachers to sense the demands that a changing society was making on the lower schools. They were experimenting with new content and new methods, and it would not be long before the work they were doing would be institutionalized in the academy, a form of school which was to dominate the field of secondary education for more than a century.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 3

1. Indicate the major economic, social, political, and intellectual changes in New England that occurred during the eighteenth century.

⁶¹ *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 3, 10, 1742-43, as quoted in Seybolt, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶² *Boston Evening Post*, June 1, 15, 1752, as quoted in Seybolt, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁶³ *Massachusetts Gazette & Boston Weekly News-Letter*, June 28, July 5, 12, 19, 1770, as quoted in Seybolt, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2. In what ways were educational policy and practice in eighteenth-century New England influenced by changing social, political, and intellectual conditions?
3. How did the rise of a merchant-capitalist class affect education in New England?
4. What was the effect on education of the declining importance of the New England clergy as a social force in the community?
5. Did the rising importance of the yeomanry have any significant educational consequences? If so, what?
6. Account for the rise of the district system of school administration in New England. Show how this form of local school administration has continued in many places and is a major educational problem today.
7. In what ways did the private schools of New England better serve contemporary social needs than did the types of schools inherited from the old world?
8. Do social conditions today make desirable fundamental readjustments in our educational programs? If so, what?

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Chapter 4 ~ Education in a Diversity of Cultural Patterns:

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES, no less than in New England and in the South, the transplanted Europeans strove determinedly to maintain the old and familiar culture in new surroundings. They, too, were subjected to the molding influences of geography and the frontier, but the lack of a common inheritance of language, religious beliefs, and political theories, along with the conditions peculiar to the individual colonies, delayed the development of a common culture.

Educational development in each of the colonies established between New England and Maryland was retarded by the disorganizing influences of clashing cultures. In no other section were the people so sharply divided in social origin or in social outlook. In no other section did the Protestant theory of the personal relationship between God and man find such varied expression as in the divided and constantly dividing religious affiliations of the inhabitants. In no other section was the population so heterogeneous with respect to nationality. All northern Europe contributed to the constituency of the population and the only non-English peoples to found colonies within the limits of the original thirteen established them in this middle region.

The middle colonies differed not only from other American colonies, but also from one another. In this region, educational development had its setting in scenes, which, although similar in their broader aspects, varied considerably as to the arrangement and relative importance of significant elements. For example, the culture of New Netherland, in spite of the presence in that colony of many national and religious groups, was predominately Dutch; and the Dutch Reformed Church was the state church. The period after the English conquest was marked by a fusion of cultures with the English

slowly gaining ground. In Pennsylvania, because of large-scale and long-continued immigration, the great diversity of the early population with respect to race, religion, economic status, and cultural background increased as the period progressed. The educational histories of New York and Pennsylvania, therefore, must be traced separately. New Jersey, to a certain extent, followed the pattern set by New York. Delaware, small and unimportant as an independent colony, had a meager educational history.

NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW YORK

The slow progress of education in New Netherland may be attributed to several causes. In the first place, the colony was founded, and, until the English occupation, controlled, by the Dutch West India Company. The colonization of the Hudson Valley was only one, perhaps a minor, item in this corporation's ambitious program to promote trade and other Dutch interests "between the tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, in the West Indies, and on the coasts of America between Newfoundland and the Straits of Magellan."¹ The educational needs of a few struggling communities in the American wilderness, although in part a responsibility of the company and given consideration by it, were of less consequence to this gigantic monopoly than were its more purely commercial and military affairs. Then, too, the extremely backward political development in New Netherland created little motive for education beyond religious and civic conformity. Educational progress was certainly not stimulated by the existing pattern of political arrangements.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE DUTCH

In granting the charter to the West India Company, the Dutch government retained a very limited authority. The control of the company was vested in five chambers of directors, the general assembly of which was to be made up of nineteen members, called the College of the XIX. The Amsterdam chamber furnished eight members to the college; the other chambers together provided ten; and the States-General, the legislative branch of the Dutch government, was represented by only one member. The College of the

¹ Ellis H. Roberts, *New York: The Planting and Growth of the Empire State*, I, 31. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1887.

XIX delegated the direct supervision of the colony to the Lords Directors of the Amsterdam chamber.²

Arbitrary government. The States-General reserved the right of approving the director-general, the chief executive officer of the company in the colony, and of reviewing his instructions. From time to time it intervened to correct the most flagrant abuses in the government of the colony. Even so, the company, unfitted as it was by its military and commercial character to govern a colony, enjoyed almost a free hand in directing the affairs of New Netherland. Moreover, most of the authority vested in the company was delegated to the director-general, who exercised not only executive but legislative and judicial powers as well. The director-general was assisted by a council, but as a rule he was able to control or ignore it altogether. Little restrained by a distant board of directors or by fear of the States-General, he administered the affairs of the colony as autocratically as he pleased. To aggravate the situation, the colony, from Minuit's recall in 1632 to the end of its history as a Dutch possession, did not have one properly qualified governor. The director-generals, jealous of their authority and possessing little judgment in exercising it, kept the internal affairs of the colony in a constant state of turmoil. Stuyvesant, the last and perhaps the best of the lot, was a narrow-minded, bigoted, tyrannical, blustering bully whose term was marked by oppressions and persecutions more unreasonable and far less understandable than those which characterized the government of his Puritan neighbors. In rejecting the petition of leading and respected citizens to investigate the conduct of his predecessor, he made evident his position. If, he said, petitions were received from private persons against a former magistrate, "will not these cunning fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume in consequence even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration may not square in every respect with their whims?" He ended by stating, "It is treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there be cause or not."³ Stuyvesant not only supported his predecessor, but, instigated by him, prosecuted and convicted the peti-

² William Heard Kilpatrick, *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York*, p. 11. Reprint from the United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 12, 1912. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912.

³ As quoted in Bayard Tuckerman, *Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General for the West India Company in New Netherland*, p. 65. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1893.

tioners for seditious attack on the government. When one of the unjustly convicted men asked for grace until his case could be presented in Holland, Stuyvesant, much excited by the contempt involved in an appeal from his judgment, furiously declared: "If I knew . . . that you would divulge our sentence . . . or bring it before Their High Mightinesses, I would cause you to be hanged at once on the highest tree in New Netherland." In another case, it is said the director declared: "It may during my administration be contemplated to appeal; but if anyone should do it, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland and let him appeal in that way."⁴ It is clear that such a director would oppose any development in the direction of popular government. In fact, he was able, in the main, to prevent the inhabitants from enjoying fully even those rights and privileges which the company saw fit or was obliged to accord them.

Opposition by the burghers to certain taxes proclaimed by Stuyvesant forced him to make concessions which admitted the people to a semblance of a share in the government. In 1647, he ordered the election of a board of nine men, which was to be presided over by the director. Three members of this advisory body were to sit in rotation to judge civil cases, the litigants having the right to appeal to the council. In each year six were to retire and their places were "to be taken by six others, to be appointed by the director from a list of twelve of the 'most notable citizens' named by the Commonalty."⁵ The board could be dispensed with at the pleasure of the director. Its establishment, however, furthered the development of the principle of representation in government. The nine men became a center of opposition and were able to carry their complaints directly to the States-General, which, after some years, forced much needed reforms upon the company. Among these, the organization of municipal government in New Amsterdam was perhaps the most important. A charter was granted which placed the city government in the hands of five schepens, two burgomasters, and a schout or sheriff. These officers were to be elected by the citizens, but Stuyvesant, with fine disregard for the orders of the States-General, proceeded to appoint them. In 1658, he made a

⁴ As quoted in Maud Wilder Goodwin, *Dutch and English on the Hudson*, p. 69. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

⁵ Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

small concession toward representative government by conceding to the schepens and burgomasters the right to nominate twice as many candidates as there were offices to be filled, from which list the director was to choose. Even in what appears to have been purely municipal affairs, Stuyvesant did not hesitate to interfere, reserving the right to make regulations contrary to the wishes of the city officials and without consulting them. On one occasion, he issued an order forbidding the playing of a particular game in connection with the celebration of the feast of Bacchus. On learning that the magistrates felt aggrieved that this unpopular order should have been issued without consulting them, he made reply in his usual arrogant manner:

Aggrieved, forsooth! . . . because the director-general had done this without their consent and knowledge! As if without the knowledge and consent of the burgomasters and schepens no order can be made, no mob interdicted from celebrating the feast of Backus; much less have the privilege of correcting such persons as tread under foot the Christian and holy precepts, without the knowledge and consent of a little bench of justices! Appreciating their own authority, quality, and commission better than others, the director and Council hereby make known to the burgomasters and schepens that the institution of a little bench of justices under the name of the schout, burgomasters, and schepens, or commissioners, does in no wise diminish aught of the power of the director-general and councillors.⁶

In spite of the liberalization of municipal government and the administrative reforms which were granted from time to time as the company sought to attract settlers or as complaints from the colony aroused sentiment against the company in Holland, it is evident that New Netherland came to an end without evolving a representative form of government or without even devising a plan whereby the inhabitants, as a group, could express themselves on educational or other matters.

Attempt to organize a feudalistic colonial society. The arbitrary government of the company and the generally poor administration of its officers, along with the short-sighted commercial policy of the company, checked the growth of the colony. Grudgingly granted reforms, such as the removal of certain trade restrictions, the establish-

⁶ As quoted in Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

ment of municipal government in New Amsterdam as already noted, or minor concessions granted to the villages with respect to self-government, did not appreciably stimulate immigration. In an attempt to bring about a more rapid growth of the colony, the company in 1629 issued a charter of privileges, an elaborate plan to encourage the stockholders to finance the settlement of colonists in quasi-feudal patroonships. Each stockholder who planted a colony of fifty persons over fifteen years of age was to acquire land sixteen miles in length if situated on one side of the Hudson River, or eight in length if situated on both sides, and as far into the interior as the owner could occupy. The owner, or patroon, was to possess the hereditary rights of a feudal noble, with power to make laws, establish courts of justice, and "to control hunting, fishing, and the grinding of grains, subject only to allegiance to the States-General." Only five men took up patroonships and only one succeeded.⁷ Only two patroonships actually developed to the point, either in organization or population, that made possible any considerable educational history. In fact, the system was doomed to failure from the beginning. Goodwin after careful study of the history of these ventures states:

As we study the old documents we find a sullen tenantry, an obsequious and careworn agent, a dissatisfied patroon, an impatient company, a bewildered government. . . . The reason for the discontent which prevailed is not far to seek, and all classes were responsible for it, for they combined in planting an anachronistic feudalism in a new country, which was dedicated by its very physical conditions to liberty and democracy. The settlers came from a nation which had battled through long years in the cause of freedom. . . . No sane mind could have expected the Dutch colonists to return without protest to a medieval system of government.⁸

Slow growth under the Dutch. In spite of these and other efforts on the part of the company, the population increased slowly. By 1630, the Dutch possessions could have been little more than trading posts, and to a considerable degree they retained that character throughout the entire period. In 1630, the population, according to the best estimate, was only 500 persons. It increased to 1000 in 1640,

⁷ Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization*, p. 202. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938.

⁸ Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

3000 in 1650, and 6000 in 1660. By the latter date the inhabitants of Massachusetts numbered approximately 25,000 and those of Virginia some 33,000. Little Connecticut had perhaps a larger population during the entire period than did New Netherland.⁹ New Amsterdam remained small, having in 1628 about 270 inhabitants; in 1643, some 400; in 1652, about 700; in 1656, by actual count, 120 houses and 1000 souls; in 1664, about 1500 inhabitants. Fortunately for education, because otherwise progress must have been even slower, a majority of the inhabitants lived in a comparatively small area centering in New Amsterdam and embracing Manhattan Island, parts of Staten and Long Islands, and the west bank of the lower Hudson. Many of these inhabitants, however, and most of the remaining population, which was scattered from Fort Orange (later Albany) to outposts on the Delaware and Connecticut Rivers, were living under isolated and primitive conditions of the frontier. Under such conditions, there was, in New Netherland, as under similar circumstances elsewhere, little educational development.

Diversity of race and religion. Both the sparseness and heterogeneous character of the population were factors retarding educational progress. The Dutch were not a migrating people. Few advantages, political, religious, or economic, were offered by New Netherland that they did not enjoy at home. The population of New Netherland was drawn from many countries. Even the first colonists sent out by the company were not Dutch, but French-speaking Walloons, Protestant exiles from the lower Netherlands, which had remained Catholic. It is said that in 1644, eighteen languages were spoken in or near New Amsterdam, although Dutch was the one in most common use. English settlers, however, were in a majority on Long Island, and on the Delaware, the Swedes predominated. French, Walloons, Norwegians, Danes, Jews, Irish, Scotch, and Germans added to the cosmopolitan character of the colony.

Religious sects were even more numerous than national or racial groups. The colony from the beginning followed, in the main, the same liberal policy with respect to religious refugees that had been followed in Holland, which, after gaining independence from Spanish control, had provided asylum to many persecuted religious sects of Europe. The States-General in 1661 invited "Christian

⁹ United States Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 9. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909.

people of tender conscience, in England or elsewhere oppressed," to migrate to New Netherland.¹⁰ French Huguenots, Baptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Mennonites, and other denominations found in New Netherland much greater freedom than was generally consistent with seventeenth-century ideals. Most of the attempts to restrict religious freedom must be charged to an irascible, bigoted director who found it almost impossible to tolerate disagreement in anything. In 1656, the director forbade preachers not "called by ecclesiastical and temporal authority" to hold meetings, but the company, more liberal than it had been in 1654, at which time it had upheld the director in his refusal to permit the Lutherans to build a church, rebuked the director and declared its purpose to let those outside the Dutch Reformed Church "enjoy all calmness and tranquility." The clergymen in New Amsterdam were warned by the authorities in Holland against new forms and an "overbearing preciseness" which might prevent keeping Lutherans within the fold.¹¹ Unable to distinguish between freedom of worship and contempt of government, Stuyvesant continued his persecutions, particularly of the Quakers. This heresy frightened and angered the old governor. His treatment of the members of this sect became a scandal in New Amsterdam and a matter of concern to the company, which wrote to Stuyvesant:

Let every one remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of our magistrates in this city, and the consequence has been that people have flocked from every land to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps and we doubt not you will be blessed.¹²

The old director perhaps saw little prohibition in the rebuke. Those who disagreed with him were neither modest, moderate, nor, in political conduct, irreproachable. The fact must not be lost sight of, however, that, on the whole and judged by the standards of the day, the policy of New Netherland with respect to religious freedom was liberal. New Netherland offered asylum to the oppressed and persecuted of Europe and New England. Although the many religious groups found in New Netherland were, as a rule, friendly

¹⁰ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-89.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

toward education, particularly at the elementary level, the force of a well-knit social organization was not exerted in its behalf.

EDUCATION IN NEW NETHERLAND

As has been indicated, the development of public education was retarded by the sparseness of the population and therefore, indirectly, by factors retarding immigration; by the many diverse elements in the population; by the quality and nature of the early immigration; by the great variety of religious beliefs; and by the almost complete lack of representative government, either local or provincial. On the other hand, there were factors present in the situation which were favorable to education and gave direction to its development. Among these, the acceptance of Calvinism with its implications for state-church co-operation in education by the racially and politically dominant group was, perhaps, the most important. In Holland, as was the rule in countries in which Calvinistic doctrines prevailed, "the public authorities, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical, provided the school, examined, and licensed the teacher, paid him a salary, and by law regulated what he should teach, what books he should use, and the conditions under which he should in general conduct his school."¹³ The great synods showed a concern for education and for the support of schools, but the articles, rules, and regulations relating to education of the synods and lesser church bodies could be enforced only by civil authorities, who in many instances found enforcement inexpedient. The schools of Holland throughout the period "remained the joint concern of both church and state, with the state the dominant party."¹⁴

Church and school relationships. As in the homeland, so in New Netherland throughout its history, the school and the church were closely knit together. In Holland the principal function of the school was the teaching of religion, and Dutch colonists could conceive of no other way by which their children could receive the essentials of religious teachings. "This fact," states Kilpatrick, "will account for the presence of schools in struggling frontier villages of Holland America, where, without this religious zeal, interest in education alone would not have sufficed to maintain adequate schools."¹⁵ Inasmuch as the state was interested in promoting the recognized religion, it lent its support to elementary education. In

¹³ Kilpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

New Netherland, the obligation of the company, which represented the state, to provide education was recognized from the beginning. The company paid the salaries of the teachers of the official school, although, as elsewhere, it appears that the teacher's income was largely derived from tuition fees which were commonly charged. In theory, if not always in practice, the patroons bore the same relationships to schools in their patroonships that the company bore to the schools in the colony proper.

Although the obligation of maintenance rested upon the company, the classis of Amsterdam, representing the Dutch Reformed Church, exercised considerable authority in the educational affairs of New Netherland through the privileges which it enjoyed of selecting ministers, schoolmasters, and other church officials. Although governors and *domines* might quarrel, and although Stuyvesant was a quarrelsome, egotistical, oversensitive despot, it appears that there was little interference with the church in the exercise of its educational functions, and the relations between the company in Holland and the classis of Amsterdam seem to have been without friction. One of the last ordinances of the Dutch government in America required that children be publicly catechized on Wednesday and Saturday by the schoolmaster and the minister.

In New Netherland, as definitely as in Massachusetts, the obligation to provide schools rested upon the state (the company). In Massachusetts, where the town served as a unit of administration as well as of local government, the state placed the obligation of support upon the inhabitants of the towns to be provided as one of the expenses of government or otherwise as the towns deemed fit. In New Netherland a portion of the costs of maintenance was paid as a part of the costs of government either by the lords directors in Amsterdam or, in the colony, by the director-general. The city government of New Amsterdam provided quarters for the school and for one year, in return for certain license fees, assumed the support of the minister and the schoolmaster.

Educational opportunities provided. Probably seven of the nine villages chartered by the Dutch government established schools before the English occupation. Their establishment, for the most part, however, was late in the period. In 1657, a report by the ministers of New Amsterdam to the classis states "that so far as we know, not one of all these places, Dutch or English, has a schoolmaster, except

the Mannhattans, Beverwyck, and now also Fort Casimer on the South River." ¹⁶ In the villages, as well as in New Amsterdam, the elementary schools appear to have been the joint concern of church and state. In three villages the director and council assisted the villages in paying the schoolmaster. Quite likely, the village revenues were generally drawn upon to provide the master with a house and whatever income he received in addition to the fees that were derived from tuition and from performing certain duties assigned to him as the reader, psalm-setter, and sexton of the church. Schoolmasters who were also church officials, as was usually the case, were of necessity acceptable to both church and state. In fact, in the villages as well as in New Amsterdam, state-church co-operation in educational affairs is clearly discernible.

The schools were generally small and primitive. They were often held in the home of the master. In New Amsterdam, during a part of the period, the school was housed in a building provided by the municipality. The curriculum was extremely limited, providing instruction in reading, writing, and sometimes the simplest parts of arithmetic. Religion was always emphasized. The offerings for girls were even more restricted. Night schools for teaching the elements were not unknown. For the great mass of children, only a meager education was contemplated. Some children were taught by private tutors, and private schools were maintained, at least in New Amsterdam, during the greater part of the period. A Latin school was not established until near the end of the Dutch régime. It appears to have been supported and controlled in much the same way as the elementary school, the main differences being, as pointed out by Kilpatrick, that no ecclesiastical body is mentioned in connection with the certification or selection of either of the two masters who, in succession, served the school, and that, while the city provided only quarters for the elementary schoolmaster, it paid a large share of the salaries of the masters of the Latin school. In spite of the high hopes of the authorities, the school did not prosper, probably never enrolling at a given time more than twenty to twenty-five students.

In New Netherland, we have a situation unique in American colonial history. It was not the only colony in which educational development was conditioned by a great diversity of racial and re-

¹⁶ As quoted in Kilpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

ligious groups, but in no other colony of this nature was there one group, homogeneous as to race and religion, so completely dominant in the social, economic, and political life of the colony. Without serious interference from or offense to other groups, the Dutch were more or less free to provide education as they pleased. Naturally, they reproduced as nearly as circumstances would permit the educational arrangements of the fatherland.

DUTCH SCHOOLS UNDER ENGLISH CONTROL

Elementary schools. The Dutch school in New Amsterdam was permitted by the English to continue with little change until about 1674, after which the municipality contributed nothing to the support of either the Dutch school or church. The school was made dependent upon the church for support and came to be entirely under church control. During the eighteenth century, the school in New York (city) came to be an instrument to preserve the Dutch tongue in a society that was becoming definitely English. As such, the school was little more than a charity school for a limited number of poor Dutch.

In the Dutch villages, old and new, the English influence was not so overwhelming as in New Amsterdam. The schools continued in the Dutch tradition, the local government and the church working together in ordering the educational arrangements. The officials of the two generally selected the master, furnished him a house, and paid part of his salary. The master, often as a minor church official, received a portion of his income from the church. A part of his income might also be charged to his serving as court messenger or town clerk. For a time, at least, the school was controlled jointly by the church and the local magistracy.

On the whole, the Dutch colony, as inadequate as its educational provisions were, compared favorably with its contemporaries in the matter of providing schools for its children. In evaluating the influence of the educational activities of the Dutch on American education, Monroe has made the following summary statement:

The significant fact in regard to this system of parish schools is the marked contrast which it offers to the villages or towns where English customs prevailed. In all of these Dutch settlements a community school existed as one essential part of the structure of society and of the local system of government. While church and town gov-

ernment co-operated, these were essentially town schools supported as a town charge. To the Dutch a church was essentially a part of the local government scheme. The "church masters" were selected by the town government. So while the school was immediately under the church, it was essentially a town school. In the early national period these schools continued to form the basis or nucleus of a system of public schools. Undoubtedly the tradition represented by these state-church or parish schools, and the actual working system which they presented were a leading factor in the establishment of the first system of public schools created after the Revolution (New York, 1795).¹⁷

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CLASS CONFLICTS IN NEW YORK

The English conquered New Netherland in 1664 and the king conferred the province on his brother, the Duke of York. In due time the name of the colony was changed to New York. The new proprietor had authority to govern and dispose of the colony about as he pleased, and he soon began to encourage the development of an aristocratic class which had already begun to take form under the Dutch régime. He confirmed the land grants which the Dutch company had made to certain wealthy families. These holdings often included hundreds of thousands of acres. Soon, too, the Duke, or his governors, began to issue new patents with a generous hand. Individuals who were able to exercise the proper influence in official circles found no great difficulty in securing title to an estate of one hundred thousand acres or more. It took time, of course, to bring these immense tracts of land under cultivation, but in the eighteenth century one could find many large estates with broad arable fields and meadows tended by tenants in true English fashion. One of these, Rensselaerswyck, with Albany as its center, included 700,000 acres. The great Van Cortlandt, Livingston, and Beekman manors ranged in size from 140,000 to 240,000 acres.¹⁸ Other large holdings — Morrisania, Pelham, Fordham, Scarsdale, Claverack — were the seats of an agricultural aristocracy not unlike that of the tobacco colonies to the south and rivaling the landed gentry of old England. In New York City, a merchant class was rising to an importance comparable to that of the manorial aristocracy of the Hudson Valley.

¹⁷ Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System*, I, 82. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940.

¹⁸ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

HOMES OF THE DUTCH ARISTOCRACY



Van Rensselaer's Mansion, Albany, New York, 1642

Etching by Robert Shaw



Brown Bros.

Philipse Manor House, Yonkers, New York

Even in the early days, New Amsterdam had been a commercial center of considerable importance, and New York, under the English, continued to expand the volume of its trade. Its leading merchants, often in their own ships, exported the flour and other surplus products of the agricultural hinterland. Like the merchants of New England, they reaped handsome profits from the rum and slave trade. They speculated in land, supplied the small farmers and the large manorial estates with the goods they required, and were beginning to invest surplus capital in small manufacturing enterprises. Frequently, the owners of large landed estates engaged in commercial enterprises and merchants in their turn invested in land. Thus, an aristocracy, based on land and trade, came to command a dominant position in the life of the colony. This upper class supplied most of the political, social, and intellectual leadership. As we shall see later, this leadership was not greatly interested in the development of a system of popular education.

Landed proprietors and merchants were not, however, to have their way without opposition. Small farmers, lesser tradesmen, and artisans drew together to assert their rights.¹⁹ They were without any great political power, however, because, of all the English colonies in the seventeenth century, New York had the most undemocratic form of government. The Duke of York had full power to govern the colony through an appointed governor and council. He could make laws, levy taxes, appoint officials—in fact, govern the colony in practically every detail—without the aid of a popular assembly.²⁰ It was against this despotic government that the democratic party took up the gage of battle. They demanded a share in the government. Under the leadership of Jacob Leisler, the farmers and the city “rabble” actually appealed to force in 1689. The revolt was put down and Leisler executed, but in 1691 a popular assembly was established. The suffrage was now extended to possessors of a forty-shilling freehold, and eight years later it was broadened to include also those with a personal estate of forty pounds.²¹ Many were still disenfranchised, but yeomen, small traders, and better-to-do citizens were now in a stronger position to defend their rights. In most crucial matters, however, merchants and large landholders were

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

²¹ James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, p. 20. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

still able to have their way and to shape public and social policy along the lines they desired. In New York, as elsewhere, as the colonial period drew to an end, there was a sharp cleavage between the aristocratic and democratic parties. Social and economic distinctions, political controversy, and diversity of national groups — all these prevented New York from achieving any great degree of social unity and cohesion.

Religion was never a very powerful positive factor in the educational history of colonial New York. As we have seen, the Dutch were Calvinists and, like Calvinists elsewhere, they displayed some interest in the maintenance of schools. After the English took over, an attempt was made to make the Church of England the state church, but Anglicanism was not established at all until 1693, and then in only four counties.²² At the outbreak of the Revolution, only about one in fifteen of the population was a communicant of this faith.²³ Many of these, however, were among the most influential persons in the colony and they were instrumental in the establishment of King's College (Columbia). Many of the upper class, too, belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, which was responsible for the establishment of Rutgers College in New Jersey. Other religious sects were extremely numerous; among them were Quakers, Anabaptists, Presbyterians and Independents, and Jews. At a time when one of the chief purposes of education was commonly regarded as being to serve religious ends, this multiplicity of religious faiths practically precluded any state action in the maintenance of schools.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY UNDER ENGLISH RULE

English charity schools. Following the English practice, the colonial government of New York engaged in few educational activities other than providing for general oversight of poor children and apprentices and asserting its right with respect to the licensing of teachers. The government, however, did encourage the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an auxiliary of the Established Church, established, in 1701, to convert the heathens and strengthen the national church, which felt itself threatened at home as well as abroad. The society, particularly in-

²² Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *The American Colonies, 1492-1780*, p. 233. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.

²³ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

terested in the colonies directly under royal control, found New York, with a heterogeneous population of French Calvinists, French Lutherans, Quakers, Sabbatarians, Anti-Sabbatarians, Anabaptists, Independents, Mennonites, Moravians, Dunkers, Seceders, New Lights, Covenanters, and others, a fertile field for missionary work.

As a part of its program of colonial evangelization, this organization, until it withdrew during the Revolution, continuously supported from five to ten schools in the province of New York. For the most part, the schools maintained by the Society in New York City were charity schools. Outside the city, one-half to three-fourths of the enrollment was made up of paying scholars.²⁴ These schools failed to enlist the support of the better-to-do English colonists, who had a long tradition of educating their children by private tutors, nor were the sectarian groups friendly toward them. They were established, however, in a number of English villages²⁵ in which, in some instances, they competed with the Dutch schools.

These English charity schools enjoyed the patronage of the governor, public officials inspected them, the Church of England examined the teachers, its great missionary society supported them, and the governors licensed their teachers. As Kemp states, the movement represented "a most praiseworthy attempt to adapt the system of English charity-schools to the needs of the province."²⁶ The schools supported by the Society in New York, however, continued throughout the period to be of the meanest sort. They were not greatly unlike the Dutch schools, providing only the most meager instruction in reading, writing, sometimes the elements of arithmetic, and always the catechism and religious exercises. As poor as they were and as few persons as they reached, it has been rightfully claimed that they provided "the nearest approach to a public school system that was to be found among the English colonists in New York."²⁷

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS

A number of other religious groups maintained schools as best they could. The Quakers, although feared and heartily disliked by the Established Church and the government alike, were able to

²⁴ William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, pp. 276-77. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913.

²⁵ Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁶ Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

organize schools in connection with their churches. That these schools were tolerated can be explained only by the conflicting interests of that unsettled time.

Secondary schools. With respect to secondary education, the English colonial government also pursued a policy of indifference. The Latin school, established a few years before the close of the Dutch régime, is said by some writers to have continued under English rule for a few years.²⁸ Whether it expired with the English occupation or somewhat later, many years passed before the government showed an interest in secondary education beyond possibly licensing private teachers. A bill for the encouragement of a "Grammar Free-School in the City of New York," to be taught by a master "Elected, Chosen, Lycensed, Authorized, and appointed" by the authority of the "Governor and Council and Representatives," was passed in 1702. French and Dutch, as well as English, boys were to be instructed in the "Languages or other Learning usually taught in Grammar Schools." The act was to be in force for a period of seven years, during which period fifty pounds were to be "Assessed, Levyed, Collected and paid" for the maintenance of the master in the same way that the minister's salary was provided.²⁹ No record of the establishment of such a school is found until 1704, and, when the act expired by its own limitation, there seems to have been no effort made to revive it. Almost a generation was to pass before the colonial government made another move.

In 1732, the General Assembly passed an "Act to encourage a Public School in the City of New York for teaching Latin, Greek and Mathematicks." For forty pounds annually, derived from certain state license fees, the master was to teach twenty children without charge; ten of whom were to be drawn from New York City and County, the others from other counties. This school is notable in that its curriculum represented a departure from the narrow classical studies typical of the Latin grammar school. Instruction was offered in Latin, Greek, geometry, algebra, geography, navigation, and "Merchants Book-keeping."³⁰ It did not, however, have a very long life.

²⁸ A. Emerson Palmer, *The New York Public School*, p. 8. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905.

²⁹ Daniel J. Pratt, *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York from 1626 to 1746*, pp. 76-77. Albany: Printed for the Regents of the University of the State of New York, 1871.

³⁰ Elmer Ellsworth Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, p. 94. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.

The government's bounty, which by the act lapsed in 1737, was extended for one year. After 1738 nothing further concerning the school is known.³¹ With the exception of encouraging the establishment of a preparatory school in connection with King's College sometime after the middle of the century, the colonial government gave no further aid to secondary education during the colonial period.

Private schools. The neglect of schools by the government and the factors which explain that neglect resulted in the development of private schools on a large scale. Advertisements in the newspapers published in New York City during the eighteenth century reveal that private schools were very numerous and that they afforded instruction in a great variety of subjects for both boys and girls. For those who wanted to learn French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish, there appears to have been no dearth of teachers. A typical advertisement was that which was published in the *New York Gazette* in 1735:

This is to give Notice that over against the Sign of the black Horse in Smith street, near the old Dutch Church, is carefully taught the French and Spanish languages, after the best Method that is now practised in Great Britain which for the encouragement of those who intend to learn the same is taught for 20s per Quarter.³²

Some of the teachers conducted French boarding schools, and at least one was open to both "young Gentlemen and Ladies."

As was the case in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other cities, private teachers in New York provided instruction in a great variety of vocational subjects, such as navigation, surveying, and bookkeeping. Between 1709 and 1776 at least nineteen teachers advertised themselves as teaching navigation, twenty as teaching bookkeeping, and eleven as teaching surveying. Others were teaching geography, music, mensuration, and the various branches of mathematics, such as algebra, geometry, and trigonometry.

Private schools were of special importance in relation to the education of girls, as Professor Seybolt has made evident in his excellent study. Some of these schools were open to both sexes, some were

³¹ Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³² Robert Francis Seybolt, *Source Studies in American Colonial Education: The Private School*, p. 11. Bureau of Educational Research Bulletin No. 28. University of Illinois Bulletin, XXIII, No. 4. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1925.

available to girls at special hours, and many were for girls exclusively. Instruction for girls was made available in a great variety of subjects, including reading, writing, arithmetic, music, needlework, history, and Latin. Certainly, old notions with respect to the limited educational opportunities afforded girls during the colonial period needed to be revised, at least so far as middle- and upper-class girls in New York and other cities were concerned.

Benjamin Franklin is often credited with having broken with tradition in establishing the academy in Philadelphia about the middle of the eighteenth century. As a matter of fact, private teachers had long been teaching many if not most of the subjects included in the curriculum of Franklin's academy. The following account of a school advertised as being in operation in New York City in 1723 shows how closely some of the earlier private schools resembled later academies:

There is a School in New York, in the Broad Street, near the Exchange where Mr. John Walton, late of Yale-Colledge, Teacheth Reading, Writing, Arethmatick, whole Numbers and Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal, The Mariners Art, Plain and Mercators Way; Also Geometry, Surveying, the Latin Tongue, and Greck and Hebrew Grammers, Ethicks, Rhetorick, Logick, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysicks, all or any of them for a Reasonable Price. The School from the first of October till the first of March will be tended in the Evening. If any Gentlemen in the Country are disposed to send their Sons to the said School, if they apply themselves to the Master he will immediately procure suitable Entertainment for them, very cheap. Also if any Young Gentlemen of the City will please to come in the Evening and make some Tryal of the Liberal Arts, they may have opportunity of Learning the same things which are commonly Taught in Colledges.⁸³

King's College (Columbia). No provision was made for higher education in the colony of New York until near the end of the colonial period. A few youth went abroad to pursue their studies in law, medicine, or divinity, and now and then one turned up at Harvard or Yale. It was rare, however, to meet a college graduate in New York. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century, it is estimated that not more than ten persons in the entire province,

⁸³ *American Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 17-24, 24-31, 31 to Nov. 7, 1723, as quoted in Seybolt, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

excluding clergymen, were holders of a college degree.⁸⁴ The Anglican Church, however, insisted on trained ministers, and in 1754 adherents of this faith obtained a charter for King's College (later Columbia University). While plans were being laid to establish the college under the auspices of the Anglican Church, William Livingston came forward with a vigorous proposal that the college be established by the state itself. He insisted that higher education inescapably affected the public weal and could not possibly be regarded as merely a private concern.⁸⁵ Livingston lost his fight, but his proposal foreshadowed the establishment of state universities. The new college, though sectarian in spirit and control, had a curriculum that was comparatively liberal. In 1767, a medical department was added and, in 1773, a law professorship was established, the first in any American college.⁸⁶

NEW JERSEY

In 1665, the Duke of York, who held all of the Dutch colony of New Netherland, granted that part lying between the Hudson and the Delaware to his friends, Berkeley and Carteret, naming it New Jersey. Berkeley retained his interest only ten years and then sold it to a Quaker or to Quaker interests. The colony was divided, Carteret retaining East New Jersey and the new owners taking over West New Jersey. In time, East New Jersey also came partly under the control of the Quakers. West New Jersey, which had a few Dutch and Swedish settlements at the time of the original grant, was peopled afterward rather largely by Quakers. Many from New England migrated to East New Jersey, where this element in the population became increasingly strong. Scotch and Scotch-Irish elements also increased rapidly. The two provinces were united in 1702 and ruled by the governor of New York until 1788, after which the territory had its own governor. During all these troublesome and stormy years, the government, whether that of a proprietary or royal colony, failed to take action with respect to education except to pass a short-lived act authorizing the establishment of town schools at the pleasure of the inhabitants. The legislature two years

⁸⁴ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁸⁶ Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, I, 438. Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1930.

later took action which authorized the control of schools by the church groups. This, perhaps, was the only solution at the time. To most of the settlers of New Jersey, as elsewhere, the chief function of the school was religious instruction. For the most part, education which served other than religious ends or was sponsored by any save a religious group was regarded with cold indifference by a heterogeneous population concerned largely with securing a living and maintaining its rights against proprietors, landlords, and royal governors.

A notable event, however, in the history of education in New Jersey was the establishment of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1747. The new college was designed primarily to train ministers for the Presbyterian Church. It was largely the product of the Great Awakening, an intense religious movement that swept the colonies during the late seventeen-thirties and early seventeen-forties. The College of New Jersey was definitely sectarian in spirit and loyal to the classical tradition. It soon began to draw students, not only from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlements that extended along the whole back country of the South. In the course of years, numerous "Log Colleges" were established along the frontier from Pennsylvania to Georgia, one of the chief purposes of which was to provide youth with the classical education required of them to enter Princeton.

PENNSYLVANIA

The influences which led to the founding of Pennsylvania and which contributed to its subsequent development sprang from the social, economic, and religious conditions which characterized seventeenth-century Europe. In Europe, during this period, the great forces making for colonization were the hope for personal gain on the part of members of all classes of society, the advancement of national interests, and the wish of those persecuted for religious beliefs to find a place where they could worship as they pleased. As Greenie has pointed out, there was in William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, a curious meeting of these forces.

By birth and family connections he belonged to that ruling class in England which was eager to exploit the economic resources of the New World, for themselves as well as for their country. Yet by his

own choice Penn was also associated with a group of radical enthusiasts, quite outside that ruling circle, who looked to America as a refuge from intolerable conditions at home and as the scene of a hopeful experiment in religion and government.⁸⁷

THE QUAKERS

The Quakers or Friends, as these religious and social radicals were called, were regarded, wherever found, as thoroughly bad citizens whose very presence constituted a serious menace to an orderly society. Accepting without reservation the religious theory of early Protestant reformers, which postulated a Christianity that derived "its authority solely from the voice of God speaking to the individual conscience," they rejected "forms and ceremonies, priesthoods, and temples built with human hands."⁸⁸ They, therefore, rejected not only the ecclesiastical hierarchies of the established churches, but, since God was revealed without the interposition of earthly mediators, they also rejected the idea of a formally ordained and paid ministry for themselves. Paying tithes to support the clergy of other churches became, therefore, not only an unwelcome financial burden, but a matter of conscience as well. They regarded taking oaths and military services as contrary to the teachings of Christ. Their stubborn insistence upon wearing their hats in the presence of authority, their custom of addressing social and political superiors with the singular *thou* instead of the more polite *you*, and other seemingly superficial peculiarities attracted attention to their fundamental belief that all men were given alike the gift of God's Spirit. This belief, which implied that all artificial distinctions, including those of rank and wealth, should be leveled, not only threatened the existing social order, based as it was on rank and privilege, but also provided a "religious as well as intellectual basis for a true democracy."⁸⁹ It is not strange that the teachings of these social revolutionists should have been considered the greatest menace of the time and that well-meaning citizens and zealous seventeenth-century Christians should have considered their persecution to be in the interests of the public welfare and to the glory of God.

⁸⁷ Evarts Boutell Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality*, pp. 165-66. New York: American Book Co., 1922.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁸⁹ James Pyle Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher*, p. 21. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Published for the author by the Inquirer Publishing Co., 1885.

FOUNDING A QUAKER REFUGE

Quakers early considered the establishment of a refuge in America, and Penn with others made a beginning in West New Jersey. It was soon realized, however, that protection against interference, which only a royal charter could give, was necessary to the development of a refuge where Quakers might work out their experiment in religion and government.

There can be little doubt but that Penn believed that the well-being of the colony required a program of education under provincial authority. His statements on the subject of education indicate that he was fully aware of the importance of education to the state as well as to the individual. Commenting on the relation of education to the state, Penn said:

Upon the whole matter I undertake to say that if we would preserve our government, we must endear it to the people. To do this, besides the necessity of presenting just and wise things, we must secure the youth: this is not to be done, but by the amendment of the way of education. . . . I say the government is highly obliged: it is a sort of trustee for the youth of the kingdom; who, though minors, yet will have the government when we are gone. Therefore, depress vice, and cherish virtue, that through good education, they may become good.⁴⁰

It is not strange, therefore, that in the Frame of Government drawn up in England before his departure for Pennsylvania, Penn clearly accepted the theory of education as a function of civil authority.⁴¹ This idea may be found in the first three frames adopted by the province and in other provisions made by the Assembly.

Little more than a month after Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania, the first General Assembly met and passed what has been known as the "Great Law," one section of which may be interpreted as having implications for education. It was provided:

That the Laws of this Province, from time to time, shall be published and printed, that every person may have knowledge thereof; and they shall be one of the books taught in the schools of this Province and Territories thereof.

⁴⁰ As quoted in Wickersham, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

⁴¹ Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 42. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 105. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920.

The second frame, accepted in the spring of 1683, contained the following provision:

And to the end that poor as well as rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth, *Be it enacted, etc.*, That all persons in this Province and Territories thereof, having children, and all the guardians and trustees of orphans, shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age; and that then they be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich if they become poor may not want: of which every County Court shall take care. And in case such parents, guardians, or overseers shall be found deficient in this respect, every such parent, guardian, or overseer shall pay for every such child, five pounds, except there should appear an incapacity in body or understanding to hinder it.

The third frame, the last to mention education, contained provisions much like those of Penn's first frame. It provided:

That the Governor and Council shall erect and order all public schools and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said Province and Territories.⁴²

Penn and the council, in 1683, invited Enock Flower to become a schoolmaster in Philadelphia to teach reading, writing, and the casting of accounts, and agreed with him on the amounts that might be charged for tuition. The school established as a result of this action was, to a degree, under public authority, although not fully supported by the government.⁴³ In the same year, it was proposed in the council that a school of arts and sciences be established. The Friends' Public School, now known as the William Penn Charter School, was opened in 1689, incorporated by the council in 1697, and formally chartered by Penn in 1701. The charter provided for the establishment of other schools as they became necessary. It appears that several branch charity schools were provided later. Although the school was known as a public school and children of all denominations were admitted, the school was a private institution managed by a group of leading Quakers.⁴⁴

⁴² As quoted in Wickcrsham, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40.

⁴³ Louise Gilchrist Walsh and Matthew John Walsh, *History and Organization of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 4. Indiana, Pennsylvania: Published by the authors, 1930.

⁴⁴ Woody, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52.

Articles relating to education in the various frames, laws enacted by different provincial assemblies, and the activities of the Quakers in establishing schools indicate that education was considered important in furthering the main ends toward which the colony had been established and suggest that the Quakers contemplated the establishment of a system of education under public authority.

Penn's advanced position with respect to education was not maintained by his successors, nor even by Penn himself. He evidently became impressed in a few years with the impossibility of realizing his educational purposes in a situation created by the presence in Pennsylvania of a population representing the greatest diversity with respect to nationality, religious belief, political philosophy, and general culture. Education also suffered from conditions arising from the inharmonious relations between the proprietor and the English government, from strife growing out of Penn's efforts to found a democracy and yet remain a feudal lord, and from other clashes of opposing interests and principles. Also, in a day when religion and education were so closely associated, full religious liberty and a public-school system were incompatible, a state school implying an established church. Even the topography of the country was a retarding influence in educational development. The last Charter of Privileges granted by Penn in 1701, which continued in force to the end of the colonial period, did not contain a single section on education.

The only general acts relating to education passed under the last charter dealt with the right of Protestant congregations or societies to purchase lands for building schools and other purposes, to receive gifts, and to hold the properties thus acquired. Pennsylvania accepted the only solution compatible with the religious and social ideas of the time and relinquished all control of schools to the many churches and religious organizations, to a smaller number of volunteer community organizations, to the home, and to private enterprise.

EDUCATION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

As heterogeneous as was the population of Pennsylvania in the seventeenth century, it became more so in the eighteenth. Unlike New York, where the fusion of the Dutch and English went on with the Dutch steadily losing ground before the increasing numbers of the politically dominant English, in Pennsylvania, large-scale immi-

gration of the eighteenth century greatly increased the population of non-English people. For reasons not difficult to find, it was through Pennsylvania rather than New York that the persecuted and economically crushed hordes of Germany, Ireland, Switzerland, and other European countries sought asylum in America.

To the English, Swedes, Dutch, Welsh, and Germans of Penn's time were added thousands upon thousands of European peasants and workers to whom, crushed as they were by poverty, war, and religious persecution in the Old World, the New appealed almost irresistibly. The emigration from Germany to America reached such proportions that it has been likened to the great migratory movements of the Germans at the beginning of the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ So great was the influx of the "Scotch-Irish" and English from northern Ireland, that in 1729 the scholarly Secretary of the Province wrote in alarm, "It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither." Southern Ireland, Scotland, and Switzerland also sent forth a considerable, if smaller, number of emigrants, many of whom settled in Pennsylvania. The moving forces were economic or religious, or, more often, both.

The Germans, suffering from the results of a century of warfare and internal dissensions, from a demoralized agriculture, industry, and commerce, from a disrupted economic and social life, and from the oppression of princely governments, felt also, in many sections, the weight of religious persecution. Catholic governments persecuted Protestants; Protestant governments persecuted Catholics; and small dissenting Protestant groups were persecuted by both. The Quakers early offered refuge to pacifist sects like themselves, and, almost from the beginning of the colony, these groups were important elements in the population. Also, the English, in 1702, began a policy of settling America with poor Germans and for a time managed to send over thousands each year. The latter, reduced to the direst poverty in the homeland, sometimes persecuted for their religious beliefs, mistreated by dishonest shipowners and labor agents, exploited by the English government, and generally misunderstood wherever they might go, poured into Pennsylvania, many as servants bound for a term of years to pay their passage, suspicious of all foreigners and resentful and fearful of even well-intentioned interference from government or from whatever source it might derive.

⁴⁵ Nettels, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

Among the Germans to settle in Pennsylvania, the Lutherans and German Reformed (Calvinists) were the most numerous, although they did not arrive in force until near the end of the third decade of the eighteenth century. The non-resistant sects which migrated have, however, attracted more attention. In the words of Fisher:

The first great increase of alien population came from Germany, which was still in a state of religious turmoil, disunion, and depression from the results of the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War. The reaction from dogma in Germany had produced a multitude of sects, all yearning for greater liberty and prosperity than they had at home. . . . The German mind was then at the height of its emotional unrestraint. It was as unaccustomed to liberty of thought as to political liberty and it produced a new sect or religious distinction almost every day.⁴⁶

These sects were known under an almost unending variety of names — Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, Dunkers, Seventh-Day Adventists, Schwenkfelders, New Born, Inspired, Separatists, Depellians, River Brethren, and many others. It has been stated that between twenty and thirty of these religious groups were to be found in Lancaster County alone. They generally opposed the union of church and state; refused to engage in lawsuits or hold civil office; opposed war, and in other ways were not greatly different from the Quakers with whom, however, they could not co-operate in matters that touched the soul. In fact, the German immigrants, although they at times gave their support to the Quakers as the least obnoxious of the political groups, were generally indifferent to political responsibility. With the exception of the later Lutherans and German Reformed (Calvinists), they tended to live in isolated communities and to remain aloof from those who spoke other than the German language, to which, along with their old customs and traditions, they tenaciously clung. Their interest in education stemmed almost entirely from their religious beliefs, and, to the extent that their religious spirit waned, education became less important. Whatever education was provided was in the German language and under the control of their own clergy.⁴⁷ Like the Quakers, they were generally distrustful of higher education. The more permanent and larger of

⁴⁶ Sydney G. Fisher, *The Quaker Colonies*, pp. 41-42. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

⁴⁷ Walsh and Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

the German groups, however, provided elementary schools for their children.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was as much hopelessness and bitterness in northern Ireland as in Germany. Oppressive trade regulations, long-continued economic depression, and a series of disasters brought about the financial ruin of the Scots and English who, with the aid of England, had settled in Ireland during the seventeenth century. The attempt to force these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to accept and support the Church of Ireland, an offshoot of the Church of England, added to the general despair and helped swell the tide of immigrants who "left Ireland with bitter hatred of England in their hearts."⁴⁸

The Scotch-Irish, whatever their good qualities as settlers in a new country, were as intolerant of the religion of others as were enthusiastic followers of Calvin elsewhere. They probably liked the Quakers no more than did the Calvinists of New England, and the kindliness and tolerance of the Quakers were hardly sufficient to make them understand, much less love, these vigorous and outspoken Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.⁴⁹ The Scotch-Irish were among those who pushed to the frontier, with which they were well able to cope. There, without effective checks by the provincial government, they developed a highly individualistic society, intensely disliking and vigorously opposing any control over local affairs by the central government. Between them and other groups, especially the Quakers, there could be little co-operation in matters pertaining to education.

As Calvinists generally, however, they were devoted to education. They prized an educated ministry and emphasized the necessity of reading the Bible as a means to salvation. Reading became, therefore, a part of the religious education of each child and some means of training ministers became a necessity.

Closely related, in spirit at least, to these Presbyterians were the settlers from Connecticut and other parts of New England who, shortly before the Revolution, moved into the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania. They brought with them from the older settlement, as their forefathers had brought from Europe, their old institutions and ideals. As pawns in Connecticut's attempt to assert ownership of the land, these people lived a harried and extremely

⁴⁸ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁴⁹ Walsh and Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

difficult life until after the Revolution, when Pennsylvania's title was acknowledged. The region, however, was largely occupied by the New Englanders, who as early as 1768 had decreed that nine hundred and sixty acres in each township should be set aside for the use of the church and schools, and had elected for each district a school committee charged with the employment of a teacher, the supervision of instruction, and the collection of a rate bill.

Among other important religious groups to establish themselves in Pennsylvania were Episcopalians, Baptists, Catholics, and, shortly before the Revolution, Methodists. Prominent among the Episcopalians were the descendants of Penn, the deputy-governors, and other members of the proprietary party. This group never gave up, during the colonial period, the hope that its church would become the established church in the colony, as was the case in England. They retained the traditional English attitude toward education. Schools under the control of the Anglican Church were established early in the history of the colony, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an auxiliary of the Established Church of England, also was active in promoting education and the interests of the church. The Baptists, whose first settlement in Pennsylvania was made in 1684, probably established schools rather generally in connection with their churches. They supported the founding of Brown University in Rhode Island, the state from which the first Baptists made their way to Pennsylvania. There were few Catholics in the province, probably not more than two thousand at the close of the colonial period. Their presence, however, added to the heterogeneity of population and their insistence upon controlling the education of their children led to the establishment of church schools and helped to promote further the parochial-school idea. The Methodists, who established their first church in Pennsylvania in 1769, did not become numerous until after the war. For this reason, and because of their poverty and lack of interest in building a church organization, they alone of all the religious groups who found refuge in Pennsylvania failed to develop parochial schools.⁵⁰

THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Except for the religious affiliation and the language of instruction, the parochial schools of the various denominations and sects were

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

much alike. Elementary education was religious in purpose and seldom went beyond the barest rudiments. The Scotch-Irish did quite often develop more advanced schools, usually, however, around their ministers. The Moravians, one of whose bishops, Comenius, had been the leading educational thinker of the early seventeenth century, had a long tradition of education. Arriving in America near the middle of the eighteenth century, they established a communal system of which schools were a part. They established a number of institutions, particularly boarding schools, not only for boys and girls, but for infants as well. Several of these schools enjoyed a long history and have had a lasting influence on American education.

The quality of the instruction in most of the parochial schools must have been poor. After the first years of colonization, most teachers were natives and commonly selected from the neighborhood in which they taught. Although the names of many have come down to us, only one made a lasting impression by his teaching alone. Christopher Dock, "the Pious Schoolmaster on the Skippack," came to America between 1710 and 1714 and shortly engaged in teaching school, which he continued, with a ten-year interlude, to his death in 1771. Saur, the Germantown printer and leader of the Germans in Pennsylvania, impressed by the great teaching skill and ability of the humble Mennonite, urged him to write a treatise on the organization and conduct of a school. Dock was averse to presenting his methods because, he said, "it would appear as though I were trying to build up for myself a reputation, testimonial or unsavory monument, which, if it were indeed true, would deserve before God and all pious, Christian people, not honor, but rather ridicule and shame, and could not conduce to my soul's welfare and salvation. It would only be food for self-love."⁶¹ Dock was persuaded, however, to prepare the manuscript, which he completed in 1750. It was given to Saur with the understanding that it was not to be printed during the author's lifetime. Shortly before Dock's death some twenty years later, friends overcame his scruples, and the younger Saur, who had succeeded his father, published the treatise, often said to be the first work on education published in America. A second edition was

⁶¹ From the *Schul-Ordnung* by Christopher Dock, as quoted in Martin G. Brumbaugh, *The Life and Works of Christopher Dock*, pp. 99-100. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1908. The entire work is reproduced in German and again in translation in this excellent work.

brought out less than a year after the first. Through the entire book "runs the modest schoolmaster's love of his work and of his pupils, with many shrewd observations as to methods and devices. Some of these have a decidedly modern sound." For example, when he was teaching three days each week in two different schools, he had the pupils of the two schools exchange letters as a means of education and as motivation for learning reading, writing, and spelling.⁵² Dock, as did the other teachers of the time, emphasized instruction in religion and a considerable part of the *Schul-Ordnung* is devoted to questions found useful in teaching "the fear of God . . . through many excellent Scripture passages."

CHARITY SCHOOLS

In addition to the purely parochial schools and those aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, there was for a brief period a small and totally inadequate system of charity schools under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge among the Germans in Pennsylvania. Although not a sectarian organization, its membership consisted largely of Englishmen of wealth and position, a majority of whom were Anglicans. The utterances and actions of Doctor William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia and leader of the Anglican party in Philadelphia, confirmed the belief of Saur and other members of the German sects that the real purpose back of providing charity schools was political; that it was all a part of a project to array the organized religions, the Anglicans, Lutherans, and Reformed, against the groups having no formal ecclesiastical organization; that the promoters were less interested in the minds and culture of the Germans than in promoting the interests of the war party; and that designs were entertained, not only against the German tongue, but also against their religion. At least twenty-five schools were planned; probably a dozen were established. After a languishing existence of less than ten years, the system failed completely in 1768, leaving all education to private, church, and neighborhood schools.⁵³

⁵² Walsh and Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵³ The history of this movement is admirably set forth in Samuel Edwin Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Press of George F. Lasher, 1905.

PRIVATE EDUCATION

A discussion of the educational opportunities provided must include some statement with respect to private education, which was, perhaps, in Pennsylvania and other colonies as well, the dominant type of education during the entire period. Many children on the farms received all of their education from their parents, a neighbor, or some person employed by their parents. There were many private schools in Philadelphia. During the latter part of the colonial period, these schools provided instruction in bookkeeping, surveying, navigation, mathematics, Latin, modern languages, and many other subjects — elementary, secondary, and vocational.

Private schools in Philadelphia were fully as numerous and as varied in their program of instruction as those of Boston and New York, to which reference has been made at considerable length in preceding sections of this volume.⁵⁴ One of these schools, however, deserves special comment. About the middle of the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin and a few other liberal-minded citizens founded an "academy" and secured for it a charter of incorporation. This institution was important for two reasons. First, its curriculum included many modern subjects, reflecting Franklin's liberal views on education. The breadth of the program of instruction may be seen from the following advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* announcing the opening of the school:

NOTICE is hereby given, That the Trustees of the ACADEMY of Philadelphia, intend (God willing) to open the same on the first Monday of January next; wherein Youth will be taught the Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other mathematical Sciences; with natural and mechanical Philosophy, &c. agreeable to the Constitutions heretofore published, at the Rate of Four Pounds per annum, and Twenty Shillings entrance.⁵⁵

In the second place, the Philadelphia Academy has commonly been regarded as initiating the academy movement, a movement which was to dominate the field of secondary education for more

⁵⁴ See Seybolt, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1750, as quoted in Seybolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

than a century. In a sense, this is true, inasmuch as it was the first chartered academy and one which was widely influential. In another sense, Franklin's academy merely represented the institutionalization of the private-school movement which had been under way in practically all American cities for a generation and more.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education was slow to develop in Pennsylvania. Religion had always been one of the principal moving forces in the establishment of institutions of higher learning, and, in Pennsylvania, the religious groups were too small and too poor to support a college and some would not have supported one had the means been available. It was not long, however, after the opening of the academy in Philadelphia before steps were taken to develop it into a college. The Reverend William Smith, a distinguished clergyman and graduate of the University of Aberdeen, was added to the faculty of the academy and began to give instruction to the older students in "logic, rhetoric, and natural and moral philosophy." In 1755, four years after the academy was opened, a new charter was obtained which designated the institution as the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Henceforth, the English and mathematical divisions of the school were known as the Academy, and the Latin and philosophical divisions constituted the College. Some years later, in 1779, the College of Philadelphia was reincorporated as the University of Pennsylvania.⁵⁶

The College of Philadelphia was a private institution and entirely free from denominational control. In this respect it was unique among colonial institutions of higher learning. The curriculum represented a revolt against the religious traditions and to some degree a revolt against the classical tradition as well. At the end of the colonial, and during the early years of the national, period, the College of Philadelphia shared with William and Mary the distinction of having moved farthest in the direction of a modern curriculum. This is not strange because these two colleges reflected, respectively, the influence of the two great American liberals of the age, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

⁵⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

SLOW DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Educational development at all levels was slow in the middle colonies, including New Jersey, whose educational development followed the pattern set by New York, and Delaware, which was settled by the Swedes, held for a short time by the Dutch, and finally in 1682 turned over to William Penn. After that date, the educational development of Delaware was not unlike that in Pennsylvania. The trend in the middle colonies, if there was one, was away from state control or support. A small beginning was made by the Dutch in the direction of public education, but, after the English conquest, the traditional English attitude toward education prevailed. The Dutch schools became purely parochial and the English schools were maintained by a recognized auxiliary of the Anglican Church. In New Jersey, an early act had authorized the inhabitants of a town to establish schools, but two years later, church groups were made secure in their control of education.

One of Pennsylvania's early requirements was that parents should see to it that their children learned to read and write and be taught some useful trade. This auspicious beginning, however, was unable to survive the conditions created by clashing principles and cultures. The state, in its weakness, ceased to be interested and the responsibility for education was assumed by families, churches, philanthropic and religious organizations. The parochial school became definitely predominant in elementary education, while secondary education, with the exception of that provided by the Scotch-Irish, owed its development largely to private enterprise.

In the area of private and higher education, considerable progress was made. Over the middle colonies, as elsewhere in America, the Renaissance and the Reformation cast long shadows; for many years the classical and religious traditions held education firmly in their grip. As a result, education was, in large measure, divorced from the realities of American life except as it served religious ends or the purposes of a small aristocratic class. In no adequate way did it interpret for youth either the world of nature or the world of man. Slowly, however, the influence of classicism and ecclesiasticism weakened, and education began to play a more dynamic role in the social and economic life of the people. The private schools and the colleges were the avenues which led away from old inherited European

traditions, and nowhere were these institutions more liberal than in the middle colonies.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 4

1. Compare and contrast the educational development of colonial New England and the middle colonies.
2. How do you explain the differences in educational policy and practice in colonial New England and the middle colonies?
3. Would you say that education in the middle colonies was more or less responsive to social forces than was the case in New England? Defend your position.
4. How do you account for the slow development of education as a state function in the middle colonies?
5. Did education in the middle colonies contribute to the development of cultural unity or did it tend to retard the development of social cohesion?

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Chapter 5 ~ The School in an Aristocratic Rural Social Order: The Colonial South

THE BEGINNINGS OF SOUTHERN SOCIETY

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

IF ANY REGION in the New World was to bear the name "New England," it should have been the area stretching from the Chesapeake Bay southward rather than the northeastern corner of what is now the United States. The colonists who settled along the estuaries and the lower reaches of the rivers of the southern coastal plain and the men back home who were sponsoring colonization in this area were not in revolt against the existing order of things in England. They accepted without too much opposition prevailing notions of law and government and the fundamental principles of English liberty, although the various groups entering into the colonization enterprise were willing to modify these notions and principles to make them serve their own ends. The structure of government at both the colonial and local level was fashioned after the English model; governor, council, assembly, county, sheriff, and justice of the peace — all these found their more or less exact counterpart in old England. It is equally true that the Southern colonists accepted without serious question the class structure of society so characteristic of seventeenth-century England. Each sought to better his own economic status and to open wider for himself the door to social esteem and preferment, but few would disturb the well-ordered ranks of society. The social ideals of the English country gentry were in fact an important influence in molding the emerging social order in the South.

Migrants to the South had embraced a much less thoroughgoing Protestantism than those who had taken refuge in New England. By

and large, they had no quarrel with the Anglican Church, and few of them were impelled across the sea by the desire for religious freedom. Although religious, they were prompted with no thoughts of founding a "Wilderness Zion," and the Puritan régime would have been as distasteful to them as it was to many in New England who were forced to endure it. Whereas New Englanders generally accepted the doctrines of John Calvin, with the implications that such acceptance entailed with respect to the establishment of a religious state and the obligations of the state to serve the church in the performance of its religious and educational functions, the early settlers of the South were, on the whole, content to accept the Established Church and the arrangements whereby it assisted the state in meeting the obligations which might properly be delegated to an official religious establishment. Even so, the transplanted Anglican Church never took very deep root in Southern life except in certain limited areas. It did not thrive in the sparse population which characterized the plantation economy. It was never liberally supported, and it did not draw out of England any large number of outstanding intellectual leaders. On the whole, the Anglican clergy in the South were not an impressive lot. Their influence on political development was relatively slight; they tended to follow rather than to shape social policy. As we have already seen, a numerous, well-educated, and determined clergy provided New England in the early days with an intellectual leadership of a high order. It was this group, by and large, that shaped and carried into effect the educational policies of New England in the early years of the seventeenth century. In the South, the clergy played no such important role. The Anglican Church, with its decorous and non-emotional ritual, its sympathy with an aristocratic type of social organization, and its undemocratic form of government, fitted well into the order of life desired by Southern planters, but as an agency of intellectual and cultural advance its role was of no great importance.

Educational ideals and practices. The educational ideals and practices of the Southern colonists were only slightly changed by the transit to America. No phase of Southern life reflected more truly its English origin than did education. At the opening of the seventeenth century, the Protestant theory of education as essential to a godly life still persisted in England, and almost universally the church continued to be looked upon as an agency which should play

a large part in establishing, controlling, and maintaining the educational program. A militant middle class was demanding education, but this demand reflected the growing importance of this class rather than the development of any marked democratic or liberal tendencies. Members of this expanding and power-seeking group looked upon education as a means of enhancing prestige and assuring worldly success, but there were as yet few to argue that children generally should be provided with more training than required to fit them to participate, at levels proper to their social stations, in the political, economic, and religious life of the day. Scientists and scholars in many fields were making progress in dispelling the darkness which closed from view the nature of man and of the world about him, but the great majority of persons, educated and uneducated alike, retained almost absolute confidence in the classics as constituting the proper curriculum for a liberal education. Southern colonists, like other Englishmen, accepted the religious tradition in education, a class structure of social and educational organization, the classical ideal, and, in general, the "theories, forms, practices, and machinery connected with the various agencies and processes of education" as they were operative in England in the opening years of the seventeenth century. In 1671, more than sixty years after the founding of Virginia, Governor Berkeley, in answer to a query from the Board of Trade as to what course was taken about the instruction of the people in the colony, replied: "The same that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his own ability instructing his children."¹ This to him, and to Virginians generally, appeared to be an entirely satisfactory program.

FORCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

The development of Southern institutions, including education, cannot be entirely explained, however, in terms of the ideas, ways of thinking, and patterns of behavior which went to make up the cultural heritage of the colonists. In time, a distinctive social order was to emerge in the South, and it was this peculiar type of social organization that gave education its bent and direction for more than a hundred years. An understanding of the development of Southern society is to be found in the motivations and drives of the

¹ As quoted in Elmer Ellsworth Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, pp. 49-50. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.

individuals and groups that took a hand in the colonization enterprise, in the struggles of these individuals and groups to exploit the resources of the area to their economic and social advantage, and in the influence of geography. Southern society took form as the various and sometimes conflicting elements of the population of England and Europe sought in one way or another to improve their fortunes in this particular region of the New World.

The actors in the drama of Southern life were many and varied. First, there were the great nobles and lords of England, among them George Calvert, Lord Baltimore; Arthur Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury; George Monck, Duke of Albermarle; Sir William Berkeley; Lord Thomas Culpeper; and a long list of others of greater or lesser prominence. Of course, few of these upper-class Englishmen ever migrated to the colonies, but through their great political influence they were able to obtain large grants of land which they sought to develop into semi-feudal estates worked by tenants and servants. The greater and lesser merchants of England also took a hand in Southern affairs. Some of them, like Martin Noell and Thomas Povey, joined the English nobility in the attempt to carve out large landed estates; others were content to multiply their profits in the exploitation of Southern commerce. Middle-class Englishmen with some surplus capital saw in Southern tobacco and rice fields an opportunity to build up landed estates not afforded them in England, and not a few of them migrated to one or another of the Southern colonies. Many sturdy yeomen and artisans in England were able to pay for their passage to Virginia, Maryland, or the Carolinas, where they, too, hoped to get possession of land as independent owners. Still others with no means at all were willing to serve as indentured servants in America in order to pay their transportation over, and not a few of the inmates of English prisons were hustled off to Virginia to labor as indentured servants in the tobacco fields. As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the interests of British and New England slave-traders and of Southern planters were merging to bring into the picture thousands of unfortunate African blacks whose presence was to revolutionize the social order. And as the plantation economy based on slavery was fastening itself on the coastal plain, thousands of poverty-ridden German peasants and hard-pressed Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from North Ireland were moving into the valleys of the back-country

South all the way from Pennsylvania to South Carolina. Out of the struggle for place and position, for the ownership of land and the exploitation of labor, of all these varied elements—the English landed nobility, middle-class farmers and merchants, tenants and artisans, land-hungry German peasants, Scotch-Irish, and a merchant class that developed in the colonies—the Southern social order took form. In order to understand the educational ideals and practices which developed in this social order, we must subject it to a somewhat more detailed examination.

THE SOUTHERN ECONOMY

The aims of the promoters of early colonization were only partially realized. Certainly, the economic order they planned failed to materialize. The London merchants and capitalists who supplied the necessary funds to launch the settlement at Jamestown had no intention to develop an agricultural economy based upon the production of a staple crop. Had they had their way, Virginians would have devoted themselves to the making of iron and glass, to the growing of hemp, to the production of potash, silk, and wine—things much needed in the English economy. But in spite of well-intentioned efforts on the part of both the London Company and the English government to develop a diversified economy, the success and prosperity of the Virginia colonists became inseparably linked with the production of a staple crop.

TOBACCO AND THE DEVELOPING ECONOMY

Jamestown was not a decade old before it was discovered that the soil and climate of Virginia were admirably suited to the production of tobacco. The cultivation of tobacco began in 1612, and it spread so rapidly that within a few years Governor Dale was obliged to order that no man should be permitted to plant the weed until he had put down two acres in corn. The quantity of tobacco exported annually increased rapidly from 20,000 pounds in 1619 to about 40,000,000 pounds at the beginning of the eighteenth century and to more than 71,000,000 pounds in 1771.

The requirements for the production and marketing of tobacco more than anything else, perhaps, determined the social order that was to prevail in Virginia. The cultivation of tobacco affected pro-

foundly both the land and labor system. The planter needed a large tract of land, partly because tobacco was very exhaustive of the soil and partly because the larger his enterprise, the greater his profits. Land-hunger came to possess Virginians from the royal governor down to the indentured servant; and for the first half-century at least, land was relatively easy to acquire. Favorites of the king or of the royal governor, or members of the colonial council who were in a position to exercise influence, might without too much difficulty secure patents to thousands of acres. And the headright system whereby one could secure title to fifty acres of land by showing that he had paid the passage of an indentured servant from England made it possible for the lesser planters to add to their holdings.

The plantation system did not, however, develop very rapidly; until near the end of the seventeenth century, Virginia was still, in the main, a land of relatively small planters. It has been estimated that, around 1700, more than 60 per cent of the whites in Virginia did not own slaves or have indentured servants.² To be sure, one could find here and there a large plantation like that of Ralph Wormeley, Robert Beverley, John Carter, William Fitzhugh, or the first William Byrd. The fact is that more than cheap land and a favorable climate were required to make possible the development of a plantation economy. A bountiful nature was not enough. Dense forests had to be cleared, crops had to be planted, cultivated, and harvested. For these tasks, human hands were needed — many hands, if not skilled ones. A plentiful supply of workers was essential for the development of an agrarian economy based upon the production of tobacco.

THE LABOR SYSTEM

In England at the opening of the seventeenth century there was almost an endless supply of laborers. English parishes were filled with idle men. Many of those who were employed found their wages entirely inadequate to purchase food and clothing at prevailing prices. The burden of the support of the idle poor rested heavily upon the taxpayers, many of whom were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain themselves. It was hoped that the colonies would draw off large numbers of the dependent class, and it is true that

² James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, p. 217. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

America offered extraordinary inducements. As compared with what it was in England, the price of labor in the colonies was dear, and the opportunity to obtain land was infinitely greater. The English laborer could make what must have appeared, at the time, very good terms if he would migrate to America. Lacking funds to pay his passage to the New World and to establish himself once he had arrived, the worker could bind himself out for a period of service in payment for transportation, maintenance during his period of servitude, and sometimes land or other remuneration at the end of his term of indenture.

At the very outset of colonization, the London Company sent a number of indentured servants to Virginia. Colonists who could afford to do so immediately followed the lead of the company. The introduction of these servants was effected by various means. Many, the so-called redemptioners, were brought over by shipmasters and given a few days to sell their services on the best terms possible. Others signed contracts before leaving England whereby it was agreed that the shipmaster was to sell them into a term of servitude. Children were gathered up from the parishes of England and dispatched to the colonies. Kidnapped persons and others forced into service, among them convicts and political prisoners, added to the labor supply of tobacco planters. Estimates as to the number of convicts sent to the plantations vary considerably. Jefferson placed the figure at about two thousand for Virginia; others have stated that as many as fifty thousand prisoners were sent to America by English judges. It has been suggested that American genealogists have, in passing over the archives of Newgate and Old Bailey, neglected a rich mine of untapped material. The harsh laws of England, however, probably resulted in few convicts being sent over whose offenses were more than petty crimes growing out of poverty, helplessness, and wretchedness. All in all, the white servants constituted the chief labor supply for the plantations during the entire seventeenth century. It has been estimated that to Virginia alone came 1500 to 2000 annually from 1635 to 1705 — a total of 100,000 to 140,000 for the seventy-year period.

So long as the Virginia planter had to rely on indentured servants as a source of labor supply or till his own acres with his own hands, the plantation system did not develop very rapidly. Indentures usually ran for only four or five years. Consequently, an increasing

stream of arrivals was required to maintain an adequate servant population. As Pennsylvania and other colonies came to offer greater opportunity to the migrant and as economic conditions in England improved, it became increasingly obvious that a plantation economy would have to be based upon some other form of labor than white servitude. Moreover, after his term of enforced labor was over, the indentured servant was free to establish himself as a small planter, and he often succeeded in doing just this. Not a few of these ex-indentured servants became leaders of the Virginia yeomanry and were elected to serve in the House of Burgesses. It must be remembered, too, that the small-planter class was constantly being augmented by immigrants who were able to pay their own transportation to Virginia.

Professor Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker through careful research has dispelled the long-accepted picture of seventeenth-century Virginia as a land of large plantations. Writing of Virginia of about 1700, he says:

Even a cursory examination of the rent roll is sufficient to dispel the old belief that Virginia at this time was the land of the large proprietor. As one glances down the list of plantations he is struck by the number of little holdings, the complete absence of huge estates, the comparative scarcity even of those that for a newly settled country might be termed extensive. Here and there, especially in the frontier counties is listed a tract of four or five or even ten thousand acres, but such cases are very rare. In Middlesex county there is but one plantation of more than 2500 acres, in Charles City county the largest holding is 3130, in Nansemond 2300, in Norfolk county 3200, in Princess Anne 3100, in Elizabeth City county 2140, in York 2750, in Essex 3200.

On the other hand the rolls reveal the existence of thousands of little proprietors, whose holdings of from 50 to 500 acres embraced the larger part of the cultivated soil of the colony. Thus we find that in Nansemond, of 376 farms 26 were of 50 acres or less, 66 were between 50 and 100 acres, 110 between 100 and 200 acres, 88 between 200 and 400 acres, 78 between 400 and 1000 acres, and only eight over 1000 acres. In Middlesex county out of 122 holdings eleven were of 50 acres or less, 33 between 50 and 100 acres, 32 between 100 and 200 acres, 25 between 200 and 500 acres, 19 between 500 and 2500 acres, one of 4000 acres and one of 5200 acres. Of the 94 plantations in Charles City county 26 were of 100 acres or less,

21 between 100 and 200 acres, 25 between 200 and 500 acres, 19 between 500 and 2500 acres and three more than 2500 acres.³

Thus vanishes the fabled picture of Seventeenth century Virginia. In its place we see a colony filled with little farms a few hundred acres in extent, owned and worked by a sturdy class of English farmers. Prior to the slave invasion which marked the close of the Seventeenth century and the opening of the Eighteenth, the most important factor in the life of the Old Dominion was the white yeomanry.⁴

RIISING TIDE OF NEGRO SLAVERY

During the closing years of the seventeenth century, the Virginia yeomanry began to go down before the rising tide of Negro slavery. There had long been a demand for slaves, but neither the English nor the New England merchants had been able to break the grip of the Dutch on the slave trade. Slaves were present in Virginia from 1619, but their number increased slowly. In 1671, there were two thousand Negroes, as compared with six thousand white servants in the colony. It was not long, however, before the number of Negro slaves began to increase markedly, and this was especially the case after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 opened the African slave markets to English and American slavers. By 1715, one-fourth of Virginia's population of some ninety-five thousand were Negroes, and around the middle of the century the ratio of slaves to whites was about two to three.

The impact of Negro slavery on the economic and social order in Virginia was immediate and profound. The small farmer could not compete with slave labor. The day was virtually over when eastern Virginia offered opportunity to Englishmen without means to establish themselves as members of an independent yeomanry; the number of indentured white servants coming over from England fell off suddenly; henceforth the ships that dropped anchor in the Virginia rivers and estuaries were to be laden with hopeless Africans rather than Anglo-Saxons who looked forward to the time when they would be masters of their own small farms. Slavery dried up the source of English migration; it also forced the Virginia yeomanry to retreat before it or to adjust to it. Many small farmers, reduced to poverty

³ Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, pp. 52-53. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

by competition with slave labor, gave up the fight and moved on to the frontier or into western Pennsylvania and Maryland. Many of them took refuge in North Carolina, where slavery was less common. Others were able to adjust to the new situation by becoming small slaveholders themselves. Some sank into the poverty and despair of "poor whites," and were despised by all who could own a slave and held in contempt by the blacks themselves. Numerically, the small slaveholders came to be the most important element in the slaveholding population, but here and there one could find a large plantation worked by scores of slaves. Thus, in 1782, of the 633 slaveholders in Dinwiddie County, "95 had one only, 66 had two, 71 three, 45 four, 50 five, making an aggregate of 327, or more than half of all the slave holders, who possessed from one to five Negroes."⁵ But there were also many who numbered their slaves by the score. In Dinwiddie the following year the tax lists show that no less than sixty owners had twenty-one or more slaves.⁶ Occasionally the records reveal the possession of more than a hundred Negroes. Truly, the introduction of African slavery had wrought a revolution in the economic life of Virginia. An aristocratic social order, based upon a plantation economy, which had begun to take form even before the introduction of Negro slavery, had now fastened itself on tide-water Virginia.

THE SPREAD OF THE PLANTATION ECONOMY

Much the same course of events was transpiring in Maryland, where, also, tobacco was the staple crop. Originally, Lord Baltimore had hoped to establish a manorial system in Maryland not unlike that of old England, but he was soon to discover that Englishmen who came to America were bent upon obtaining a freehold of their own. Consequently, he adopted the policy of granting land in fee simple in relatively small tracts. During most of the seventeenth century in Maryland, as in Virginia, indentured servants constituted the major part of the labor supply. Maryland, too, was essentially a land of small independent farmers, a condition which was to change rather rapidly after the turn of the century. Here, too, the yeomanry were not able to stand their ground against Negro slavery, or against the favored position of men of wealth who were able to bring their influence to bear on proprietors and crown officials to secure large

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

HOMES OF THE PLANTER ARISTOCRACY



Drayton Hall, Ashley River, South Carolina, 1740

Courtesy of The Charleston Museum



*Doughoregan Manor, Howard County, Maryland, Home of the
Carrolls, 1727*

Courtesy of Baltimore Museum of Art



Cornwaleys's Cross Manor, St. Mary's County, Maryland, about 1690

Copyright Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland by H. C. Forman

grants of land. The proportion of slaves in the population increased from about one-sixth in 1715 to around 29 per cent in 1755. Men of means, especially in the Western Shore counties, developed large estates worked by slaves,⁷ and some, like Charles Carroll, Daniel Dulany, or Thomas Brerewood, were able to obtain large tracts of land which they peopled with Irish and German tenants. As the eighteenth century progressed, the ranks of the independent yeomanry in Maryland, as in Virginia, gave way before the steady advance of a plantation economy.

To the south of the tobacco colonies, in what are now the two Carolinas, the little group of Englishmen who dominated English colonial policy in the sixteen-sixties sought personal possession of huge tracts of land which they hoped to develop into ducal estates. As lords proprietors of Carolina, they were able to dispose of the land much as they pleased — to hold large tracts for themselves or to grant it to their friends and favorites or other entrepreneurs. It was soon discovered, however, that the settlers in Carolina were in no frame of mind to be exploited in the interest of absentee proprietors. Those who had taken refuge in Albermarle, the northern part of Carolina, from the rising tide of slavery and aristocracy in Virginia insisted upon establishing freeholds for themselves and upon managing their own affairs much as they pleased. Those who settled in and around Charleston — Englishmen, French Huguenots, planters from the East Indies, Irish, Welsh, Swiss, Germans, and Dutch — were soon engaged in carving out for themselves large rice plantations worked by slave labor or in exploiting the trade of the huge area of which Charleston was the commercial capital. After 1740, indigo as well as rice became a staple crop. The importance of rice as an export is indicated by the fact that in 1754 more than 100,000 barrels of this grain were shipped from Charleston. Within five years after the cultivation of indigo was introduced, more than 200,000 pounds of the cake made from the dried liquid of the plant were exported to England. Rice and indigo fields were cultivated almost exclusively by slave labor, and each decade saw the number of slaves rise with startling rapidity. In 1715, approximately five-eighths of South Carolina's 16,000 inhabitants were Negro slaves. In 1769, there were about 45,000 whites and 80,000 blacks in the

⁷ Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, I; 354. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933.

population of the colony.⁸ Some Carolina planters numbered their slaves by the hundreds, as, for example, Ralph Izard, who employed 594 Negroes to cultivate his eight plantations.⁹

Charleston was one of the great centers of colonial commerce. Its merchants, in the value of their trade and the size of their fortunes, could rival any to be found in America. Indian traders exploited the fur trade into the back-country for a thousand miles and for a while deerskins rivaled rice and indigo as an article of export. The commanding importance of Charleston as a commercial center is witnessed by the fact that shortly before the Revolution more than four hundred ships were entering its harbor annually.¹⁰ In 1773, Carolina exports, most of which were cleared through Charleston, were valued at 456,513 pounds. This was considerably more than the total value of exports to Great Britain from all the colonies north of Maryland.¹¹

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE PLANTATION ECONOMY

As the colonial period drew to a close, the plantation system based upon African slavery had come to dominate most of the coastal plain stretching from the Chesapeake Bay region to Florida. The plantation economy and the factors which promoted its development profoundly influenced every aspect of Southern life — economic, political, social, and educational. Everywhere, the better lands came to be concentrated in the hands of an aristocracy of increasing numbers. In Virginia, primogeniture tended to prevent the break-up of large estates once they had been established. Although small farms in the tidewater South continued to exist, the plantation system precluded the possibility of a society of small freeholders.

As the size of the plantation increased and free labor gave place to slave labor, there was a definite hardening of the class structure. The freeman, particularly after 1700, who attempted to establish himself as a planter found the odds heavily against him, and the owner of a small freehold found it increasingly difficult to compete with neighbors possessed of large resources of land and servile labor. The inherited class structure, which had weakened considerably in

⁸ Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution*, p. 15. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

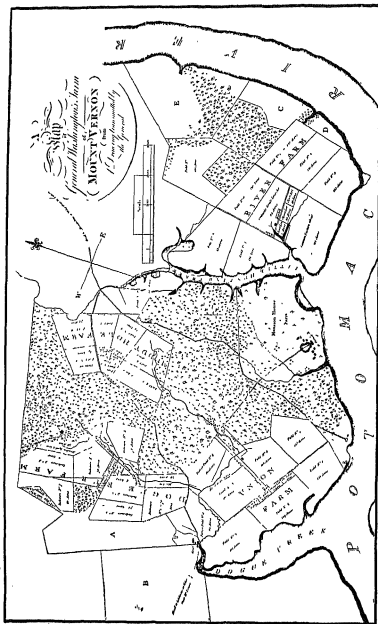
⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

he early seventeenth century under the leveling influence of the frontier, had become more rigid than ever. The yeomanry was not completely wiped out, but the large planter who owned huge tracts of land, commanded large resources of capital and credit, and owned many slaves came to dominate the economic, political, and social life of the Southern colonies. The line between these two planter groups, which during the seventeenth century had not been clearly drawn, became more distinct as the opportunity for the small planters to rise to places of wealth and prominence became less. The aristocracy of the Southern plantations was neither as pretentious nor as arrogant as that of old England, but it knew well enough how to keep lesser people in their place, how to exercise political power in its own class interest, how to exploit economic resources to the limit, and how to give thought and sentiment the direction desired. As we shall see a little later, the aristocratic tendencies of this society were reflected in the arrangements made for the education of the young.

The plantation economy affected very definitely the growth of population and the pattern of its distribution on the land. The baneful influence of the Southern type of economic organization upon the growth of population has been discussed by many writers. It should be pointed out, however, that, after approximately ninety years of colonization, the combined population of the tobacco colonies, Virginia and Maryland, was at least three-fourths of that of all New England. And at the time of the taking of the first census in 1790, three-eighths of the white population was found south of the Mason-Dixon line. It was not so much the size of the population as it was the manner in which it was distributed that influenced the development of the cultural and intellectual life of the South. Plantations were large and in many instances separated from one another by poor or abandoned lands. Transportation, except by boat, was difficult and distances were great. For much of the colonial period the great plantations tended to cluster along the rivers and estuaries that threaded the coastal plain. In 1724, the average size of twelve typical parishes, the smallest units of government, was five hundred and forty-five square miles, an area larger than the average mid-western county of today and almost twenty times as large as the average New England town of the period. It has been estimated that the majority of the members of a parish were obliged to travel five



Mount Vernon Plantation

to ten miles to attend church. In the twelve parishes mentioned above, there was, on the average, less than one family to the square mile. Under circumstances such as these vigorous community life was almost impossible. Comparatively few areas possessed a sufficient number of children to make the establishment of schools an economical procedure. Organized efforts to provide schools were commonly made in those areas in which co-operation was possible. In other communities, the education of children, of necessity, was achieved, if at all, through other means. Thus, the pattern of population distribution as well as the type of social organization was reflected in the educational program.

One of the most conspicuous results of the plantation system was the almost complete non-existence of town life. In New England, even in agricultural communities, the bulk of the population lived in compact settlements, the majority dwelling within a comparatively short distance of the church. The New England village-centered community did not have its counterpart in the South. As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was hardly so much as a village in Virginia. Few persons could be induced to settle in towns. Even county seats consisted, in most instances, of the public buildings with perhaps an inn or a store. It is said that Thomas Jefferson, prior to his matriculation in William and Mary in 1760, had never seen as many as a dozen houses grouped together. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century, Williamsburg was a village of some two hundred houses and, at the close of the Revolution, Richmond had fewer than four thousand inhabitants. Norfolk, the largest town in colonial Virginia, had a population of about six thousand in 1776. Baltimore did not develop into a place of great importance until after the Revolution. Towns did not develop even for commercial purposes so long as seagoing vessels could dock at the wharves of the great plantations that lay along the banks of navigable rivers.

Charleston, in South-Carolina, was an exception. As we have already seen, it rivaled Boston, New York, and Philadelphia as a great center of trade. Its merchants maintained intimate relations with the other colonies and with England. Planters, many of them masters of a hundred slaves, built town houses in Charleston and filled them with furniture, silver plate, and china imported from England or the Continent. Here was to be found the most cavalier,

if not the most attractive, social life in America. Music, art, drama, and education were encouraged. From 1762 on, concerts were given under the auspices of the far-famed Saint Cecilia Society. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard, visited Charleston in 1775 and recorded the following impression of it in his journal:

The town makes a most beautiful appearance as you come up to it, and in many respects a magnificent one. I can only say in general, that in grandeur, splendour of buildings, decorations, equipages, numbers, shippings, and indeed in almost everything it far surpasses all I ever saw, or ever expected to see, in America.¹²

GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

Public policy, as it found expression in legal enactment, was by and large determined by the great planter class, and in South Carolina by a combination of planter and merchant. It would not be far wrong to regard the colonial councils, the upper branches of the legislature, as special committees representing the interests of the plantation and merchant aristocracy — of the Carrolls, Byrds, Carters, Lees, Washingtons, Middletons, Laurenses, and Pinckneys. Royal and proprietary governors often found it necessary or expedient to yield to the demands of the wealthy and influential planters even to the point of granting them patents to large tracts of lands. The assemblies, the lower branches of the legislature, were more representative of common people, but property qualifications for voting excluded the lower elements in society from participating in government. Even in the management of local affairs, in county and parish, the landed aristocracy exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

The five Southern colonies, like the other English colonies in America, were settled largely by Protestants, but, more important in explaining their subsequent educational development, the Anglican Church was established by law in each of them. The English Church, established on the principle of the union of church and state, expressed the spirit of the upper classes who, through self-perpetuating vestries, as in Virginia, or elected vestries, as in South Carolina, and through the close relationship in which they stood to the colonial governments, sought to make the church an instrument of social

¹² *Journal of Josiah Quincy*, pp. 72-73, as quoted in Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

control and direction. The Anglican Church in America reflected the attitude of the English upper classes toward popular education. The need for education among the people generally was not keenly felt by persons in authority. The movement of Englishmen into the South was motivated by no burning desire to perpetuate particular religious ideals or to establish a new social order. All English institutions, including education, were acceptable to them and were modified only as positive needs developed.

The church, as in England, was not entirely unmindful of the importance of popular education. The Bishop of London, as the diocesan of the colonial church, sent over commissaries charged among other things with the promotion of religious education. Thomas Bray, noted for the establishment of parish libraries, and James Blair, who secured the charter for William and Mary College, were the two outstanding representatives of the Bishop of London in the colonial South. The educational interests of the Southern colonies were also promoted by the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This organization, established in 1701 as an auxiliary of the Anglican Church, was active in promoting education in all Southern colonies except Virginia. However, neither the church nor any of its agencies was destined to become a vital force in the spiritual and cultural life of the masses. Governors neglected their ecclesiastical duties; the Bishop of London was too far removed from the scene to exert much influence; the ministers, except perhaps in South Carolina, did not exhibit any great zeal for their religious duties. Poorly trained, sustained by law, but dependent upon the vestry for appointment and upon local taxes for their meager stipends, they generally identified themselves with, and ministered to, the people at the upper end of the social scale. The church did not flourish, even in Virginia, where, at least during the seventeenth century, a majority of the people adhered to the established faith. In Maryland, prior to the establishment of the church in 1692, few Anglican ministers were to be found. North Carolina had only six Anglican churches in 1775, and it is stated that the amount of state aid voted in fifty years would have supported only two ministers for one year. In 1769, eleven years after the establishment, there were only two Anglican churches in Georgia. In South Carolina, the state of the church was somewhat better, but the Anglicans in the population probably never exceeded one-third of the total.

The Southern colonies, settled largely by persons who were seeking to advance their economic position, attracted a diversity of religious groups. From the beginning of the eighteenth century on, Scotch-Irish, German, and other groups were pouring into the back-country through Pennsylvania and western Maryland. The Anglican governments were more interested in having settlers on the frontier than in enforcing religious conformity. The Anglican Church neither met the needs of the newcomers nor sought to convert them. The dissenters — Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, German Reformed, and others — were bitterly opposed to the union of church and state and objected vigorously to taxes for the support of an established church.

It is difficult to measure the influence of the Anglican Church upon education in the South. It provided, at least indirectly, education of a sort for many children who otherwise would have been neglected. On the other hand, the leaders of the church reflected the indifference of the upper class toward popular education. The existence of an established church was responsible for such legislation as the Schism Act of 1714, which aimed to prevent the establishment of schools by dissenters by requiring teachers to be licensed by the Bishop of London. The attitude of the church and its leaders was not conducive to educational development, but the difficulties confronted in organizing a system of public education were rooted, not only in the religious, but also in the social, economic, and political conditions of the colonial South.

TIDEWATER VERSUS BACK-COUNTRY — A CONFLICT OF CULTURES

The type of society which took form in the tidewater, or "low-country," South was strikingly different from that which developed on the frontier, back of the fall line in the Piedmont region, or in the "back-country," as it was called. The Piedmont and the western valleys, stretching from Pennsylvania to Georgia, were peopled in part by the younger sons of the eastern aristocracy, by indentured servants who had won their freedom, and by small farmers and tenants who had been forced to retreat before the rising tide of Negro slavery. Here the poor and dispossessed from the east, along with some who were better off, met a stream of European migrants — Scotch-Irish, Germans, Irish, Swiss, and Welsh — moving south-

ward from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Thousands of German peasants, especially from the Palatinate, who had been repeatedly harried by war and persecuted for religious faith, sought a refuge in Pennsylvania. To Pennsylvania, too, came other thousands of Scotch-Irish from northern Ireland, seeking an escape from the poverty and hopelessness into which they had sunk as a result of the events following the English Revolution of 1688-89.¹³ Soon after 1725, these Germans and Scotch-Irish were pressing their way southward from Pennsylvania and western Maryland, through the Great Valley of Virginia, and into the Piedmont of the Carolinas.

In this frontier, back-country South, a society developed which was far more democratic than that which had taken form in the tidewater low country. In the east, an aristocratic society had been firmly built on a plantation economy, Negro slavery, primogeniture, entail, and an established church. To all these, most back-country folk were strongly opposed. The west was made up of small farmers, though here and there a sizable plantation might be found. Slaves were not unknown, but they were relatively few, and perhaps as late as 1820 these people in the back-country would have voted to abolish slavery if they had been given the opportunity. The Scotch-Irish and others who settled on the frontier had been conditioned by their experiences in Europe to fear government and an established church, to hate landlordism, and to oppose taxation.

As the years passed, a deep-seated conflict developed between the two ways of life represented by the aristocratic tidewater and the democratic frontier. Planters and merchants along the seaboard were disposed to look upon these back-country settlers as intruders, bringing with them a type of social organization more like that found in Pennsylvania than in tidewater Virginia or South Carolina. Certainly these back-country folk must not be given proportional representation in the colonial legislatures, not, at least, until they had come around to the support of slavery and to the acceptance of the ideology underpinning the low-country aristocracy. Since the government was already under the control of eastern planters, it was not too difficult to devise ways by which the growing west could be deprived of its proportionate representation in political affairs. In passing, it may not be amiss to note that the doctrine of nullification merely represented the application to national politics of a principle

¹³ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

long in operation in South Carolina. Of course, the frontier yeomanry bitterly resented their partial disfranchisement. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and other dissenters all but refused to support the Anglican Church as the law required. Back-country folk in general disapproved of primogeniture and entail, and they were particularly bitter toward the large planters and speculators who had bought up western lands and now held them for high prices. When the American Revolution broke, it is not surprising that the western yeomanry rallied to its support, not so much because many of them had no reason to love England as because they saw in the movement an opportunity to right some of their old grievances against the low-country aristocracy. The Revolution was really a revolution within a revolution; the cause of America against England was also the cause of the back-country farmers against the tidewater planters.

The unsettled and exacting conditions of life in the back-country South were not conducive to the development of public education. Yet the intellectual nurture of youth was not wholly neglected. In well-populated communities, schools were maintained in connection with churches, and by the close of the colonial period, a few academies and classical schools had been established. It was, however, this more democratic back-country which was to supply the South with a large part of its educational leadership at a later day. Thomas Jefferson, a back-country man, gave America its first well-thought-out plan for a complete system of public education, and to this day it is a noteworthy fact that most institutions of higher education in the Southeast are located west of the area dominated by the plantation aristocracy of the eighteenth century.

EDUCATION AND THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

The forces which determined the course of educational development in the South are reasonably clear. First of all, the Southern colonists, unlike those who migrated to New England, had not set their hands to the building of a new social order; consequently, they did not look upon education as an essential means of developing in youth an emotional acceptance of a new social design. They were no more and no less religious, perhaps, than the rank and file of their fellow countrymen in England, and they were, by and large, entirely satisfied with the religious establishment they had brought across the

seas. The Anglican Church, to which they officially adhered, was not indifferent to education. But in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Puritans, Anglicans did not look with too great favor upon the state as an agency for providing schools. The church would take steps to provide itself with an educated clergy and it would devise ways and means to extend some educational opportunities to the poor and neglected, but for the great mass of children education was an obligation resting upon home and parent. More important still, perhaps, was the dispersion of population and the absence of community life resulting from the development of a plantation economy. Finally, a planter aristocracy, amply able to educate its own youth and occupying a dominant position in politics as well as in matters economic and social, was little disposed to champion the cause of popular education.

Although the influence of tradition, organized religion, and the class structure of society were all conducive to the acceptance in the Anglican colonies of the principle that education was not a public, nor primarily a religious matter, but one which was private and individual, New World conditions required some modification of this attitude in favor of placing responsibility for the training of youth upon the state. The entire course of action which was followed in providing education at all levels and for all social classes, however, disturbed the inherited pattern as little as possible.

EDUCATION THROUGH APPRENTICESHIP

The presence in Virginia and the other Southern colonies of a large class of poor and dependent persons made possible the early introduction of the apprenticeship system which had developed in England during the preceding hundred years. In time, the state, particularly in Maryland and Virginia, and to a lesser degree in the Carolinas, felt obliged to employ apprenticeship as a means of making compulsory some education for children who would otherwise have been neglected. The motive, no doubt, was in part religious and humanitarian, but the major interest of the colonial governments was economic—to prevent pauperism, to make lighter the burden of poor relief, and to increase the industrial efficiency of the colony. In this connection, it must be noted that even in Virginia, where arrangements for education through apprenticeship were more complete than in any other Southern colony, the laws relating

to compulsory education dealt, with one exception, not with all the children, but with special classes — orphans, poor children, and those of illegitimate birth, including mulattoes born of white mothers.

Orphans were the first dependents to become the subject of legislation in Virginia. Jernegan has found at least seventeen acts relating to this class of children, beginning with the legislation of March 1642/43 and spaced throughout the colonial period. Most of those acts involved the principle of compulsory education. They provided that orphans should be educated as well as their estates would permit; that those whose estates were insufficient should be apprenticed and "educated according as their estates will beare" (1656); and, after 1705, that apprenticed boys be taught to read and write. A later act, effective in 1751, extended the provisions of the law to include apprenticed girls.¹⁴

Jernegan also cites eight important laws which were passed between 1646 and 1769 relating to "religious, industrial, or book education of poor children of various classes." He concludes that five of the eight acts "contemplated some form of book education, and that four of them can be properly classed as compulsory laws."¹⁵ It was not, however, until 1727 that compulsory book education was provided by law for poor apprenticed boys. A later act, effective in 1751, resembles closely the famous Massachusetts Act of 1642. Where parents were neglecting to take "due care" of the education of their children or were incapable of bringing them up "in honest courses," it was within the authority of the county court to apprentice the children to someone who would teach them to read and write. Literally construed, this act applied to all children whose parents neglected to take "due care" of their education. It is likely that relatively few children whose parents were able to take adequate care of them were actually apprenticed under the authority of this law. In some instances, however, children were apprenticed apparently for no other reason than that their education was being neglected.¹⁶ It may be noted, too, that there were statutory enactments requiring the religious education of all children, poor and rich alike.

It would be a serious mistake to accept, as has been done, the

¹⁴ Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783*, pp. 144-45. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

laws of colonial Virginia as evidence of the existence of a system of compulsory education that involved any large portion of the population. The word "poor" was used in the acts, not to denote persons of little means, but to designate the relatively small number of dependent poor — that is, paupers. The children receiving education under the acts relating to the poor were probably no more numerous than those making up the body of orphans whose apprenticeship and education were ordered in the series of laws referred to in a preceding paragraph. Records extant for two Virginia parishes indicate that only some one hundred and sixty-three children of those two parishes were apprenticed during a forty-year period beginning shortly after 1740. Of those apprenticed, sixty-two were designated as orphans, sixty-four as poor children, seventeen as of illegitimate birth, and twenty as mulattoes born of white mothers. The fact that the number of "poor" children apprenticed in these two parishes was less than twice the number of white and part-Negro illegitimates would seem to indicate that only a very small part of the actually poor children fell under the provisions of the laws.

In all, there were some ten laws which made masters responsible for some book education of apprenticed dependents — orphans, poor children, and those of illegitimate birth. There is little evidence as to how much education was actually provided. In the two Virginia parishes referred to previously, the indentures specified reading and writing in sixty-one instances; reading in eighteen; reading, writing, and ciphering in three; instruction for eighteen months in one and for two years in seven; as the law allows, etc., in eighteen; and no education was required in forty-two instances.

Compulsory education, when provided for in Southern colonies other than Virginia, also centered around the training of dependents through apprenticeship. In Maryland, orphans without means for an education were to be bound out to learn a trade (1663). A later act (1715) provided that justices of county courts should require from a jury a report on whether apprentices were taught trades or turned to common labor:

In North Carolina, no legislation concerning apprenticeship was passed for many years. In 1715, it was ordered that orphans without estates be apprenticed, and later (1755) provision was made that the masters of all orphans should teach them to read and write. This law was later (1760) extended to include "all free base born children and every such Female Child being Mulattoe or Mustic."

Apprenticeship in South Carolina and Georgia was probably less common than in the other Southern colonies. A law, passed in South Carolina in 1695, provided that poor children be bound out. Georgia, settled late and slow to grow, did not pass legislation requiring education through apprenticeship, but, as in South Carolina, children were apprenticed, and there can be no doubt that apprenticeship was a means to at least a measure of industrial training.

Apprenticeship as a means of training dependents and promoting the prosperity of the several colonies fitted into the arrangements of the social organization of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the Southern colonies, where class lines were more distinctly drawn than in New England or the middle colonies, the only compulsory education provided was through the agency of apprenticeship. There were in these colonies no laws similar to those in New England requiring the establishment of schools or providing for their support by taxation. Nor was there any law which permitted the authorities to interfere with respect to the education of other than dependent children unless the Virginia law of 1748 may be interpreted as having made such provision. In this connection, it should be remembered, however, that after 1692 no law was passed in Massachusetts involving the compulsory education of all children in either religious or book education. Such laws as were passed in that colony after this date referred exclusively to poor apprenticed children, and after 1710 the law provided only that apprenticed males were to be taught to read. Thus, it appears that after the downfall of the Puritan régime compulsory education in Virginia was quite up to the New England standard.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The colonial governments in legislating with respect to the poor were primarily concerned with the dependent poor — that element in the population from which those on the relief rolls were drawn and were likely to continue to be drawn. For this class, industrial training through apprenticeship was provided by legislation in all Southern colonies except Georgia; and in two, Virginia and North Carolina, some instruction in reading and writing was added. It appears, however, that the number of poor children apprenticed, except perhaps during the earliest years of the Virginia colony, has

been grossly overestimated and the number of apprentices who received instruction in the rudiments during any part of the colonial period has been somewhat exaggerated. Furthermore, a large majority of the parents in all the colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were persons, who, although not dependents, were unable to provide privately for the education of their children. Since apprenticeship legislation affected these children only as they became or threatened to become paupers, the education of the great majority had to be undertaken in other ways, or, as was often the case, go by default.

In some instances, the colonial governments took measures for the establishment and support of schools, and where this was done provision was usually made for the free instruction of a limited number of poor pupils. The Virginia Company encouraged philanthropic efforts made in 1619 and 1624 to establish schools of the charity type. In South Carolina, an act passed in 1710 provided that various bequests that had been made for the establishment of a free school should be placed under the control of a board of trustees which was empowered to build a school and employ a master capable of teaching Latin, Greek, and the useful parts of mathematics. Since nothing was accomplished under this act, two years later the legislature gave life to it by providing that one hundred pounds should be appropriated annually from public funds in payment of the master's salary. Twelve pupils were to be admitted free of tuition and the others were to pay tuition at the rate of four pounds a year.¹⁷

Interest attaches to this school because it is one of the very first examples of a radical modification of the old Latin-grammar-school program. Its course of study was very much like that of the later academies. In fact, in the act establishing the school it was referred to as "said school or academy." In addition to a master to teach Latin and Greek, provision was made for an usher "to teach writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts, and also the art of navigation and surveying, and other useful and practical parts of mathematics." The usher's salary of fifty pounds was to be paid out of the public funds, and he was required to teach free of charge such persons as were "appointed to have their learning free,"¹⁸ The Act of 1712

¹⁷ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁸ *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, II, 389-96 (compiled by Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord. Columbia, 1836-41), as adapted from Elsie W. Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments*, p. 463. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899.

also authorized the vestry in each parish in the colony to draw upon colony funds to the amount of twelve pounds for the building of a schoolhouse and ten pounds per annum were to be allowed toward the payment of the master's salary. In this colony, a later act (1722) gave the justices of the county and precinct courts authority to purchase lands and erect free schools in each county or precinct and to assess the lands and slaves of each jurisdiction for the support of its school. Ten poor children were to be taught annually if sent by the justices.¹⁹

The North Carolina legislature ordered in 1745 the construction of a school at Edenton, but the school probably was not built. In 1766, it voted to establish a school at Newbern and to give for its maintenance certain revenues derived from the importation of liquors. The school was to educate ten poor children annually. In Maryland, an attempt was made in 1696 to found a number of Latin grammar schools throughout the colony. A corporation including the governor and other colonial officers was created to receive donations and bequests for the establishment of schools and to have general control of them. A few years later, duties were imposed upon certain exports and imports, the revenues derived therefrom to be used to supplement the funds received as gifts. Only one such school was established under this act, King William's School at Annapolis, which was later to grow into Saint John's College. In 1723, the legislature of Maryland passed an act for the establishment of a system of county schools wherein as many poor pupils should be taught gratis as the visitors might require. The schools contemplated in the law — one in each county — seem to have been generally established.²⁰ The records extant for one of these schools in Queen Anne's County indicate that in curriculum and equipment it was ahead of the times. It gave instruction in geography and navigation and provided opportunity for advanced study in mathematics. The collection of maps, charts, and globes was unusually good, as was also the collection of Latin and Greek texts and treatises.²¹ Although some fifteen of these county schools were established, in general they found it difficult to survive, and by the time of the Revolution their usefulness was about over. It is true, however, that

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-65.

²⁰ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²¹ Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*, p. 134. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919.

Maryland was the only colony outside of New England that made any very serious effort to establish what might properly be called a state system of schools.²²

After 1754, when Georgia became a royal colony, the crown supported two schoolmasters and a minister who had been previously maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

No legislation of the Southern colonies, however, contemplated the establishment of public schools free and open to all. When the founding of schools was ordered, they were expected to be tuition schools. Very few children were or could have been provided for in the few schools that received a measure of their support from the colonial governments.

ENDOWED, CHARITY, AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

In England, as a partial remedy for the terrible condition of the poor, endowments had been created for the support of charity schools or to provide for the maintenance of poor children in tuition schools. In a number of instances philanthropically disposed persons in the Southern colonies followed the English precedent. Attempts to establish schools which would receive indigent children, particularly Indian youth, were made early in the history of Virginia. A considerable sum of money was raised for the projected East India School, which was to be primarily a tuition school, but which, no doubt, would, in keeping with the custom in England, have received a number of non-paying students. These attempts came to nought, and the first endowed school was not established until some time after the will of Benjamin Symms, dated February 1634/35, set aside two hundred acres of land and other property to found a free school in Elizabeth City County. This school was alluded to near the middle of the century as follows:

I may not forget to tell you we have a Free-School, with two hundred Acres of Land, a fine house upon it, forty milch Kine, and other accommodations to it: the Benefactor deserves perpetual memory: His name Mr. Benjamin Symes, worthy to be Chronicled, other petty schools also we have.²³

²² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²³ As quoted in Guy Fred Wells, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, p. 33. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 138. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1923.

Other schools of a similar character were opened somewhat later. The slowness with which the number of schools of this type increased, however, is indicated by the replies to a questionnaire addressed to the parish clergy in Virginia by the Bishop of London in 1724. He asked: "Have you in your Parish any Public School for the instruction of youth? If you have, is it endowed? and who is the Master?" By "public" the Bishop probably meant a school not operated privately for gain at which at least some of the children of the community were admitted without charge. Of the twenty-nine parishes from which replies were received, only four reported having endowed schools. A somewhat typical reply was that from Saint Peter's Parish in New Kent County. "We have no Public Schools but some private, wherein children are taught to read, write, etc." ²⁴ Altogether, five "public" schools were reported. Between 1724 and the Revolution, probably four more endowed schools were added. These nine "public" schools, located in seven of Virginia's ninety parishes, with the possible exception of the Eaton School, offered instruction in elementary subjects only. These schools accomplished, at least in part, the ends toward which the endowments aimed in that they received some children who could not pay for their education. It is also probably true that the lower tuition rates made possible by the endowment resulted in the enrollment of some children whose parents could not pay higher rates. It was of such schools as these that Beverley, the historian of Virginia, wrote in 1705:

There are large tracts of land, houses, and other things granted to free schools for the education of children in many parts of the country, and some of these are so large that of themselves they are a handsome maintenance to a master; but the additional allowance which gentlemen give with their sons render them a comfortable subsistence. These schools have been founded by the legacies of well-inclined gentlemen, and the management of them hath commonly been left to the direction of the county court or to the vestry of their respective parishes.²⁵

Although these schools were primarily tuition schools, and at least on one occasion complaint was made that the children of those who

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁵ *History of Virginia*, as quoted in Lyon G. Tyler, editor, "Education in Colonial Virginia," Part III: "Free Schools," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, VI (October, 1897), 71.

could pay received attention to the neglect of those for whom the schools had been established, they did enroll many children who might not have been provided for otherwise. The number of these schools in proportion to the population, however, was small, and the part played by them in the total educational plan, and particularly in the education of the poor, is easily exaggerated.

The people of South Carolina were especially generous in their donations for the endowment of schools. For example, a Mr. Whitmarsh left five hundred pounds to a free school in Saint Paul's Parish. Mr. Ludlam left an estate valued at two thousand pounds for the same purpose in Saint James's Parish. In Saint Thomas's Parish, Richard Beresford bequeathed one-third of the yearly profits of his estate, which amounted to sixty-five hundred pounds, to the support of one or more schoolmasters and the other two-thirds "for the support, maintenance, and education of the poor." James Childs bequeathed six hundred pounds for a free school in Saint John's Parish, and other inhabitants contributed an additional twenty-four hundred pounds.²⁰ The size of these donations is impressive when it is recalled that John Harvard's gift to Harvard College was only about eight hundred pounds. Not only were "free" schools established through the benevolence of individuals, but also by organizations such as the South Carolina Society of Charleston and the Winyaw Indigo Society. All these schools provided a number of free places for poor children. South Carolina surpassed all the other Southern colonies, and perhaps all the colonies, in the liberality of its educational endowments.

Probably a larger number of poor children were educated in charity schools maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts than in the endowed schools. This society was the most important religious and philanthropic agency operating in the American colonies. It maintained schools in all Southern colonies except Virginia. Although its chief purpose was to give religious training, it provided instruction in reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. Knight states that the schools established by this missionary society furnished the nearest approach to a public-school organization found in the South before the Revolution.

²⁰ Edward McCrady, Jr., *Education in South Carolina Prior to and During the Revolution*, p. 11 Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, IV.

Schools were established in connection with the various churches.²⁷ Covenanters, Scotch Presbyterians, and Anglicans maintained schools which, although primarily tuition schools, probably geared their rates to what a considerable number of the people could pay and perhaps, as had been the age-long practice in religious schools of Europe, taught some of the poor "for God's sake." The Moravians, before leaving Georgia for Pennsylvania in 1738, founded mission schools for the religious instruction of Indian youth. Other religious groups, no doubt, made provision for the instruction of their own children in the true faith and, to some extent, in the rudiments of learning. The educational highway was not entirely closed to the poor. A considerable number could progress a short way; a few might hurdle the almost insurmountable obstacles to journey a little farther; but, on the whole, the educational programs of the upper and lower classes were rather sharply differentiated.

PRIVATE EDUCATION

In a social order in which it was accepted as a principle that education was a personal matter and that competent parents would see to it that their children were trained according to their proper stations in society, education at private expense and privately controlled was bound to loom large.

The English practice of employing a private tutor found favor among the large planters and others of the richer inhabitants. The tutors, although not all of the same quality, were usually competent persons, often keeping the plantation accounts as well as teaching the children. Tutors were recruited from among the candidates for the ministry who had been trained abroad or in such American colleges as William and Mary or the College of New Jersey. There were also among them a goodly number of indentured servants — oftentimes persons of some culture who, fleeing the hopeless conditions of England, Scotland, or North Ireland, sold themselves into service for a period of years.

The tutors were sometimes called upon to teach, not only the children of the family, but also those of the planters' kinsmen and neighbors. A school building was not uncommonly found on the plantations of the great landowners. The evidence which remains with respect to the subjects taught indicates that a restricted curricu-

²⁷ Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, p. 26. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1922.

lum was not necessarily characteristic of the instruction provided by the tutor in the home.

COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

Many children were educated in community schools, later known as "old field schools." This name was applied because these schools, set up at convenient points by the people of the various neighborhoods, were frequently erected in some neglected or abandoned field. Beverley, writing of these schools in 1705, stated: "In all other places, where such endowments [for free schools] have not already been made, people join and build schools for their children where they may learn on very easie terms."²⁸

Some of these schools enjoyed a long life of usefulness; others were quite ephemeral. Usually, reading and writing and sometimes ciphering were taught, but here and there advanced studies were offered. Some few became academies in the later years of the period. Many of the early teachers were local ministers or lay readers of the Anglican Church who sought to supplement their meager incomes by tuition fees. Schools recognized by the Established Church were taught by teachers who held licenses from the Bishop of London or from the governor. In Virginia, at least, an attempt was made to require certification of all teachers. In 1686, for example, schoolmasters were ordered to attend the meeting of the General Assembly in Jamestown to be examined and to receive licenses from the governor. The crown, apparently, was more solicitous with respect to this matter than were the planters, some of whom protested that many teachers ceased teaching rather than make the trip. This law, when enforced, curtailed the educational programs of dissenting groups.

PRIVATE VENTURE SCHOOLS

Schools which were purely private in nature must have been fairly numerous. Remaining records allude to many schools kept by ministers who taught, and sometimes boarded, a few boys who were preparing for college, and to schools of other masters maintained as private ventures. Among these private teachers of note were Thomas Martin, who prepared James Madison for entrance into Princeton

²⁸ As quoted in Jernegan, *The American Colonies, 1492-1750*, p. 106. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.

College, and James Marye, the teacher of Washington and other prominent Virginians.

Private schools of all grades were found in all cities during the last half of the colonial period. These schools taught the elementary subjects, the higher branches, and the "businesses of sea and air." Several such schools were located in Charleston and some in Norfolk and Savannah. In a previous chapter it was shown how private teachers appeared in eighteenth-century New England to meet the needs of an emerging capitalistic society. Much the same kind of thing was taking place in the South, especially in Charleston. Knight has found that "from 1733 to 1774 more than four hundred advertisements relating to schools and schoolmasters appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*, which was published in Charleston."²⁹ Jernegan, after a careful examination of vestry books, wills, and the files of the *South Carolina Gazette*, concludes that the development of the private school in Charleston "was far ahead of that in any other city in the Colonies." The files of the *South Carolina Gazette* "show that between 1760 and 1770 at least seventy different schools were in operation for a longer or shorter period, many of them covering the whole period in question." Jernegan also says: "It is believed that not less than twenty-five private schools were in operation in Charleston every year from 1760 to the Revolution."³⁰ The private teachers, like those in New England and the middle colonies, were giving instruction in a great variety of subjects: French, English, Latin, writing, arithmetic, Spanish, bookkeeping, navigation, surveying, needlework, and drawing.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The development of institutions for the higher learning in the South was retarded by the practice of sending young men to English, Scotch, and Continental schools and universities to complete their education. The Byrds, Fitzhughs, Lees, Pinckneys, Gadsdens, Middletons, and many other leading families, anxious to maintain their contacts with Europe and to educate their children in the European social tradition as well as in the humanistic learning and the professions, sent their sons and sometimes their daughters abroad, espe-

²⁹ Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁰ Marcus Wilson Jernegan, "Factors Influencing the Development of American Education Before the Revolution," *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1911-12*, V, 205. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1912.

cially to the schools and universities of England and Scotland. Tyler has prepared a long list of Virginians, including seven members of the Lee family, who received their education in whole or in part in English schools and universities. At least one headmaster of an English school thought it worth his while to advertise in the *Virginia Gazette* as follows:

At the Academy in Leeds, which is pleasantly situated in the county of York, in England, young gentlemen are genteely boarded and diligently instructed in English, the classicks, Modern Languages, Penmanship, Arithmetick, Merchant Accounts, Mathematicks, Modern Geography, Experiential Philosophy, and Astronomy . . . Drawing, Musick, and Dancing are extra charges.³¹

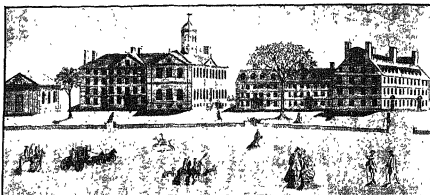
During the period from 1754 to 1778, more than a score of Virginia physicians had studied at the University of Edinburgh.³² The practice of sending boys to England to complete their education seems to have been even more common in South Carolina than in Virginia. The list of Southerners educated abroad is imposing, but it should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the practice was confined to a relatively few wealthy families. It is true, however, that persons educated in foreign universities did provide the South with a small group of extremely able leaders.

The early attempts (1619, 1624, 1660) to establish a college in Virginia were unsuccessful, and it was not until 1692 that the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg received its charter. James Blair, who had gone to England to obtain the charter, was highly successful in securing donations for the new college. The government granted it 1985 pounds, a group of English merchants contributed three hundred pounds, and a like sum was "donated" by a group of pirates who were making their settlement with the government. The college was also to receive funds accruing from an export tax on tobacco from Virginia and Maryland. The fees from the land surveyor's office were also to go to the college, and it was the recipient of a grant of ten thousand acres of land. The General Assembly in Virginia allocated to the college the export duties on skins and furs and, after 1726, for a period of twenty-one years appropriated two hundred pounds annually to the college. This

³¹ Lyon G. Tyler, "Education in Colonial Virginia," Part IV: "The Higher Education," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, VI (January, 1898), 175.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

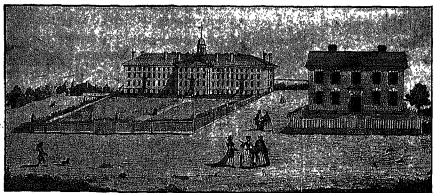
COLONIAL COLLEGES
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



Harvard College from an engraving by Paul Revere
Courtesy of Essex Institute



William and Mary College, about 1740
Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg



College of New Jersey, Princeton, New Jersey, 1764
Courtesy of Princeton University

second institution of higher learning to be established in the English colonies enjoyed an exceptionally liberal financial support.

William and Mary, like Harvard and Yale, was established primarily to provide the church with an educated ministry. The college was divided into three departments, the grammar school, the school of philosophy, and the divinity school. The college proper did not begin operation until about 1712, and it was not until 1729 that all the six professorships provided for in the charter were filled. The curriculum in the philosophical department was much like that of the other colleges of the day. Students studied rhetoric, logic, ethics, physics, metaphysics, and mathematics. As time passed, the sons of Virginia planters exhibited an increasing interest in the political and natural sciences and William and Mary tended to break away from the traditional curriculum. In 1779, partly as the result of Jefferson's influence, the curriculum of the college was reorganized into perhaps the most remarkable in the United States. The grammar school and the divinity school were abolished and in their places were established "a school of modern languages, a school of constitutional and court law, and a school of medicine." The faculty now consisted of a professor of natural philosophy and mathematics; a professor of law and police; a professor of anatomy and medicine; a professor of moral philosophy, the law of nature and nations, and of the fine arts; and a professor of modern languages.³³ As the colonial period drew to an end, William and Mary had freed itself from the trammels of medieval ecclesiasticism.

On the whole, the institutional arrangements for education in the Southern colonies were English in their origin, and in their development reflected the inherited traditions and customs of the colonists as well as the dominant economic, social, and political conditions of the period. Apprenticeship, the private tutor, charity schools, endowed free schools, private schools, and a college fitted into the colonial scene in Virginia, South Carolina, and the other Southern colonies as they did into the stratified social system of England. Changes were wrought in America by the forces of geography and isolation, but during the colonial period Southern educational practices and theories never lost their resemblance to those from which they derived.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 5

1. To what extent and in what ways was educational development in the Southern colonies influenced by English traditions and institutions?
2. Estimate the importance of the plantation system and the rise of Negro slavery on the educational development of the Southern colonies.
3. Compare and contrast society in the tidewater or low-country South with society in the back-country region. What were the educational consequences of this conflict of cultures?
4. What were the essential differences in the educational policy and practice of the New England and Southern colonies? How do you account for these differences?
5. Do you see operative in the American educational system today the influence of attitudes, policies, and practices inherited from the colonial period?

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PART TWO

The School and the Emergence of the Democratic National State, 1763-1860

PREVIEW



THE PERIOD from the Revolution to the Civil War was characterized by the formulation and gradual acceptance of the principles of democratic liberalism; by the development of a more democratic social structure; by the rise of the common man to a position of importance, politically and otherwise; by a bitter struggle to control the national state on the part of Southern planter interests and the rising capitalistic East; and by the growth of the feeling of national unity. As new forces transformed American life, it became apparent that the educational arrangements designed to meet the needs of colonial society were no longer satisfactory. A few far-sighted leaders saw at an early date that a system of education publicly supported and controlled and free and open to all was required to meet the needs of the emerging democratic state. This point of view, however, found slow acceptance in practice. Religious, private, and philanthropic agencies through the ages had been looked upon as the appropriate ones to provide education, and most men were loath to abandon them in favor of the political state. As time passed, however, and renewed efforts to provide adequate educational facilities through the traditional agencies failed, sentiment developed in favor of education as a function of government. By the close of the period (1860), material progress had been made, although somewhat less than has commonly been supposed, in the development of state systems of public education.

Chapter 6 appraises some of the more important intellectual trends that are observable during the early decades of the young Republic, explains the rearrangement of social classes that occurred, and recounts the clash of interests that led to the formulation of the principles of

democratic liberalism and the founding of a new political order. The following chapter records educational progress down to 1828, revealing how education was slowly coming to be regarded as a proper function of government, despite the one last grand effort made to provide adequate education through philanthropy. In Chapter 8 attention is directed to the economic revolutions that were transforming life in each of the major sections — South, East, and West — between 1828 and 1860, and to the social, political, and educational adjustments these economic changes brought about. Chapters 9 and 10 recount the long struggle for public education and record the achievements down to 1860.

Chapter 6 Education and the Struggle for Freedom and Equality:

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL TRENDS, 1763-1828

THE TERMINATION of the political connection with England was only one of the fundamental changes which ushered out the old colonial, aristocratic, ecclesiastical social order and which marked the beginning, at least, of the reorganization of American society on the broad bases of social and political democracy. These changes, economic, social, intellectual, and religious, although interrelated, did not all occur simultaneously with the political upheaval. In fact, some of them had been effected, in no small measure, before the war began, while others were not completed until well into the national period.

As indicated in previous chapters, the fundamental characteristics of the old society which had the greatest implications for education were (1) the political relationship with the mother country, (2) the inherited culture and the close connection it maintained with that of contemporary England, (3) the aristocratic class organization of society, and (4) the religious tradition in education as modified in the educational arrangements of Puritan New England, and as exemplified in the educational development of the middle colonies and in the practices of the Anglicans in the South and elsewhere. When the political ties with England were finally cut; when an upsurging democracy gave evidence of gathering from the contemporary intellectual, philosophical, religious, and political movements sufficient strength to challenge successfully the aristocratic concept of societal organization; and when religion became, at best, a secondary determinant of the kind of culture into which youth were to be inducted, a revolution had taken place which touched every aspect of American life — "its class arrangements, intellectual concerns,

aesthetic interests, provisions for the promotion of knowledge and encouragement of the arts."¹

The new order was not born without pain. The period of transition was marked by interminable conflicts, bitter struggles, and almost incomprehensible contradictions. Old and conservative theories and practices gave way but slowly before liberal thought and tendencies. The concept of government as founded on authority and force and having as its supreme function the protection of property yielded very reluctantly to the theory of government as established in the consent of the governed and existing to promote the general welfare. The antagonistic motives of men arising, on the one hand, from unconscious habit, from unreasoned sentiment, and from vested interests in the old order, and, on the other hand, from the growing conviction that institutions could fulfill their proper functions only when kept flexible enough to permit growth, created conflicts between groups and strange inconsistencies within individuals. It was a period of uneven development, of great advance followed, in many instances, by almost equally great recessions. But slowly the old order yielded and in time a new order was born. An educational program which had its sanctions in the earlier society and which had served as a powerful force in preserving old values could not satisfactorily serve a society which saw fresh visions and sought new goals. A new educational program eventually would need to evolve, a program reflecting the new order and bearing the marks of the impact of new social forces. The culture of the period was to be reflected, at least in part, in its educational arrangements.

THE CHANGING INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

The thought pattern of an age, the outlook on life, the essential elements of a people's ideology, are always important. In subtle ways they condition the quality of individual living, give color and tone and motif to the day-by-day problems which men face, and in the end reflect themselves powerfully in the institutional forms which men achieve. During the decades immediately preceding and immediately following the Revolution, the ideological basis of American life underwent profound changes. Pent-up revolutionary forces

¹ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization, I: The Agricultural Era*, p. 437. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

cracked the hard core of custom and tradition, and new conceptions emerged with respect to such fundamental matters as the nature of man, the destiny he had within his power to achieve, and the political and social institutions best suited to the achievement of that destiny.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The culture of the Revolutionary period derived not only from a heritage rooted in the past, but drew also from contemporary European movements. Of these, the Enlightenment, a movement growing out of the slow accumulation over a century or more of new knowledge and out of the persistent, if uneven, development of scientific method, was perhaps the most important. The writings and researches of Newton (1642-1727), Harvey (1578-1657), Boyle (1627-1691), Descartes (1596-1650), and Bacon (1561-1626) were the source of a stream of scientific thought which was both widened and deepened during the eighteenth century by the epoch-making researches of Rutherford (1749-1819), Cavendish (1731-1810), Bergman (1735-1784), Priestley (1733-1804), Lavoisier (1743-1794), Galvani (1737-1798), and Volta (1745-1827). It was the researches of these men and others who labored in the same field "which swept into the discard innumerable inherited traditions, superstitions, and vagaries"² and which in the long run could not but influence the thinking of mankind, even though it had been habituated to centuries of restraint, first by restrictions imposed by the universal church and later by the almost equally repressive authority of humanism.

Scientific thought, however, could but slowly influence the institutions which had served so long to preserve the cultural heritage, the old values and ancient virtues. Universities resisted change, and lower schools, from the nature of their accepted function and organization, could make little use of the new ideas until they found a wide, if not general, acceptance. The medical faculty of the University of Paris protested the teaching of the circulation of the blood as contrary to Aristotle fifty years after Harvey had demonstrated that phenomenon. The matter was debated in true, scholastic manner in a master's thesis at Harvard during the last year of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century, degrees were

² *Ibid.*, I, 443.

granted on the basis of theses which settled in the affirmative the existence of sympathetic powder, a substance which had therapeutic value when applied to blood that had issued from a wound. And two candidates, not deigning to argue the existence of such a remedy, established in true medieval style the lawfulness of employing it. Other theses established, on the basis of equally valid evidence, that the earth is not the center of the universe (1717); that the enlargement of the pores caused by smallpox prevents the return of that disease (1738); that the vocal chords did not change in Baalam's ass when it spoke (1731); that heavenly bodies produce changes in the bodies of animals (1762); that American reptiles descended from those preserved by Noah (1769); and that a comet appearing after many years is no more a foreboding of divine wrath than is a planet which appears daily (1770). Even scientists, then as now, could but slowly overcome the authority of tradition, religion, and superstition in matters that lay outside the sphere of their own scientific activities. The horoscopes cast by the leading astronomer of the seventeenth century were probably considered by university-trained persons of the eighteenth as valid as the fundamental laws formulated by that same scientist. It cannot be doubted that few persons, educated or illiterate, sensed any incongruity in the recommendation by the father of modern chemistry of the healing ministrations of one of the greatest charlatans of all time, or in a sermon by a college professor of physics which demonstrated the probability that birds escaped the rigors of the Massachusetts winter by migrating annually to the moon. Little wonder that in 1782, a Harvard undergraduate, Harrison Gray Otis, was impatient to "bid adieu to the sophisticated jargon of a superstitious synod of pensioned bigots."⁸ Franklin might have looked upon the universities and exclaimed, as Petrarch of old, "gloomy nests of ignorance."

The new knowledge could but slowly undermine the authority of tradition, superstition, narrow humanism, and ecclesiastical dogma, but as it accumulated, liberal scholars everywhere organized it for use in their struggle against all restraints which held the minds and persons of men in bondage — in their attack on unreasonable authority in whatever form and wherever it might be found, in the church, state, "empty ceremonial, or blighting superstition." Liberals, in America as elsewhere, were the apostles of

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 492.

reason which they made the touchstone of all institutions and values. They urged that science be made to solve the problems of men and of nations. The greatest advances, as might be expected, were apparent in the interests and achievements of the few, and in America the work of Franklin (1706-1790), Rittenhouse (1732-1796), Colden (1688-1776), and Catesby (1679?-1749)⁴ was, perhaps, equal in quality to that of their European contemporaries. The American Philosophical Society, established in Philadelphia in 1769, could be compared without apology with similar French and English institutions.

Although relatively few persons were actively engaged in formulating and disseminating the new thought, it would be a mistake to think that scientific and cultural influences upon American life were entirely negligible. By the middle of the eighteenth century, book shops were offering for sale a wide selection of the works of European scholars and writers. By the end of another seventy-five years, respectable beginnings had been made in literature and the arts. For the masses, American presses were turning out newspapers (twenty-seven by 1809), magazines, repositories, almanacs, sermons, and tracts of various kinds. Although it is true that the spirit of science failed to affect deeply the lives of many people, it is also true that no sphere of human activity was left entirely untouched by it. A culture based on science was spreading and, in a much diluted form, was reaching far down the social and economic scale. Although slow to affect the educational program of America, its influence was reflected to a considerable degree by the reorganized course offerings of colleges and by the curricula of many private schools and newly established academies. More important for education, perhaps, was the fact that on the basis of the new learning there was being formulated a philosophical or theoretical justification for a democratic system of schools.

NEW SOCIAL DYNAMICS: APPEARANCE OF THE IDEA OF HUMAN PROGRESS

As knowledge accumulated and the practical applications of the laws of science were discovered, the imagination of man was freed

⁴ Catesby, a native of England, was active during his prolonged residence in America, 1712-14, 1722-25.

from the fetters of tradition, superstition, Aristotelianism, and ecclesiastical dogma. Faith in the power of knowledge came to dominate the thinking of the day. Knowledge was the force that made men whole. Science was the means by which the mysteries of the universe would be solved, human institutions perfected, and nature made to serve the material needs of man. French philosophical thought, reflecting definitely the influence of the new emphasis on science, gave formulation to the idea of human progress, a new concept in the history of mankind and a concept which was to supply the most dynamic social theory man has yet evolved. In 1737, the French philosopher, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, published his epoch-making work, *Observations on the Continuous Progress of Universal Reason*. "Here," says Professor J. B. Bury, in his stimulating volume on the history of the idea of progress, "we have for the first time, expressed in definite terms, the vista of an immensely long progressive life in front of humanity."⁵ Strange as it may seem, the idea of progress, the belief that man through his own institutions could move forward, had not been entertained by the ancients or by the men of medieval Europe. In the ancient world, time was the enemy of man, he had fallen from a high estate in the Garden of Eden or in some golden age in the remote past and it would never be possible for him again to attain that high estate. In the Middle Ages, men lifted their eyes from this world, which was at best a valley of sorrow, to the heavenly city, to which death alone held the key. Thus men sought escape from the present, not by the painful and slow processes of human betterment, but by taking refuge in the thought of some idealized past or in the hope of some brighter future after death. The very existence of vistas of progress which led on and on through the countless centuries was obscured by concepts of man's own depraved nature, by man's beliefs with respect to the capricious moods of nature, and by the equally capricious and arbitrary character with which man endowed his God. But, as science moved forward from one advanced position to another, it became apparent that, after all, nature is not capricious but something definitely predictable. Slowly the idea developed that, if there is law and order in the natural world, man can discover it and thereby subdue nature to his own ends.

The development of the idea of progress also depended upon the

⁵ As quoted in Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, I, 445.

secularization of thought, upon the growing confidence of men that they were, in a measure at least, masters of their own destiny. God had created a universe governed by law and He had endowed man with reason sufficient to discover that law. Secularization of thought did not rule God out of His universe, but it did immeasurably extend the range of man's free will and the area of his creative activity. The idea of progress also implied an emancipation from a narrow and restrictive humanism and at least some repudiation of the authority of classical antiquity. Certainly, the development of science pushed back the confines of supernaturalism and discredited to some extent the sanctions of Greek and Roman thought. And, finally, the idea of progress — the continued improvement of man and his condition in this world — rested on new conceptions of the nature of man himself. Man, now said the philosopher, is neither inherently bad nor innately depraved. Ignorance had depraved and enslaved him. Knowledge would make him free, lord not only of nature but of himself as well. Man was not only inherently good, but under conditions favoring his development he was capable of indefinite perfectibility.

The new idea of progress took deep root in the thought of eighteenth-century America. Here of all places, it was felt, man could move steadily forward, perfecting himself and his institutions. This new and stimulating doctrine struck at the very roots of the old aristocratic social order — at class and economic distinctions, at theological absolutism, and at the location of political power in the hands of a small governing group.

THE SECULARIZATION OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

As we have already seen, as the eighteenth century progressed, religion began to lose some of its dominance over the intellectual life. Old colonial America had been relatively static, cautious in its ways, little given to conscious experimenting with social values or institutional forms. But the shock of the American Revolution, and especially of the War of 1812, broke the bonds that held men in their old ways. To quote Parrington:

It needs no uncommon eyes, surely, to discover in the swift changes that came to America in the wake of the second English war, the seed-bed of those ebullient romanticisms which in politics

and economics, in theology and literature, turned away so contemptuously from the homespun past. Of a sudden America was becoming a new world with potentialities before undreamed of; and this new America was no longer content with the narrow ways of a more cautious generation.⁶

In religion, as well as in politics and economics, men were in an experimental state of mind. At the outbreak of the Revolution, in nine of the colonies there was an established church,⁷ but within a few years America had achieved the ideal of a secular state. In New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, Congregationalism lingered on as the established church, but elsewhere in the new commonwealths and in the new nation religious toleration and freedom were the order of the day. Moreover, the problems which men inescapably had to face in the Revolutionary and early national period served to deepen secular interests. Theirs was the task of fashioning new governments, state and national, of steering the new republic through the rough sea of international relations, and of repairing and expanding an economy suffering from the ravages of war. The development of the secular state and the attainment of religious freedom were necessary forerunners of the establishment of democratic, secular systems of public education.

INDIVIDUALISM AND THE IDEALS OF SOCIAL EQUALITY AND MOBILITY

One of the outcomes of the American Revolution was the opening up of vast new lands for settlement in the West. The urge to the frontier, which had been present from early colonial days, resulted, once the mountain barriers were overcome, in a vast movement westward. Did not the census figures confirm them, statements made by eyewitnesses of this great folk movement would be almost incredible. More than a million persons had moved beyond the mountains by the turn of the century, and by 1820 the western population had increased to two and one-half millions — a fourth of the population of the United States and a million more persons than were to be found in all New England.

⁶ Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860*, p. iv. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920*, II. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

⁷ J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, p. 130. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926.

A frontier society commonly turns out to be a solvent of custom and tradition. Certainly, on the American frontier, in each succeeding West, men tended to cast off inherited notions with respect to such matters as arbitrary political power, religious establishments, and class distinctions. More important still, the West developed its own values, its own ways, which were basically democratic. As it turned out, men could not pit their strength against nature on a raw continent and subdue it to their ends without developing in themselves a spirit of self-reliance and individualism. It was not an accident that the man who penned the immortal words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," was born on the frontier in western Virginia. It was in the West more than anywhere else that men accepted the assumptions with respect to the nature of man which are basic to any democratic political, or social, system. As men toiled in isolation, or as it happened sometime, together, to introduce the ways of civilization into the wilderness, they came to believe that man is not depraved by nature, that he is capable of achieving a sense of justice and good conscience, a dignity and a worth which all should respect. When reaction threatened the extinction of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Revolution, it was the West, now extended to include new states, each with as many senators as the most populous of the older states, that reasserted the principles of democracy and defeated the efforts of those who openly expressed disbelief in the common man and bent their efforts mightily to suppress him. Here, too, in the West, where land was cheap or to be had for the taking, was developed and to some extent realized the ideal of a classless society. Each succeeding West was usually poor, and suffered the evils of a debtor economy. The conditions of life, at best, were rigorous. But men in the West were not content to remain poor and underprivileged. They believed in social mobility; they felt that the way to place and power, wealth and prestige, should be open to youth of ability and energy regardless of inheritance. And as Professor Craven has pointed out, all the American frontiers and Wests have had one thing in common:

They have been thwarted and bitter. They have been regions of protest. They have been conscious of their own merits, sensitive to their rights, and resentful of neglect. They have constituted a more

or less permanent region and interest which have wielded the democratic ideal as a weapon. Out of the American West have come the men and the movements which, after the days of Thomas Jefferson, have kept strong the democratic faith. Far more important than their simple practice of American democracy have been their protests and their revolts. From Andrew Jackson to Abraham Lincoln and William Jennings Bryan they have fought their own fights, but they have kept the democratic dogma alive in doing so.⁸

It is easy to idealize the West and to overlook its shortcomings — its worship of material gain which pointed in the direction of an aristocracy of wealth, its rigorous enforcement of conformity to its own standards of behavior, and its general lack of devotion to any abstract ideals of democracy.⁹ Nevertheless, it was the West more than any other force in American life that gave expression to and kept alive the essential elements of the faith of democratic liberalism — the love of freedom, self-reliance, respect for personality, equality of opportunity, and social mobility.

THE REARRANGEMENT OF SOCIAL CLASSES

Class distinctions in the American colonies were less sharp and less rigid than in Europe, but they still existed. The lofty idealism of the Declaration of Independence with respect to the equality of men must not be taken as an expression of historical fact but as a social theory which men hoped, or at least some men hoped, might in time be spelled out in the lives of men. As a matter of fact, American life down to the outbreak of the Revolution was largely dominated by an aristocracy of official position, wealth, and talents. Royal governors, judges, army officers, and others representing the British government in America never forgot, nor did they permit the common man to forget, that they were members of an upper social class. The same was true of Southern planters, many of whom had been educated abroad, and of rich merchants, whether in Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, or Boston. Notions of social superiority and inferiority were still deep-rooted. No doubt many in the lower classes would have agreed with Devereaux Jarrett: "We

⁸ Avery Craven, *Democracy in American Life: A Historical View*, p. 52. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

⁹ See Craven, *op. cit.*, chap. II.

were accustomed to look upon what were called gentlefolks as being of a superior order."¹⁰ And even in the year following the signing of the Declaration of Independence, John Adams remarked in the Continental Congress:

It is of no consequence by what name you call the people, whether by that of freemen or slaves; in some countries the laboring poor are called freemen, in others they are called slaves; but the difference as to the state is imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much money as will buy them the necessaries of life or gives them those necessaries at short hand? . . . The condition of the laboring poor in most countries — that of the fishermen particularly of the Northern states — is as abject as that of slavery.¹¹

The American Revolution and the western movement, to which attention was called in the preceding section, were powerful forces in bringing about a new arrangement of social classes — in shifting the locus of economic and social prestige. The leaders of the Revolution early realized that, if the war was to be won, an appeal had to be made in terms of social equality. A long time was to elapse, it is true, before the democracy proclaimed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence was even to approximate an actuality. Great social gains, however, were among the immediate results of the Revolution.

In a very real sense the Revolution was a leveling movement. A large proportion of the members of the ruling and aristocratic class remained loyal to the crown and either chose to leave the country or were driven into exile. J. Franklin Jameson, in his excellent treatment of the Revolution as a social movement, points out that in 1775 the Tory party comprised probably more than half "of the most educated, wealthy, and hitherto respected classes" of New England.¹² When Lord Howe evacuated Boston he was accompanied by eleven hundred persons who refused to renounce their allegiance to the British crown. Later, a thousand others joined them. As Jameson suggests, this exodus "bore away perhaps a majority of the old aristocracy of Massachusetts." Certainly, the three hundred odd persons who were banished by the Massachusetts legislature in 1778 were representative of many of the most distinguished families in

¹⁰ Marcus Wilson Jernegan, *The American Colonies, 1492-1780: A Study of Their Political, Economic and Social Development*, p. 399. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929.

¹¹ As quoted in Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹² Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

the history of the colony. In New York, too, the Tory party probably composed the bulk of the property owners.¹³ And in Pennsylvania, where a majority of the population remained loyal to the crown, the Tory element included many persons of superior social status. The Virginia planters were, in the main, supporters of the Revolution, but farther south the loyalists were relatively numerous, although frequently they were not members of the upper classes.

Naturally enough, the supporters of the Revolutionary cause were none too considerate of those who remained loyal to the crown. High Tories were driven out of power, many out of the country. A large part of the governing class of colonial days — royal governors, judges, agents, and their supporters — were exiled. Among these latter were also merchants, capitalists, and owners of large properties. New state legislatures wiped out many huge Tory estates by confiscation. Such was the fate of some three hundred square miles of land belonging to the Phillipse estate in New York; of the estate of fifty thousand acres of Sir John Johnson in the Mohawk Valley; and of the estate of Sir William Pepperell, extending about thirty miles along the coast of Maine. From Maine to Georgia, estate after estate was confiscated, aggregating a total value of some three million pounds sterling.¹⁴ Confiscated lands were commonly sold in small parcels to yeomen, in some instances a single estate being broken up into as many as two hundred and fifty separate holdings. This breaking-up of "baronial estates" was accompanied by less violence than was the case during the revolution which was soon to occur in France, but it was perhaps no less complete and no less significant in its broad social consequence.

The American Revolution, then, accomplished far more than the mere formulation of a creed of democratic liberalism. In no small measure it liquidated the old aristocracy and opened the way for men in the lower social strata to rise to places of importance and esteem. New men with new principles, if sometimes of little competence, took the places vacated by the erstwhile ruling class. As the Beards point out, the class which had least regard for the common man, which would have had a state church, which believed that education was nothing more than Christian benevolence bestowed by generous souls upon the poor, and which looked upon primogeniture and entail as requisites of a well-ordered society was thoroughly dis-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

credited. And some of the new men with new principles who were now coming into power were bent upon preventing the recurrence of large semi-feudal estates. Less than a year after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson had pushed through the Virginia Legislature a bill abolishing the entail of estates. Within ten years entail was practically unknown in America, and within fifteen years all states had abolished primogeniture. Although it must be admitted that the Revolution failed to achieve all that its leaders had promised, it is true that reforms were accomplished within a period of a few years that were not accomplished in England for another hundred. A fundamental change had occurred in the arrangement of social classes. The gains were clearly on the side of the yeomen and artisans who had given the Revolution a full measure of support.

A NEW POLITICAL ORDER

In the closing years of the colonial period the weight of political power rested with a comparatively small group of seaboard aristocrats — with royal governors and officials sent out from England, New England merchants, the holders of great manorial estates in New York, Quaker merchants in Pennsylvania, and tobacco and rice planters in the South. The Revolution was in no small measure a revolt of disfranchised artisans, mechanics, and back-country farmers against the dominance of the wealthy and well-born who, in the main, determined public and social policy from their seaboard estates or imposing city homes. The issues of the Revolution were scarcely joined, however, before plain people began to draw together for the purpose of forcing a recognition of their rights. And one price they demanded for their support of the Revolution was the right to vote and to hold public office. This struggle between the traditional possessors of power and a rising democracy is strikingly described by Van Tyne:

A new class, formed within a decade, growing rapidly in numbers, was rising to power. In Pennsylvania, as in a number of other colonies, it consisted of small farmers in the back country, Scotch-Irish and German immigrants, reinforced by the voteless laborers and artisans of Philadelphia or other seaboard cities. . . . For over a decade this rising democracy had struggled for power against the

little seaboard aristocracy of wealth and accepted social leadership. . . . The colonial masses could no longer be controlled by reverence for the high-born. The Quaker merchants of Philadelphia, the holders of manors on the Hudson, the tobacco and rice planters of Virginia and South Carolina, and even the great merchants, clergy, and professional men of New England, could no longer rule without question their social inferiors. . . . Thus, in 1774, came the climax in the struggle between rich and poor, East and West, those with a vote and those who were voteless, between privilege and the welfare of the common man. The two classes might work in harmony or might clash on the question of resistance to Great Britain, but they were pretty sure to be in opposition on the issue of individual rights. A merchant . . . might welcome the support of the mechanics and small shopkeepers against a grievous tax by the British Government, but the price, a right to vote and to hold office, he was sure to resent, and he grew more and more alarmed as the pressure became more insistent.¹⁵

It is not to be supposed, of course, that many leaders of the Revolution looked with favor upon popular government or that the Revolution in fact resulted in the immediate transfer of political power to the masses. In the convention that framed the Federal Constitution "not one member represented in his immediate personal economic interests the small farming or mechanic classes."¹⁶ In the Federal Constitution, and in the first state constitutions as well, the propertied classes were able to protect their interests against a too-numerous democracy. In none of the states was universal manhood suffrage the rule, and property qualifications still barred men of small means from most important public offices. Yet the Revolution did bring about a material extension of political power to the masses. It removed the authority of the English government, which had been a powerful restraining influence in limiting the development of self-government and of a democratic social organization. In some instances, too, the suffrage requirements were materially lowered.

The freeholder, or owner of real estate, was given special privileges in four of the new state constitutions, two others widened the

¹⁵ Claude H. Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence*, pp. 424-26. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922, quoted in Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800*, p. 182. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920*, I. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

¹⁶ As quoted in Allen Johnson, *Union and Democracy*, p. 29. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

suffrage to include all owners of either land or personal property to a certain limit, and two others conferred it upon all taxpayers.¹⁷

Small farmers, shopkeepers, and prosperous artisans were now in a position to make their voices heard in state legislatures to a degree unknown before. On every hand, during the years intervening between the end of the war and the adoption of the Federal Constitution, one heard the complaint that matters were growing from bad to worse because of too much democracy. Elbridge Gerry, one of the founding fathers, discovered in the "excess of democracy" the source of many of the country's ills. Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia felt that something should be done to escape the "turbulence and follies of democracy." Alexander Hamilton firmly believed that those who owned the country should govern it because the mass of the people "seldom judge or determine right." In the constitutional convention, Gouverneur Morris favored a senate founded upon an aristocracy of wealth, which would serve to "keep down the turbulence of democracy." John Adams was convinced that "democracy never has been and never can be so desirable as aristocracy or monarchy, but while it lasts, is more bloody than either." Democracy, he maintained, "wastes, exhausts, and murders itself." The people, he argued, are not to be trusted as keepers of their own liberties. "They are the worst conceivable, they are no keepers at all; they can neither judge, act, think, or will as a political body."¹⁸

During the closing decade of the eighteenth century it appeared on the surface of things that a conservative reaction had set in, that the leveling tendencies of the Revolution had been checked. But common men had found a leader in Thomas Jefferson, who was intellectually qualified to give philosophic expression to the creed of democratic liberalism and at the same time sufficiently astute as a politician to organize and make articulate the democratic elements in American life. Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800 did not mean that political democracy had become a reality; a large part of the population was still disfranchised and many men in the lower classes who had the right to vote still looked upon government as a

¹⁷ Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁸ Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800*, p. 316. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920*, I. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

matter for their superiors. It did, however, signify that the battle for political democracy would go forward, that Jefferson's faith in man's capacity to govern himself would be the framework within which our political institutions would be set. Drawing upon the great liberal thinkers of the past and interpreting the currents of American life, Jefferson was able to formulate the basic assumptions on which democracy must rest. Common men everywhere — the poor, the underprivileged, and the dispossessed — then and later, were to use the creed of democratic liberalism which Jefferson and his associates formulated as a powerful weapon in their struggle to attain a more equitable status in society.¹⁹

The principle of political democracy received powerful support in what had been the back country, or the West, before the Revolution, and in the new states which were admitted to the Union. Before 1800 Vermont and Kentucky entered the Union with full manhood suffrage. Mississippi was the only state admitted after the War of 1812 which did not confer the right to vote on all white males.²⁰ Moreover, it was not long before the influence of the West began to make itself felt in the more conservative original states. By 1810, the reformers had achieved notable victories in Maryland and South Carolina.²¹ Connecticut in 1818 discarded its old charter for a new constitution which extended the right to vote to all who paid a state tax or served in the militia.²² In New York, where the suffrage had been especially restricted, the struggle for full manhood suffrage was won by 1826. In the same year, Massachusetts, despite the opposition of Daniel Webster, extended the suffrage to all male citizens who had paid any state or county tax. To be a state senator, however, one still had to be a person of some means.²³

The Revolution, then, marked the beginning of a new political order; slowly, the balance of power shifted from men of talent and fortune to small farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans. A new theory of the state, a new conception of the function of government, was taking form. The old conception of the state had been well expressed by John Locke: "The great and chief end, therefore, of men uniting into commonwealths and putting themselves under govern-

¹⁹ Craven, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²⁰ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

²¹ John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, p. 473. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913.

²² Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

²³ Bassett, *op. cit.*, pp. 473-74.

ment, is the preservation of their property."²⁴ This theory, that the chief end of government is the protection of property rights, had long been entertained by English statesmen at the outbreak of the Revolution and it continued to be the view of most statesmen in the young republic. The fear of the turbulence of democracy expressed by Hamilton, Morris, and Randolph, and in fact by most men of wealth, was the fear that popular government would jeopardize the rights of property. No one can deny that this fear was real and well justified. When the masses of men won the right to vote and began to exercise it, a new conception of the state began to take form. Government was to serve the ends of common men as well as to protect property rights; government was but an instrument to promote the common good, the general welfare. The end of society was the happiness of the individual; men were above institutions, and government, like other institutions, was but a means to help men achieve their common goals. The old theory of the state was that governments are instituted among men to secure life, liberty, and the rights of property. Jefferson gave expression to a very different theory when he proclaimed that government is instituted to secure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Few men who signed the Declaration of Independence were willing to accept the full implications of this new conception of government. Slowly, however, a new political order did emerge, democratic in form and relatively democratic in spirit and purpose. In time, the development of the democratic state was to be the most powerful factor in shaping the course of our educational history.

THE CLASH OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERALISM

Political theories and social philosophies are seldom, if ever, intellectual abstractions; they are usually weapons forged by articulate groups in society as they struggle either to maintain or to advance their own interests. Such was certainly the case during the early life of the republic. The clash of economic interests was sharp, and each of the contending parties formulated a political and social theory which it hoped would constitute justification of and defense for practical programs of political action.

²⁴ John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, chap. IX, as quoted in Parrington, *The Colonial Mind*, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

Even before the Constitution was adopted a conflict of interest between capitalistic and agrarian classes was clearly discernible. President Washington was not long in office before capitalistic and agrarian forces were aligned in a struggle to capture the national government. Alexander Hamilton led the Federalists in their fight to carry through a legislative program to promote the interests of bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. Hamilton had little regard for the processes of democratic government and little sympathy for the interests of common men, whether farmers or artisans.

The American villager and farmer he never knew and never understood; his America was the America of landed gentlemen and wealthy merchants and prosperous professional men, the classes that were most bitterly anti-agrarian. And it was in association with this group of conservative representatives of business and society that he took his place as directing head in the work of reorganizing the loose confederation into a strong and cohesive union.²⁵

Hamilton's program was brilliantly designed to promote the interests of Northern and Eastern financiers, merchants, and manufacturers. First, the national debt was refunded at its face value, both principal and interest. Most of this debt was no longer held by the original subscribers but had been bought up by speculators, chiefly in the North and East, at only a small fraction of its face value. The national government also assumed the debts of the several states. These two measures immensely benefited Northern financiers and speculators, and they increased the national debt enormously. More important still, as Hamilton well knew, they resulted in the creation of a large volume of fluid capital which could be used to stimulate business enterprises. As Beard says:

The upshot of the whole procedure, from an economic point of view, was the transformation of a well-nigh worthless public paper into substantial fluid capital to be employed in commerce, manufacturing, and the development of Western lands. It was not merely the payment of the debt that Hamilton had in mind; on the contrary the sharp stimulation of capitalism — banking, commerce, and manufactures — was an equally fundamental part of his system.²⁶

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

²⁶ Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 116. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915.

A third measure was designed to further the same end. A national bank was established, three-fourths of the stock of which might be purchased with the recently issued government securities. The bank could issue its notes, which could also be used to stimulate commerce or build factories. Here were measures which would provide sufficient liquid capital to meet the needs of the expanding business community. A fourth measure in Hamilton's program was a protective tariff, designed, of course, to promote the interests of the rising manufacturing group in the New England and Middle Atlantic states.

All these measures of Hamilton and his fellow Federalists for the promotion of a capitalistic economy were enacted by Congress. It was not long, however, before a determined agrarian opposition began to challenge Hamilton's program item by item. Southern planters and Western farmers alike rallied around Thomas Jefferson, the acknowledged leader of the agrarian interests. Farmers resented all the fiscal policies of the Federalists: the refunding measures which created many large fortunes at what they regarded their own expense; the creation of a huge national debt, the burden of which would fall mainly on them; the establishment of a national bank, a design "conjured up by law" for erecting an aristocracy of wealth at the expense of farmers and laborers; the imposition of protective tariffs, which farmers would have to pay to promote industry. The legislature of Virginia, in a famous resolution, set forth its own point of view, as well as that of most other agrarian interests, with respect to Federalist fiscal policies.

In an agricultural country like this, therefore, to erect and concentrate and perpetuate a large moneyed interest is a measure which your memorialists apprehend must, in the course of human events, produce one or other of two evils; the prostration of agriculture at the feet of commerce, or a change in the present form of Federal government fatal to the existence of American liberty.²⁷

It is not our purpose here to appraise the merits of the points of view of the two contending parties — Northern and Eastern capitalists on the one hand and the Southern and Western planters and farmers on the other. Both were driving hard to promote their own interests. But, out of the conflict, political and social theories were

²⁷ *State Papers: Finance*, I, chap. VII, p. 90, as quoted in Beard, *Economic Origins*, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

developed which were important to American democracy. It is essential that these theories and their implications be understood.

Hamilton and John Adams were among the most outstanding representatives of the Federalist point of view. Though Adams was more liberal than Hamilton, both believed that men are motivated by self-interest rather than by reason or a sense of justice and humaneness; both felt that government should be especially solicitous of the rights of property, and neither could conceive of a society without an aristocracy of talent and wealth. Parrington has illuminatingly stated the basic principles of Hamilton's philosophy — principles, we may add, which were entertained by a very large part of the upper classes in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Accepting self-interest as the mainspring of human ambition, Hamilton accepted equally the principle of class domination. From his reading of history he discovered that the strong overcome the weak, and as they grasp power they coalesce into a master group. This master group will dominate, he believed, not only to further its interests, but to prevent the spread of anarchy which threatens every society split into factions and at the mercy of rival ambitions. In early days the master group was a military order, later it became a landed aristocracy, in modern times it is commercial; but always its power rests on property. "That power which holds the purse-strings absolutely, must rule," he stated unequivocally. The economic masters of society of necessity become the political masters. It is unthinkable that government should not reflect the wishes of property, that it should be permanently hostile to the greater economic interests.²⁸

Hamilton's views with respect to the proper political and social organization are best expressed in his own words:

All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well-born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true to fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second; and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good govern-

²⁸ Parrington, *The Colonial Mind*, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

ment. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrollable disposition requires checks.²⁰

John Adams was careful to set down his notions of political and social organization at great length. He did not hold with Hamilton that "the people is a great beast" but he did hold with Machiavelli "that all men are bad by nature; that they will not fail to show that natural depravity of heart whenever they have a fair opportunity."²⁰ Since men are moved by interest and not by reason or humaneness, and since nature endows men with different capacities, it follows that society will always be divided into classes — the rich and the poor, "gentlemen" and "common people." An aristocracy of the rich, the well-born, and the educated is inescapable. And, finally, he agreed with Locke, that the chief end of government is the protection of property. "The moment the idea is admitted into society, that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence."²¹ Adams favored the kind of political order that would protect the aristocracy from despoliation at the hands of the lower classes and at the same time prevent the rich and well-born from utterly crushing the poor and weak.

Before the Revolution, the American colonies had been governed in such a way as to make them contribute to the prosperity of the growing capitalistic class in England. Laws regulating trade, navigation, and manufacturing in the colonies were designed to promote the interests of the merchants, manufacturers, and landed gentry who were in fact governing England and her empire. If Hamilton and Adams and their fellow Federalists had had their way, the general situation would have continued, except that the government of the United States would have been substituted for the British government, and the bankers, manufacturers, and merchants of America would have taken the place of those of old England. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams the drift of things was certainly in this direction. But Jefferson now came forward with another program, based upon other principles. He made his

²⁰ As quoted in Parrington, *The Colonial Mind*, op. cit., p. 302.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²¹ "Defense of the Constitution, etc.," in *Works*, VI, 9, as quoted in Parrington, *The Colonial Mind*, op. cit., pp. 316-17.

appeal directly to Southern planters and to the ever-expanding farm communities in the West. It was as spokesman of agrarian America that Jefferson formulated the essential principles of our creed of democratic liberalism. "For the first time democracy became the weapon of an important element in American life for the purpose of giving shape to the political-economic structure."³²

Jefferson differed sharply with the defenders of aristocracy on the matter of the nature of man. He had a deep and abiding faith in human nature. With Jefferson democracy was something more than a political system, a form of economic organization, or a pattern of class arrangements. Over and above all these, it was a great faith, a faith in the humanity of man. Jefferson held that man is not depraved by nature, that he is capable of achieving a sense of justice, equity, and good conscience, that he is capable of achieving a humaneness, a dignity, and a worth which all men should respect. This faith led him to proclaim that all men are created equal and possessed of inalienable rights. No one knew better than this son of a small back-country planter the long story of the tyranny of government by the privileged, of the repression and exploitation of common men by the possessors of economic and political power. He, therefore, proposed that men be free to govern themselves and, above all, that they be free in thought and conscience. If properly enlightened, men could be trusted to abandon the rule of force for that of reason and truth. "I have sworn," he said, "upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."³³

To Jefferson the happiness of the individual was the supreme goal of mankind — it was the touchstone of men and measures. This emphasis on the happiness of the individual led to freedom of conscience, of intellect, and of speech; if followed as a principle, it would free men from the grip of a dead past, of old political forms and social customs; it would place men above institutions in the sense that institutions should be made to serve the needs of the masses of men; it would set the individual over against or above the social caste; and it would make of government an instrument to aid men in the pursuit of happiness. Here were principles, too, which led to popular systems of democratic education.

³² Craven, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³³ As quoted in Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, op. cit.*, pp. 355-56.

No wonder that Jefferson's name was anathema to the large element in America who were still thinking in terms of the old colonial or European system of class arrangements and of government. To many of the staunch old Federalists — men of "talent, property, reputation, and influence" — the rise to power of this "leveler from Virginia" marked the end of much that was good, and true, and beautiful in American life. They could scarcely understand how such a thing could happen. They could refuse to associate on equal terms with Jefferson's "democrats," but they could not ignore the fact that out of the clash of capitalistic and agrarian forces a new social philosophy had been formulated and to some extent put into practical operation.

Significant changes — revolutionary changes, in fact — were taking place in American life during the decades just before and immediately following the War of Independence. The thought pattern of the age was perceptibly, if slowly, becoming scientific. Men had accepted and were putting into practical operation the dynamic idea of progress. The secularization of thought and feeling had gone far enough to permit the creation of the secular state — the separation of government and religion. A new arrangement of social classes was taking place; an ambitious and self-assertive middle class was advancing on a very wide front; more and more, political power was shifting to the hands of common men. Out of the clash of interest between capitalism and agrarianism had come a formulation of the democratic dogma which was to play such an important role in future years.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 6

1. Compare and contrast the intellectual climate in America about 1765 with that of about 1828.
2. What were the most significant influences contributing to the development of the idea of progress? How has this idea influenced the development of education?
3. Do you see any relation between the secularization of thought and feeling in the United States and the development of systems of public education?
4. How much importance for the development of education do you attach to the emphasis on social equality and mobility during the period following the Revolution?

5. Do you think that we overstress today the importance of education as a means of achieving equality and social mobility?
6. Evaluate the emergence of the democratic state as a force in American education.

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Chapter 7 Education and the Struggle for Freedom and Equality:

EDUCATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS, 1763-1828

EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE were materially affected by the changes that occurred in American life during the years between the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828. The Treaty of Paris was soon followed by a series of measures designed, from the British point of view, to establish a more satisfactory relationship between the colonies and the mother country but which gradually provoked the colonies to revolution. The election of Jackson marked the rise of the common man to a prominent, if not a dominant, position in the political life of the young nation. During the intervening years, the changing conditions in American society described in the preceding chapter were largely responsible for four major lines of development in American education.

First of all, there was a growing recognition of education as a legitimate and necessary function of government. Educational statesmanship was turning to the secular state as the only agency that could be relied on to provide a system of popular education. Plans for a national system of education by noted publicists, advocacy of public education on the part of political leaders, grants of land for the aid of education by the federal government, provisions relating to education in state constitutions, state aid for education in varied forms, legislative enactments in regard to public schools, the establishment of a number of state universities — all these gave evidence of a growing sentiment in favor of state intervention in the field of education. Even so, the period came to an end with the people, in most states, still unwilling to resort to direct taxation as a means of school support.

A second aspect of educational development of importance was

the widespread attempt to extend the benefits of education to larger numbers through various philanthropic agencies. For centuries in most of the English speaking world, education had been regarded as a matter to be taken care of primarily through private, religious, or philanthropic effort. In the early years of the republic men were slow to abandon this pattern; they made one last grand effort to make it work. A few leaders saw clearly the need of public tax-supported schools but the great majority preferred to rely on philanthropy, hoping that it would make possible an adequate education for the poor and underprivileged. Sunday schools, schools supported by subscription societies, the infant school movement—all these were a part of the last great effort to build an educational system on the basis of philanthropy. The almost unbelievable enthusiasm with which Joseph Lancaster's monitorial system of instruction was received can be explained in large measure in terms of the interest in education through philanthropy. The monitorial system, it was hoped, would make education so cheap that it could be supported through philanthropic agencies of one kind or another.

A third major trend in American education during this period was the increased emphasis on private educational institutions. Academies multiplied in number and came to dominate the field of secondary education. At the elementary level, too, private effort was extended. This was true even in New England where persons of means and social position were prone to look upon the traditional town schools as schools for the less privileged.

A fourth and extremely important phase of educational development was the new educational objectives now envisioned and the new instructional content introduced to achieve these objectives. Schools and colleges were assigned enlarged social obligations. More and more, education was made to serve secular ends, although the religious purpose was by no means discredited. The classical tradition showed signs of growing weaker in the face of a rising interest in science. Religion and classical antiquity were losing their grip on the intellectual life—Greece and Rome and the Middle Ages were in retreat, although they still had in them a good deal of fight. Most important of all, perhaps, education was regarded as a means of safeguarding and advancing America's experiment in democratic political and social institutions. Formal education was coming to be looked upon, too, as having an expanded function in preparing

young people to take their place in the economic life of the day. Necessarily, new instructional content was provided to accomplish these new and expanded functions of education.

These four phases of educational development were complementary and sometimes contradictory. Even though chief reliance was placed upon philanthropic, religious, and private agencies, the civil state was assuming an expanded responsibility. Academies were in the main private and denominational institutions, but many of them were the recipients of the state's bounty. State universities charged tuition, and in some of them denominational influence was strong. In the curriculum of both academies and colleges the classics occupied a commanding position, but new subjects were beginning to challenge their supremacy.

The remaining sections of this chapter will be devoted to a more detailed discussion of the four major lines of educational development that characterized this period.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AS A FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR PROMOTING A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

At the close of the Revolution no one could have foreseen that education would come to be regarded as an essential function of government. It was uncertain, too, whether the national government or the governments of the several states would play the more important role in case the people should decide that the state was a necessary agency to provide an adequate educational program. Conditions in the young republic were, however, such as to give rise to a considerable volume of sentiment in favor of a national system of education. The successful conclusion of the conflict with England had brought independence to the colonies, but the lack of any real national unity was painfully evident. It appeared to many that republican institutions were to be wrecked by the ignorance and stupidity of the electorate and by the failure to achieve a measure of national unity based upon "some force other than external constitutional control."¹ To some of the outstanding thinkers of the day, the proper remedy for the situation was to be found in a fundamental reorganization of the educational program on a national

¹ Allen Oscar Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 79. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926.

basis. Some fear was expressed that a national system of education would tend to perpetuate the existing order, that it might not permit the flexibility that should exist in republican institutions. The more common feeling, however, among this small but extremely articulate group of leaders was that since the older forms of education might perpetuate the tradition of monarchy, a system of national education should be established.

Advocates of a system of education organized to serve national ends were by no means content to rest their case on general discussions; between 1786 and 1800 such outstanding leaders as Benjamin Rush, Robert Coram, Samuel Knox, Samuel Smith, James Sullivan, Noah Webster, Nathaniel Chipman, and Du Pont de Nemours published essays setting forth in more or less detail their plans for a system of education. Some of these essays were stimulated by the American Philosophical Society when it offered a prize for a plan for "the best system of liberal Education and Literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the Government of the United States; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country, on principles of the most extensive utility."²

The plan of Robert Coram published in 1791 illustrates a type of thinking not uncommon among those who were advocating a national system of education. He insisted that the chief end of education was to promote intelligent citizenship, true democratic control of government, maximum individual achievement, and social integration. Democratic principles and the obligations of government were to be taught. No modes of faith, systems of manners, or foreign or dead languages were to be included in the curriculum. There could be no true democracy if education was "left to the caprice or negligence of parents, to chance, or confined to the children of wealthy parents." Glaring inequalities in educational opportunity existed, particularly as between country and town. Equal educational opportunity would make possible the development of leadership and at the same time prevent the few from learning "to cheat the rest of their liberties." Education was a state function — every citizen suffered for the failure of anyone to meet the demands of democracy. Property, he said, was to be considered chiefly as of social value — a social trust to be used for the common good rather

² Samuel Knox, *Essay on Education*, p. 45 (1797), as quoted in Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

than for acquiring personal power. There could be no valid objection to providing for schools by general taxation throughout the nation and there could be no equality of opportunity — no democratic education — unless schools were so provided. He recommended that a school be established in the geographical center of each district which was to be six miles square. His plan went so far as to prescribe the nature of the school building, fix the salaries of the instructor and his assistant, and suggest the taxing procedures that would provide the needed revenues.³

The various essays setting forth plans for a system of education had their points of difference, but in all a certain common philosophy is discernible. As Hansen has stated, these "various efforts to create a national system of education . . . were largely attempts to make the principles of the eighteenth century liberal movement the determining force in the development of American character and institutions."⁴ The belief was reiterated that man is a perfectable being and that his nature is favorable to continued improvement. Science, it was believed, could determine the lines of human progress. Education was a function of government, the primary concern of which was the welfare of the individual and of society. If institutions were to promote progress, they must be kept flexible. They must be based upon utility rather than the accident of circumstance. Among the various institutions created by man, the school should exist primarily to provide training that would enable youth to become citizens in whose hands the future of democracy would be safe. The nation was thought to be the most effective unit through which to work for individual and social betterment. The establishment of a national system of education would make possible equal support of education of all grades, equality of educational opportunity between rich and poor, and universal support of the program. It was argued that if education were on a national basis, trained personnel could be more easily obtained and the entire program more effectively and economically administered. It was practicable to provide education from birth and to continue it as long as it was profitable to the individual and the state. In fact, with a national system, the expense of education would be less. Such a system would promote human progress and shape a nation which would be, in the words of an English liberal, the "seat of lib-

³ Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

erty, science and virtue, and from whence . . . sacred blessings will spread, till they become universal and the time arrives when kings and priests shall have no more power to oppress." ⁵

THE ATTITUDE OF POLITICAL LEADERS TOWARD EDUCATION

Essayists and theorists were not the only ones to espouse the national interest in education; some of the outstanding political leaders of the time expressed somewhat similar views, although they were more cautious and less specific in their statements. John Jay, the first chief justice of the Supreme Court, wrote that he considered "knowledge to be the soul of the republic." He did not, however, appear to have in mind a system of free public schools inasmuch as he urged that everything should be done to provide all classes of persons the opportunity of obtaining a proper degree of education "at a cheap and easy rate." General Francis Marion of South Carolina vigorously urged the value of schools to the nation but he also voiced the thought of an age not yet dead when, in concluding his statement, he expressed the philosophy underlying pauper education: "And, as a large proportion of the citizens are poor, and can never attain that inestimable blessing without the aid of government, it is plainly the first duty of government to bestow it freely upon them." ⁶ President Washington urged upon the Congress the desirability of establishing a national university as did also Jefferson and James Madison. In his speech to both Houses of Congress on January 8, 1790, in what is now regarded as his first annual message, President Washington wrote:

Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways; by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best an-

⁵ Richard Price, *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*, p. 2 (1784), as quoted in Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

⁶ Last interview of General Peter Horry with General Marion in 1795, as quoted in United States Office of Education, *Expressions on Education by Builders of American Democracy*, p. 79. Bulletin 10, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

swered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first and avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.⁷

In his Farewell Address written in 1796 Washington wrote the sentence so often quoted:

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.⁸

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

Why, it may be asked, did not the new nation, born of revolution and dedicated in a measure at least to democratic principles, show greater concern for education, generally recognized by liberal thinkers of the time as the means by which the individual might be improved and his institutions perfected? There are several reasons. In the early years a national government as a positive force was envisaged by a relatively few persons. The results of distant control over the affairs of the colonies were fresh in the minds of those who had fought a disastrous war to escape the restraints of England's imperial policy. The Articles of Confederation were drawn up under circumstances which did not promote consideration of issues that might be avoided. The republic was founded in a time of storm and stress. Colonies, which in the face of a common enemy had co-operated in the solution of common problems, now, as states, sought to protect their individual interests without too much regard for those of their neighbors. Johnson, paraphrasing Metternich's characterization of Italy before the unification, described the United

⁷ *The Writings of George Washington*, XII, 9 (Sparks ed., New York, 1848), as quoted in United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1892-93*, II, 1296. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895.

⁸ As quoted in *Expressions on Education by Builders of American Democracy*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

States under the Articles as a mere geographical expression.⁹ Its bonds were not firmly cemented until it had been subjected to the strains and stresses of a critical period and a new federal union under the Constitution had been formed. Furthermore, the conservative supporters of the Revolution were able to exercise great influence under the Articles, in the Constitutional Convention, and in the new government under the Constitution. There is little reason to think that many of the men who met in Philadelphia to draw up a new constitution were dissatisfied with the existing educational arrangements. They had been educated under a system that was not without its merits, at least for the training of leaders. The character of the constituency of the Constitutional Convention was proof in itself that some success had attended the efforts of the old system. In most of the states from which the delegates to the Convention came, the people did not regard education as a proper function of government, state or federal. Under the circumstances it is not strange that educational development under the Articles of Confederation was slow and that the Constitution made no mention of education at all.

Under the Articles of Confederation, the government was unable to organize education within the states. Nevertheless, it took action which recognized the importance of education and the desirability of establishing schools. During this period a national land policy was formulated which was to affect education very vitally.

Soon after the Revolution, the states asserting title to lands beyond the Alleghenies ceded their claim to the national government. A large national domain was formed out of which future states were to be carved. The war was scarcely over before prospective settlers were demanding the right to buy these lands. Before the sale could be made, a survey was needed. Congress in 1785 adopted a rectangular survey under which the lands were laid out in townships six miles square, each township being divided into sections one mile square. The sections in each township were numbered one to thirty-six and the sixteenth section was "reserved" for the support of education. In 1787 and 1788 two large tracts were sold to land companies and Congress, as a part of the bargain, granted each company a township for a future college, section sixteen of every township for schools, and section twenty-seven for religion. When Ohio was admitted in 1802, Congress gave the new state the sixteenth

⁹ Allen Johnson, *Union and Democracy*, p. v. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

section of land in every township for the maintenance of schools, Ohio agreeing not to tax lands belonging to the federal government or lands sold by it until five years after the date of sale. Each new state admitted since, except Texas, Maine, and West Virginia, has received section grants from the federal government for the support of schools. Beginning with California, in 1850, the grant was increased to two sections and three Southwestern states containing much arid and semi-arid land have each received four sections, one ninth of the total area, of each township. Other grants have increased the total amount of land given by the federal government to the states for educational purposes to nearly a quarter million square miles.

Although these grants, particularly the section grants of the early national period, must not be taken to indicate that the government had adopted a policy of providing an education to all its citizens, their importance cannot be lightly dismissed. They formed a basis for permanent school funds in new states and stimulated the older states to set aside lands and to create permanent school funds. Revenues derived from these lands helped create sentiment for schools. It is also clear that, in this land policy, the government recognized the importance of extending educational opportunities to the Western settlers and of transplanting the culture and institutions of old established regions to the new settlements. Possessing greater freedom of action with respect to the national domain than it enjoyed in the sovereign states, the national government voiced the sentiments of enlightened leaders everywhere in the official act (1787) which incorporated the Northwest Territory.

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.

This clause, although not mandatory, recognized the importance of education to the individual and to democratic institutions, even though it failed to place the responsibility for education upon the government.

STATE GOVERNMENTS AND EDUCATION

Since the Constitution of the United States provides that all powers not conferred upon the federal government are retained by

the states and inasmuch as education is not expressly mentioned in the Constitution, it has been often supposed that it was the purpose of those who drafted the Constitution to make education a function of the governments of the several states. As a matter of fact, at the time the Constitution was drafted education was not commonly regarded as a function of government at any level. It seems reasonably certain that the great majority of those who drew up the document, and of those who voted to adopt it, did not envision the development of comprehensive systems of public education. The failure of the Constitution to mention education in express terms probably does not reflect the intention of the founding fathers to make public education a function of the state governments; it probably reflects the widespread sentiment of the time that education was a private, religious, or philanthropic function. Moreover, the authority conferred upon Congress to promote the general welfare may have appeared to many to be entirely adequate, as was actually the case, to enable the national government to support a program of education.

In any event, as sentiment developed in favor of public schools, the people turned to their state governments as the proper agents to provide them. The slowness and the caution with which the movement towards public schools took place is well illustrated, however, by the failure of Thomas Jefferson to bring his own state to accept his educational proposals.

Jefferson's plan for education in Virginia. Jefferson's program for education in Virginia, even though unacceptable to the people of that state, was important. It contained certain democratic principles, it envisioned an articulated and complete state system, and it brought the weight of Jefferson's great name to the support of public education throughout the nation.

In 1779, a few days after Jefferson had been elected governor of Virginia, he and Wythe, acting for a committee appointed three years earlier, reported to the assembly of the state *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*. Under the plan provided for in the bill, three aldermen were to be elected in each county who were to divide the county into "hundreds" of such size that all children living in these subdivisions could conveniently attend the school which was to be established in each. After the electors of each hundred had decided upon a site for the school, the aldermen were to have a

schoolhouse erected and kept in repair. The expenses involved in erecting and maintaining the schoolhouses and in paying the teachers' salaries were to be provided in such manner as other county expenses were by law directed to be provided. In each of the schools, reading, writing, and arithmetic were to be taught. The books used to teach reading were also to be used to provide instruction in Greek, Roman, English, and American history. All free children, girls as well as boys, residing in their respective hundreds were to attend school for three years without paying tuition, "and as much longer, at their private expense, as their parents, guardians, or friends thought proper." An overseer for every ten of the schools was to be appointed annually. He was to be a person "eminent for his learning, integrity, and fidelity to the commonwealth" and it would be his duty to appoint teachers and have general supervision of the work of the schools.

Jefferson's plan provided also for a state-wide system of secondary schools. Twenty districts, each embracing from two to seven counties, were to be organized and a grammar school was to be erected in each. The school was to be built of brick or stone and located on a plot of one hundred acres. There were to be a schoolroom, dining room, four rooms for the master and usher, and ten or twelve rooms for lodging students. The expense of establishing and equipping these schools was to be paid out of the public treasury. The curriculum was to include Latin, Greek, geography, English grammar, and "the higher part of numerical arithmetick." A board of visitors, composed of one member from each county making up the district, was to have general supervision of the school.

The plan provided for the free education of a number of promising poor boys. Each overseer of the "hundred" schools was to appoint, annually, from the ten schools under his supervision one promising boy, whose parents were too poor to provide him further education, to be sent, at public expense, to the grammar school. Each September, one third of the boys sent to the grammar school by appointment of the overseers the preceding year were to be sent home, and of the appointees who had been in school two years, only one was to be kept on at state expense for the four remaining years of the grammar-school course. At the end of six years' instruction, one half of the remaining scholarship students were to be discontinued and the other half, ten in number, of "best learning and

most hopeful genius and disposition" were to be authorized by the visitors to proceed to William and Mary College, "there to be educated, boarded, and clothed, three years" at the expense of the state.¹⁰

The bill had one really democratic feature. All children were to attend the primary school for a period of three years at public expense. Other provisions were obviously compromises, drawn either with a view to the conservatism of the legislature or in the light of what could be accomplished without placing what appeared to be an impossible burden upon the revenue of the state. Under the provisions of the bill, each primary school, on the average, would send one poor boy to grammar school in a period of ten years. One third of the free scholars admitted to the grammar school were to be sent home after one year and nearly all were to leave it at the end of two years, only twenty in all Virginia being retained for the four senior years. Of these, ten were to have the opportunity to attend William and Mary College three years at state expense.

Nearly forty years after submitting this bill Jefferson drafted a second one, *A Bill for Establishing a System of Public Education* (1817). The second bill incorporated many features of the earlier one. Certainly it was no more liberal nor did it provide for a larger measure of universal education.¹¹ The fact that the second bill, like the earlier one, failed to pass the legislature was indicative of the slowness with which sentiment in favor of universal education developed.

Educational provisions in state constitutions. In this early period, the presence or absence of some provision in the state constitution relating to education reflected the attitude of the people toward education as a proper function of the government of the state. In the constitutions of only seven of the sixteen states comprising the Union in 1800 was any mention made of education. In a majority of the states it appears that the idea of universal and free education was still in the field of theory rather than politics. Moreover, in some of the constitutions the educational provisions were very weak or general. In its constitution of 1790, Pennsylvania clearly expressed the pauper-school idea in an article which read in part:

¹⁰ See *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, II, 220-37, ed. Ford; Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson*, pp. 201-05. Harvard Studies in Education, published under the direction of the Graduate School of Education, XVI. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931.

¹¹ See Honeywell, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-47.

The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide, by law, for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught *gratis*.¹²

Rather liberal provisions, on the other hand, were written into the constitutions of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts. A section of the Massachusetts constitution which was copied with a change of two words by New Hampshire in 1784 read:

Chap. V, Sec. 2. Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar-schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, by rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people.¹³

Between 1800 and 1820, seven new states were admitted to the Union. In the constitutions of these new states were included general statements concerning the necessity of diffusing knowledge among the people that morality might be promoted and liberty preserved. Of all the constitutions adopted before 1820, that of Indiana probably approached most nearly the democratic ideal in its provision which directed the general assembly "to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition" should be "gratis, and equally open to all." This same section, however, paid tribute to reality with the qualifying clause, "as soon as circumstances will permit."¹⁴

¹² Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States: A Collection of Sources and Readings to Illustrate the History of Educational Practice and Progress in the United States*, p. 110. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁴ Cited in Clement T. Malan, *Indiana School Law and Supreme Court Decisions*, p. 451. Terre Haute: Teachers College Press, 1931.

Early state legislation. Laws, because they are often mandatory, constitute, in general, a much better index of a state's interest in promoting education than do constitutional provisions. By 1820, ten states had been added to the original thirteen and in most of these states, old and new alike, the legislatures had sketched partial programs of education. But these were, at best, vague foreshadowings of democratic school systems. It is true that the New England states, Rhode Island excepted, entered the Union with a tradition of public education and what might be considered systems of public schools but, generally, too much significance has been attached to these early beginnings. However, the law in New England did require the towns or districts to maintain schools, and public schools of a kind were widely distributed as a result of legislation. In fact, if the number of laws passed could be taken as a measure of progress, the period might be regarded, as far as New England was concerned, as one of rapid development. Laws in New England commonly prescribed the subjects to be taught, granted aid to local districts, gave towns and districts the right to tax or render rate bills, ordered the erection of buildings, required the towns and districts to examine the qualifications of prospective teachers, and fixed the length of the school term. As we shall see later, however, these laws did not result in effective systems of public education.

In most of the older states, outside New England, the old colonial theory that competent parents would provide suitable education for their children without state intervention still persisted. New York made some noteworthy progress in the development of its public schools, but in the other original states legislation tended to deal primarily with means and methods of providing instruction for the dependent poor.

State administration and supervision. Some progress was made during this period in the development of state agencies for the administration and supervision of education. New York came the nearest to creating an effective system of state administration. This state, which had failed to mention education in its constitution of 1777, provided a few years later for a board of regents of the University of the State of New York which was to exercise general control over secondary and higher education. The board was reorganized in 1787, but its functions remained substantially the same throughout the period, with education above the elementary grades

subject to its rules and regulations. New York was also active in the field of elementary education. In 1811, five commissioners were appointed by the governor "to report a system for the reorganization and establishment of common schools." In 1812, the system recommended by the commissioners' report was adopted. The same year Gideon Hawley was appointed the first superintendent of common schools. Not under the control of the regents, he exercised authority only in matters relating to elementary education. In this field, it was stated by a contemporary, he reduced near-chaos to order. He is said, however, to have offended the legislators, who abolished the office and designated, in 1821, the secretary of state to act as superintendent, *ex officio*.

Other beginnings in the development of state administration may be noted (1) in the Connecticut Act of 1810 which provided for a commissioner of school funds whose duties were entirely fiscal; (2) in Virginia's creation, in 1815, of a state board charged with the duty of supervising the Literary Fund; and (3) in the adoption by Georgia, Louisiana, and Michigan of a form of state administration along the lines of that of New York. The state university chartered by Georgia in 1785, however, never exerted any considerable measure of control over the schools of the state. Nor did the regents of the university in Louisiana acquire as much authority over the educational system as did the Board of Regents in New York. The Catholepistemiad, or the University of Michigan, created near the close of the period (1817), to provide instruction in the higher branches and to administer the entire educational system of the territory, failed to make more than a fleeting impression before 1827, at which time a new school law provided for a different type of administration for the common schools. Although significant beginnings were made in the development of state agencies of control, no marked progress was recorded outside of New York. By initiating programs of state support of education, however, the states laid the foundation upon which administrative and supervisory control was to rest.

State aid for education. Before the end of the period, nearly all states had created permanent school funds, the income of which was designated to supplement local support in maintaining schools. In some instances the funds originated in the sale of public lands, but they were also derived from various other sources such as fines, licenses, special taxes, and lotteries.

Several years before Vermont became the fourteenth state in 1791, she had provided some state aid. In 1750, Connecticut had created a permanent school fund out of revenue received from the sale of Western lands. This fund was increased to \$1,200,000 in 1795 by the sale of the Western Reserve. In 1796, Delaware started a school fund from the receipts of tavern and marriage licenses. After 1817, one thousand dollars a year was granted to each of the three counties for the instruction of the poor. Maryland began a school fund in 1812 by levying a tax on banks, and some aid was extended to institutions of higher education and later to academies in each county in the state. South Carolina made the beginning of a state system in 1811, providing aid for one or more free schools in each electoral district. Pennsylvania, after 1802, granted aid for the education of pauper children. Virginia established its literary fund in 1810, the income of which was used to educate the children of the poor. Kentucky made numerous land grants to academies between 1798 and 1808. Massachusetts appropriated townships of land in the interior and northerly part of Maine for the encouragement of academies, although these tracts proved to be of little financial value. After 1811, Louisiana granted aid for the erection and maintenance of an academy in each parish. Aid was not extended to common schools, however, until 1827. For a five-year period beginning in 1795, New York appropriated annually fifty thousand dollars from the revenues of the state "for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining schools in the several cities and towns." These grants were discontinued in 1800, but the foundation of a permanent school fund was laid in 1805 when the legislature voted to appropriate the proceeds from the sale of five hundred thousand acres of land as a permanent fund for the support of common schools. In 1819, one half the amount to be received from quitrents, the net proceeds of all lands escheating to the state in the military tract, and certain fees and other moneys were forever appropriated to the school fund.

Although in some states the aid granted was considerable in the total amount and not negligible when computed on the basis of pauper children, it was insignificant in terms of the entire child population except in Connecticut, in New York during a few years of this period, and in one or two other states. The value of the grants made by the states, however, is not easily measured. Small

sums distributed as aid not only enabled the states to exercise beneficial supervision, but also led to increased local revenue.

Prevalence and characteristics of public schools. Despite the efforts described in the preceding sections to make education more definitely a function of government, the programs of the several states at the close of the period here under consideration gave only faint promise of developing into systems of free public schools, adequate to meet the needs of the democratic society that was emerging. The very term "public school" did not have the meaning we attach to it today: it was used to denote schools that were entirely free and open to all, as well as schools that were free for a part of the session, and schools that were subsidized in order that children might be taught cheaply and the poor gratis. In New England the law required the towns or districts to maintain schools, and this they did, although the schools were generally of poor quality and maintained at the lowest possible cost. The public Latin grammar school, moreover, was giving way to the private academy. The development of the district system had undermined the resources of towns for maintaining public secondary schools. In Massachusetts the towns were failing to maintain Latin schools as required under the law of 1789. In New York, too, by the end of the period, there existed what might properly be called a system of public schools. Outside New England and New York, in the older states, public support of schools was confined, in the main, to providing some degree of education for the children of the poor. The newer states in the West made use of land grants to provide some public education, but they were still unwilling to resort to taxation to provide even meager facilities.

Free education, even when not pauper education, was commonly confined to the elementary level. Universal education at public expense may have appealed to educational philosophers and liberal statesmen as "the heart of the republic," the "bulwark of our liberties," the "palladium of our freedom," the "protector of republican institutions," the means of insuring the success of the democratic experiment in government, and the most powerful of all forces contributing to the happiness of the individual. But in actual practice there was little evidence that schools were generally considered as necessary means of solving political, economic, and social problems of the day. A great majority of the children who attended

school were sent to learn to read, write, and master as much arithmetic as might prove useful in the commonplace activities of everyday life. With respect to opportunity beyond this, the masses were generally indifferent. A proposal to offer a more advanced program free of charge and open to all would have been regarded by those in whose hands wealth and political power were concentrated, as an extravagance, a waste, a step toward bankrupting the country, a threat to the social order, and even perhaps a downright robbery which placed a penalty upon thrift and which encouraged indolence.

Even where so-called public schools existed, they were poorly housed, their curriculums were severely restricted, and the teachers were, in the main, ill-prepared. In New England, where the tradition of free schools was the longest and conditions most advanced, school buildings were, for the most part, still primitive. Concerning them, the winner of a prize offered by the American Institute of Instruction for the best essay on the construction of schoolhouses wrote:

From the earliest period in the history of New England up to the year 1831, we are not aware that much had been said or done in regard to the improvement of schoolhouses. . . . They consisted, with few exceptions, of a single room, with a chimney at one end, on one side of which was the door and entrance. . . . There were generally no outhouses of any kind whatever. Even the wood lay exposed to the snow and rain. The furniture consisted of a chair, a table, a few benches, and a writing desk; and the latter was usually attached to the walls, on three sides of the room. The benches consisted of slabs, with pegs for their support; and they were without backs. The schoolroom was in general so small that the pupils were obliged to economize as much as possible in regard to space, at the risk of crowding and jostling each other, and a thousand other evils.

This, we say, was the general state of things.¹⁵

As already indicated, the curriculum of the public elementary schools, even in New England, was severely restricted. Massachusetts, which, in spite of many defects in her program, was probably the most advanced educationally of all the states, in the law of 1789 required no more than the teaching of reading, writing, orthography, English language, arithmetic, and decent behavior. This, in its day,

¹⁵ "New England Schoolhouses," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, VII (June, 1837), 241.

and judged by standards elsewhere, was no doubt a liberal course. New demands, however, were beginning to be made upon the schools. New textbooks by Noah Webster, Morse, Murray, and others reduced new content to teachable form, making possible the introduction of geography, grammar, and some history into the curriculum. These subjects, however, were added slowly. Outside the cities, it was a long time before the enrichment provided by the new subjects, or the improvement of instruction which the texts made possible, affected the education of any considerable number of children. In the meantime, bored and unruly children were stimulated to self-improvement through harsh discipline administered, in the main, by ill-prepared and unimaginative teachers.

In spite of numerous exceptions, teachers of the elementary school were a poor lot. In sections in which the only free schools were pauper schools there were perhaps fewer exceptions. In one state, the governor declared that willingness to teach was *prima-facie* evidence of inability to do anything else. Probably the better teachers were to be found in New England, but even in this section salaries as low as two and three dollars per month, supplemented as they might be by board and sometimes laundry, did not often attract capable teachers. Carter in his *Essays upon Popular Education* gave testimony to the poor quality of teachers in Massachusetts and also to the shortcomings of the methods of selecting them:

To whom do we assign the business of governing and instructing our children from four to twelve years of age? . . .

The teachers of the primary summer schools have rarely had any education beyond what they have acquired in the very schools where they begin to teach. Their attainments, therefore, to say the least, are usually *very moderate*. But this is not the worst of it. They are often very young, they are constantly changing their employment, and consequently can have but little experience; and, what is worse than all, they never have had any direct preparation for their profession. . . .

They are a class of teachers unknown in our laws regulating the schools. . . . No standard of attainments is fixed . . . so that anyone *keeps school* . . . who wishes to do it, and can persuade, by herself, or her friends, a small district to employ her. . . . The farce of an examination and a certificate from the minister of the town, for it is a perfect farce, amounts to no efficient check upon the obtrusions of ignorance and inexperience. As no standard is fixed by law, each

minister makes a standard for himself, and alters it as often as the peculiar circumstances of the case require. And there will always be enough of peculiar circumstances to render a refusal inexpedient. . . .

Many of the above remarks upon the character and qualifications of the teachers of the summer schools apply with equal force to the young men, who undertake the instruction of the primary winter schools, which now constitute the highest class of schools, to which the whole population of the state have free access. . . . What are the acquirements of these young men? . . . We have a catalogue . . . of branches of knowledge, which the laws suppose the candidates . . . to be possessed of. But who knows that they come up to established standard? And who knows that they are fully possessed of the knowledge, which the laws require? . . . The laws provide that the minister and the selectmen of each town shall assure themselves, that their teachers possess the prescribed qualifications. The minister. Which minister? . . .

The young man who lays down his axe and aspires to take up the "rod" and rule in a village school, has, usually, in common with other young men, a degree of dignity and self-complacency, which it is dangerous to the extent of his power to disturb. And when he comes to his minister, sustained by his own influence in the parish, and that of a respectable father and perhaps a large family of friends, and asks of him the legal approbation for a teacher, it is a pretty delicate matter to refuse it. . . . And martyrs in ordinary times are rare.

It is the intention of the school-law to secure good, moral characters . . . by requiring the approbation, as to this qualification, of the selectmen of the town, where the school is to be taught. . . . If a young man be moral enough to keep out of the State Prison, he will find no difficulty in getting approbation for a schoolmaster.¹⁶

Discontent with religious control of higher education. With the waning of religious influence and the development of secular interests during the late colonial period, dissatisfaction with the nature of higher education and with its administration was expressed in many quarters. For centuries it had been generally assumed that the primary responsibility for higher education rested upon the church, but now the sentiment came to be expressed with growing frequency that higher education was rightfully a function of the

¹⁶ James G. Carter, *Essays upon Popular Education, Containing a Particular Examination of the Schools of Massachusetts and an Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers*, pp. 36-41. Boston: Bowles & Dearborn, 1826.

state. With the spread of the liberal philosophy of the Revolutionary period, the conviction was voiced that higher educational institutions, freed from the control of religion and the interests vested in it, and organized to disseminate knowledge and develop learning, particularly in the field of science, would be a beneficent influence upon government, promote individual well-being and contribute to the national prosperity. This view was entertained not only by theorists, but by practical statesmen as well. The desirability of founding a national university was in the minds of at least several members of the Constitutional Convention. Among the early presidents of the United States, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams urged upon Congress the establishment of such an institution.¹⁷

Although Congress failed to act, state governments by various means indicated their determination to relate higher education more closely to the contemporary political and social philosophy. Their efforts were first directed toward transforming existing colleges into institutions that would be more responsive to what they considered the needs of the new era. Attempts were made, with varying degrees of success, to change self-perpetuating boards of trustees to boards on which all or a specified number of places were to be filled by state officers, by appointees of state officers, or by persons elected by the legislature. In other instances, the state attempted to accomplish its ends by creating boards of overseers which were to exercise control over the corporations, or, in case such a board already existed, by legislation designed to secure representation from the state on the board. Pressure was also exerted by threatening to withhold the appropriations which a college received from the state or by expressing an interest in the establishment of a competing institution. Six of the nine colleges founded during the colonial period were subjected to attempts on the part of the new state legislatures to bring them more closely under the control of the state.

Attempts to control private colleges. Several years before the outbreak of the Revolution, a number of appeals were made to the legislature of Connecticut for changes in the Yale charter of 1701, which would give the colonial government a greater measure of control over the affairs of the college. The proposals were strenuously op-

¹⁷ Edgar Bruce Wesley, *Proposed: The University of the United States*, pp. 8-10. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

posed and no action was taken.¹⁸ Shortly after the close of the war, a petition was presented to the state legislature demanding that either the charter granted by the state to the college be altered to give the state representation on the college board or that a new institution, under control of the state, be established. No immediate action upon the petition was taken, but a reorganization was effected in 1792, and provision was made for a measure of state representation by making the governor, the lieutenant-governor, and "six state officials" members *ex officio* of the corporation. Yale, by this concession to revolutionary sentiment, escaped further legislative interference.¹⁹

The College of Philadelphia, the only colonial college initiated under non-sectarian influence, in time came to reflect the interests of the Tory party and the Anglican Church. In 1779, after a charge that the college was conducted "with a general inattention to the authority of the State," the Assembly voided its charter and created a new corporation, "The Trustees of the University of the State of Pennsylvania."²⁰ After the college protested the original charter was reinstated in 1789, but the university was retained as a separate corporation. In 1791, the two institutions "were merged under a single board, on which the state was represented by only the Governor acting in an *ex-officio* capacity."²¹ In New York, King's College, rechristened Columbia, was reorganized in 1784 and again in 1787, and although left with a self-perpetuating board, it was placed under the nominal supervision of a newly created body, "The Regents of the University of the State of New York." The Harvard Board of Overseers had, during the colonial period, included *ex-officio* representatives of the government and had been subject to a measure of legislative control. In 1810, the legislature attempted to change, subject to the ratification of the board, the membership from an *ex-officio* basis to one largely elective. The action was opposed by the corporation on the grounds that a change in the body which controlled it was a violation of its rights under the Constitution of 1780. The question of the exercise of visitorial

¹⁸ Elbert Vaughan Wills, *The Growth of American Higher Education; Liberal, Professional, and Technical*, pp. 24-26. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1936.

¹⁹ Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War: With Particular Reference Bearing upon the College Movement*, pp. 144-45. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

²⁰ Wills, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

²¹ Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

power over the college by the legislature was raised at subsequent dates, but Harvard was able to escape serious curtailment of her earlier privileges. Attempts to transform William and Mary College into a state institution failed, partly because the college, which had been closely associated with both the colonial government and the Established Church, was unwilling to break its connections with the church. Since no action was taken upon a bill introduced in the legislature in 1779 to make the college more responsive to the public will, Jefferson and his friends lent their further efforts toward the establishment of a rival institution, the University of Virginia.

The most outstanding and by far the most highly publicized attempt to alter the status of a former colonial college came in 1816. The charter of Dartmouth College, established in 1769 under Congregational influence, provided for state representation on the board of trustees only to the extent of making the governor a member *ex officio*. The state legislature made no serious effort to change the charter of the college, so long as Congregational interests dominated both. As time went on, however, the more liberal and democratic elements in the state — followers of Thomas Jefferson in the main — supported a movement for the reorganization of Dartmouth. President Wheelock associated himself with the Democratic movement, and the board of trustees, staunchly Federalist in its sympathies, removed him in 1815. The Democrats (Jefferson's party, i.e., Republicans) secured control of the legislature the following year and passed an act that changed the designation of the college to Dartmouth University and placed over the board of trustees a board of overseers, composed of certain state officials and appointees of the governor. The stage was set for a political and legal battle that was to attract wide attention. The *Salem Gazette*, far removed from the scene, commented: "The Act of the Legislature is political proof of the evils of the Democrats."²² The trustees, amid the applause of their supporters, maintained that the act was unconstitutional. For a while, two rival institutions were in operation, one Dartmouth College and the other Dartmouth University. In time, the authority of the legislature to change the charter of the college was questioned in the supreme court of the state of New Hampshire which sustained the authority of the legislature to modify the charter. An appeal was

²² As quoted in Vera M. Butler, *Education As Revealed by New England Newspapers Prior to 1850*, p. 92. Doctor's thesis, Temple University, 1935.

taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, which rendered its decision in 1819. The decision of the state court was reversed, and the action of the New Hampshire legislature was declared unconstitutional and void because it violated that section of the Federal Constitution which prohibits a state from impairing the obligation of a contract. The charter, the court held, was a contract between the state and the college. "The decision was a complete victory for the Federalist and Congregationalist interests represented at Dartmouth College."²³ And it might be added that Chief Justice John Marshall, who rendered the decision, was as staunch a Federalist as could be found any place in the nation.

Jefferson, representing the liberal view, had written to Governor Plumer in 1816:

The idea that institutions established for the use of the nation cannot be touched or modified, even to make them answer their end, because of rights gratuitously supposed in those employed to manage them in trust for the public, may, perhaps, be a salutary provision against the abuse of a monarch, but it is most absurd against the nation itself. Yet our lawyers and priests generally inculcate this doctrine, and suppose that preceding generations held the earth more freely than we do; had a right to impose laws on us, unalterable by ourselves; and that we, in like manner, can make laws and impose burdens on future generations, which they will have no right to alter; in fine, that the earth belongs to the dead, and not to the living.²⁴

But the philosophy of Jefferson was not to prevail. In the "contest between conservatives and liberals, Federalists and Republicans, John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson, the former in each instance had won."

It has often been stated that the states, prevented by the Dartmouth College decision from transforming private colleges into state institutions, turned with renewed effort to the establishment of state universities. Tewksbury has presented evidence and a most convincing argument that, on the contrary, the decision contributed in no small measure to checking the development of state universities for at least half a century.²⁵

The establishment of state universities. During the fifty years that

²³ Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

²⁴ As quoted in Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁵ Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

followed independence, some eight or ten states laid the foundations of future state universities. It is to be understood that all of these institutions in their early development were not entirely under the control of the state. Even in some instances in which laws provided for almost complete control, denominational interests were able to exert strong influences upon the universities. The University of North Carolina, chartered in 1789 and opened for instruction in 1795, had under its original charter a self-perpetuating board of trustees. The charter was amended in 1804, 1805, and 1821 so that in the end all trustees were elected by joint ballot of the legislature.

Georgia set aside forty thousand acres of land in 1784 for a university which was chartered in 1785. The charter provided for a system of schools at all levels, headed by a university which was to give instruction in the higher branches and also to supervise the work of the inferior schools. By 1800, eight academies had been established and in 1801 instruction began in the college. Strong religious and political interests almost nullified the considerable measure of control that the state was to exercise under the charter.

South Carolina, in 1801, chartered its university, which was opened as a degree-granting institution in 1805. This institution was placed entirely under the control of the state, the original charter providing for the election of all members of the board of trustees by the legislature. Maryland was only partially successful in establishing a university under the control of the state. The only other of the thirteen original states to establish a university during this period was Virginia. Jefferson's leadership over a period of more than forty years finally culminated in the establishment of the most advanced and complete type of state institution established for a generation to come. The charter forcibly stated that the institution "should in all things and at all times be subject to the control of the legislature."²⁶ But even in Virginia, religious forces were able to exercise considerable influence upon the legislature.

To the foregoing five Southern states of the original thirteen may be added two more. Alabama provided for a state university under the direct control of the legislature. The charter was granted in 1821, but instruction did not begin until a decade later. Tennessee established two colleges which may be classified as semi-state institutions. Vermont was the only new state to establish a university

²⁶ *Revised Code of Virginia*, chap. xxxiv, sec. 9, as quoted in Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

without the aid of large grants of land. The right of this institution to be classified as a state university has been questioned.²⁷ Ohio established two state colleges in the early nineteenth century. Charters granted to the older of these in 1802 and 1804 provided for effective state control. Neither institution, however, was entirely to escape sectarian influences, and both were to suffer severely from denominational competition. Indiana, after experimenting with a territorial college, established Indiana College as a degree-granting institution in 1828.

In Ohio, Alabama, and Indiana, the establishment of universities was encouraged by the federal township grants. In Tennessee one hundred thousand acres of land were set aside for the support of two universities. Without these lands it is doubtful, considering the bitter and narrow sectarianism of the period, if it would have been possible to establish state universities. The injunction laid upon the states by the federal government and the possession of a source of revenue were probably fundamental considerations in the establishment of state universities in all four of these states.

Sectarianism and denominational colleges were deterring factors in the development of state universities. Several state institutions, in fact, came to reflect Congregational and Presbyterian interests almost as distinctly as did private institutions of those faiths. This was the case, however, only in those instances in which a religious group dominated not only the university but the entire state government as well.

Many state institutions of higher learning bore the name of university, but most of them were no more than small colleges. Although they received financial support from the state they all charged tuition. In perspective they appear more important for what they were to become than for what they were. Even so, their importance is not to be underestimated; they prepared many young men for the professions and for leadership in state and nation; and more important still, they were the beginnings of a democratic movement in higher education that was to develop far beyond anything the world had yet seen.

²⁷ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History*, p. 115. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934 (revised and enlarged edition).

THE MOVEMENT TO PROVIDE EDUCATION THROUGH
PHILANTHROPIC EFFORT

As indicated in the preceding sections, interest in education as an obligation of the state and a function of government manifested itself slowly, particularly outside New England. The practice of supporting schools through philanthropic effort which had been popular in both England and America during colonial times continued far into the national period. The church-charity school had been a familiar institution throughout America. In several colonies the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had maintained schools as a part of its missionary effort among the poor, but after the Revolution the society withdrew from the field. Churches generally found their efforts inadequate to meet the increased demands for education. Many persons, truly concerned with the sad plight of the ignorant poor, were willing and anxious to do by philanthropic effort what they refused to consider a duty of the state. Every man in a democracy should walk in the light of learning through his own efforts, if possible, and if not, as the recipient of philanthropy which had the added virtue of ennobling and warming the soul of the donor. In states where the tradition of public education was weak or non-existent, philanthropy represented one stage through which education was to pass on its way to state support. It was only with the failure of philanthropy that education at public expense could be established. A period of groping within the old and familiar framework was first necessary before education at public expense would be seriously considered.

If the effort to build a satisfactory educational system on the basis of philanthropy was to succeed, means would have to be found to make education as cheap as possible. During the period under consideration, numerous attempts were made to provide cheap mass education. One of the first of these was the Sunday-school movement.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The Sunday school as a means of teaching the catechism and religious exercises was old, even in America, when Robert Raikes, an Englishman, moved by the misery and shocked by the boisterousness of child factory operatives of Gloucester employed four women at a shilling each to conduct Sunday classes in reading and the catechism

so that the children might be improved and the "deplorable profanation of the sabbath" checked. In 1783, he published a description of his plan. Within a year, it is reported, a union society, established at Stockport near Manchester, had a school of five thousand "scholars." Besides instruction in the Scriptures these children, who for the most part had no other means of education, were taught reading, writing, and elementary bookkeeping.²⁸ The cheapness of the instruction and the opportunity offered for easily satisfying philanthropic impulses led to the usual English practice of organizing a society — in this case, the Society for Promoting Sunday Schools throughout the British Dominions.

When the idea was brought to America, Sunday schools were organized in great numbers. It is claimed that Bishop Asbury organized a school of this kind in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1783, and there is a record of a Sunday school in that county in 1786. The First-Day, or Sunday School Society, was organized in Philadelphia in 1791. It is said that by 1800 there had been admitted to the several schools of the society more than two thousand "scholars." The instruction was confined to reading — after 1793 from the Bible — and writing. Schools were established in Charleston, South Carolina (1787), New York (1793), Patterson (1794), Hudson, New York (1803), Pittsburgh (1809), and in a large number of cities in the middle and Southern states.

A student of Brown University, at the suggestion of Samuel Slater, opened a school in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1797. New England, however, appears to have had little to do with the movement in its early stages. Beginning about 1816, however, newspapers in Connecticut and Massachusetts began to carry frequent notices of the establishment of Sunday schools, as well as reports of their success in numerous New England towns. By 1825, the Salem Sunday schools, organized in 1816, enrolled 750 pupils and had a total of 166 teachers. Many schools were opened in Boston under the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor. In 1826, Boston reported twenty-two schools with four hundred teachers; and in 1827, on one occasion "five thousand children marched in procession and then listened to an address and exercises, the whole meeting lasting for a space of three hours."²⁹

²⁸ Asa Bullard, *Fifty Years with the Sabbath Schools*, pp. 29-30. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co., 1876.

²⁹ Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

Several attempts were made to obtain state aid for Sunday schools³⁰ and arguments were advanced that they merited assistance more than did the pauper schools supported by the state.³¹ When school commissioners in Richmond granted aid they commented:

The Sunday School holds out flattering promises of future usefulness to the state for the diffusion of knowledge. . . . It has been remarked that a pupil learns more on that day in the Sunday school than in the common school in a week.³²

It was the church, however, and not the state which was to capture the Sunday school. By 1820, all leading denominations were fostering them. Under ecclesiastical control, the schools gradually came to emphasize religious education to the complete neglect of secular instruction. Whatever importance or influence they may have continued to possess was in an entirely different field.

The schools, as poor and make-shift as they were, and representing, as they did, the dying gasps of the ideal of universal education through philanthropic effort, served a useful purpose. Through them many persons attained what may be termed literacy and achieved perhaps a greater self-respect. The total enrollment in these schools has been estimated in the millions. In a single year late in the period, the *Springfield Republican* states that more than two hundred thousand children were receiving the benefits of Sunday school instruction.³³ In a number of children may have been awakened a desire to learn something more of that to which they had been introduced. Perhaps the general indifference of the ignorant poor to education was to some extent overcome. Maddox stresses the significance of the Sunday school in the development of the free school idea in Virginia:

The new movement indirectly promoted the political ideal of common schools by bringing the children of all classes together in the name of religion on terms of perfect equality. Certainly it involved no political theory nor suggested change in government. It

³⁰ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³¹ See Sadie Bell, *The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia*, pp. 336-37. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

³² Second Auditor, *House Journal*, 1826, quoted in William Arthur Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia before the Civil War: A Phase of Political and Social Evolution*, p. 38. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 93. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1918.

³³ Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

is not curious then that the Sunday school was a prime factor in drawing the attention of the rich to the actual educational needs of the poor with an impressiveness that political theory could never have for the conservative. At the same time it accustomed a neighborhood to schools. It was particularly effective in the country districts, where it must have done much toward suggesting the practicability of a system of country schools.³⁴

One may well wonder about the success of these schools in bringing many children of all classes together on "terms of perfect equality" in Virginia or elsewhere, but there can be no doubt that in a number of states these schools enlisted the services of public-spirited, influential men — judges, lawyers, senators, mayors, and governors. Once the assistance of some of these men in teaching and conducting schools had been enlisted it may well have been later extended to participation in the struggle for public education.

SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY SUBSCRIPTION SOCIETIES

The greatest achievement of the philanthropic movement in attempting to make education universal was the organization of voluntary school societies, designed to provide educational opportunity of a sort to the rapidly growing group of "wretched, ignorant, and friendless children." So successful were these societies that they have been given, rightfully perhaps, a large measure of credit for helping to awaken "an educational consciousness." It should be pointed out, however, that their aim was to adapt the pauper system to new conditions and that their success in doing so was probably responsible for delaying the establishment of public school systems.

Earlier means and methods employed "to give the poor the power to read" proved entirely inadequate in the rapidly expanding urban centers in which the evils of poverty, crime, illiteracy, and child delinquency were not only appalling, but could not be hidden from the public view. Alarmed by threatened social deterioration, public-spirited persons in numerous cities organized societies to provide a modest education for children who were without other means of instruction.

New York City was perhaps the most fertile field for the new endeavor. This city was slow to recover from the disastrous results of the Revolutionary War. When, with the coming of peace, the

³⁴ Maddox, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

churches again became active, they found themselves unable to cope with the much aggravated situation. Their charity schools, open to children of indigent members, failed to reach more than a small part of the poor. In 1805, only four denominations are known to have maintained schools, and the number of children attending the most successful of these was only about one hundred.³⁵ The failure of these schools to reach large elements in the population led to the establishment of benevolent associations organized to administer to the needs of these neglected groups. As early as 1785, the "Manumission Society" was organized to promote the liberation of slaves, to protect those who had been freed, and to give them the elements of an education. Schools sponsored by this society and aided by several small grants from both the city and the state, provided instruction for thousands of Negro children. In 1834 the schools of this society were taken over by the Public School Society. In 1801, a school was opened by the Association of Women Friends for the Relief of the Poor to provide for another special group of children, those whose parents belonged to no religious society and who for one reason or another were not admitted to the charity schools of the city. A number of schools were added and, aided by a share in the Common School Fund, they provided instruction for thousands of girls (750 in 1823) before being deprived of further state aid in 1824.³⁶

The most famous of the school societies was the Free School Society of the City of New York (1805-26). It was reorganized in 1826 under the title Public School Society of New York (1826-53). From the first, this organization enlisted the services and support of prominent men, such as its first president, De Witt Clinton. Among its trustees were five Motts, four Ogdens, five Underhills, two Van Rensselaers, three Palmers, and other notables such as Robert Cornell, Peter Jay, James Roosevelt, and Hamilton Fish.³⁷ The original purpose of the society was strictly charitable. In 1805, when it was established, there were in New York City only one hundred and

³⁵ *Directory*, 1805, as cited in New York City Board of Education, *Public Education in the City of New York: Its History, Condition, and Statistics*, p. 24. An Official Report to the Board of Education by Thomas Boese, Clerk of the Board. New York: Harper & Bros., 1869.

³⁶ A. Emerson Palmer, *The New York Public Schools: Being a History of Free Education in the City of New York*, p. 14. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905.

³⁷ William Oland Bourne, *History of the Public School Society of the City of New York*, pp. xxvii-xxxi. New York: Wm. Wood & Co., 1869.

forty-one teachers in a population of some seventy-five thousand, and almost all of these were engaged in private schools. Before the society changed its title in 1826, nine schools had been provided, and for several years the attendance had been approximately four thousand.³⁸

After the reorganization of the society, the pay system was introduced, based on a small charge made to all who could afford to pay. The high reputation of the schools attracted some children of middle-class families who formerly patronized pay schools, but on the whole the experiment was a failure, and the enrollment dropped. Although a considerable portion of the students were designated as pay students, great difficulties were encountered in collecting tuition. Some churches, by opening their schools to all at cheap tuition, drew off large numbers. A committee appointed to investigate the causes for the decline in enrollment came to the following significant conclusion:

Your committee believe that the only true and legitimate system of our Public Schools would be to open our doors to *all* classes of our citizens free from any expense, and that all deficiencies should be defrayed by a public tax.³⁹

Following this report, the schools abolished tuition charges, and subsequently their enrollment increased.

The society had received aid from both the state and the city. In 1829 it was granted a tax of one eighth mill. Two years later this tax was raised to one half mill. When the society gave up its charter in 1853 and turned over its properties to the public-school department of the city, which had been established in 1842, it had spent more than \$3,500,000 and had provided instruction for children whose total attendance aggregated almost five hundred thousand pupil years.⁴⁰

Subscription societies also established and maintained schools in Baltimore, Washington, Albany, Philadelphia, Providence, and numerous other cities. The education of the children of the dependent poor was promoted in Philadelphia by the Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys,⁴¹ which, within a few years

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

³⁹ As quoted in New York City Board of Education, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

⁴¹ Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education*, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

of its establishment in 1799, changed its name to the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools. In 1807, the Philadelphia Association for the Instruction of Poor Children was established. These and other organizations provided, as best they could, for the education of the poor. In 1818, Philadelphia was permitted by the legislature to organize a school system. Free schools, as they now exist, were not, however, contemplated by the law. Philadelphia schools were no less pauper schools than those established under the general law of 1809. There was no provision to educate any child at public expense except orphans or children of indigents. Under responsible officers, these schools, it has been claimed, came to resemble closely free schools, but there were no free schools open to rich and poor alike until 1836.

The work of these societies in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities provided some schooling for a large number of children who otherwise would have been neglected. The societies did good work in a way that was acceptable to the socially and politically dominant group of the period. They no doubt stimulated interest in education but one might well argue the case that they had the immediate effect of delaying the development of public school systems.

EXTENDING EDUCATION DOWNWARD

Another early nineteenth-century movement which had its roots in philanthropy and which aimed at alleviating the distressing condition of the poor was the infant-school movement. This unusual product of the English factory system originated in New Lanark, Scotland, where Robert Owen, touched by the sordid life of the community, instituted a number of successful social reforms. He established schools in which the children of the community, including some five hundred pauper apprentices from three to ten years of age, were given moral, physical, and intellectual training through games and well-devised instruction. Coming as it did years before the first great factory law prohibited the employment of children under nine years of age in the textile industry, the plan created much favorable comment. It was seized upon by reformers who attempted to improve upon it by introducing formal methods and a course of study entirely unsuitable for young children.

The first infant schools introduced into the United States were of the formal type. The *Connecticut Courant* some years later indi-

cated the nature of these schools in an article describing the Hartford school:

On Wednesday forenoon last, there was an exhibition of the Infant School, in this city, in the Centre Church. The house was filled with one of the most respectable assemblies, both of our own citizens, and of strangers, that we have ever seen on any public occasion. The Governor, Lieut. Governor, and most of the members of the two branches of the Legislature, were present. . . .

We have not time to give a minute description of the various lessons which were recited. The scholars read and spelt, and showed that they understood the elementary principles of arithmetic, and of the most simple ones of geometry. They were examined with regard to their knowledge of religious truth, and of moral obligation, and manifested that this was not a mere repetition by rote. . . . They were questioned, also . . . on the history of our own State, with which they showed an accuracy of knowledge with regard to facts, the names, and dates, that was truly surprising.⁴²

That the work of this school was too advanced and formal for the children is suggested by the fact that only two or three of the "scholars" had reached the ripe age of six. Elsewhere, too, the infant schools introduced into the United States reflected the formal curriculum of their English prototypes.

The first American infant school was organized in Boston in 1818. The Boston town schools, like those of other Massachusetts towns, regularly admitted only those children who had already learned to read. As the laboring element in the population grew larger and was augmented by immigrants from Europe, an increasing number of children were barred from the town schools because they lacked the required preparation. The establishment of infant schools appeared to be the best way to meet this situation. The town meeting voted \$5000 to establish primary schools. At the end of the first year, the Primary School Board reported to the town meeting that 1100 children between the ages of four and seven were enrolled in the schools. The report of the Primary School Committee in 1826 listed fifty-one schools with 2933 children in attendance. The enrollment increased to 3432 in 1828 and to 5206 in 1838.⁴³ By providing these schools under a special committee functioning under the direction of the town meeting, and by raising the age of admission to four years,

⁴² Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

Boston had solved the problem of building the primary school into her educational structure. The management of the primary schools, however, remained separate from that of the grammar schools until they were combined under one city school committee in 1854.

Other cities, including Providence, Salem, New Haven, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, South Carolina, established schools for young children which in time became the primary grades of the common schools. In general, in the United States, the infant-school idea was modified in each case to fit into the existing arrangements and the special needs of the different localities. Where education at public expense had been provided, as in Boston, these schools were made a charge upon the public. Where pauper schools prevailed, the infant schools were supported, in the large, by charity. In both instances, infant schools extended educational opportunity downward and served, in spite of their origins in philanthropy, to awaken interest in public education.

EXTENDING OPPORTUNITY THROUGH CHEAPER METHODS

Another innovation of the early nineteenth century was the "system of mutual instruction," a development which had its roots in poverty and which was nurtured by philanthropic efforts to make education more nearly universal, without challenging the prevailing social and political theories. The essential feature of the plan, the use of older, brighter, and more advanced children to teach the younger and less competent under the supervision of a master, was not new. Never before, however, had the practice been made to appear anything but the cheap makeshift that it was, and never before had an educational administrator, with the assurance which only ignorance can give, seized upon the idea and built around it a system upon what, at least, appeared to be a rational basis. Even so, it is almost unbelievable that a plan hit upon by one person to reduce the cost of instruction in an orphan asylum in India and independently developed by a young Quaker schoolmaster in England to provide teaching assistance for which he could not pay should have attracted so much attention, spread so rapidly and so widely, and enlisted the support of so many well-intentioned men. The popularity of the plan is to be explained, in part, by the fact that the crowding of the population into industrial centers had resulted in bringing together, under almost inconceivable conditions, large

numbers of children. The sordidness of their existence made the procedure for introducing some order into their lives appear as divinely inspired to a public which was becoming increasingly conscious of the possibilities of mass production. Violent quarrels between the Anglican supporters of Bell, one of the innovators, and the dissenting friends of Lancaster, the other originator of the plan, developed for the somewhat similar methods of the two men loyalties such as spring only from strife centering in religious belief.⁴⁴ The movement spread throughout the British Isles to the Continent, to Asia, to Africa, and to the Americas.

In 1806, Lancaster's system was introduced into the United States which, perhaps excepting England, was to prove the most fertile soil for its growth. As in England, it was hailed as of more importance than any discovery that had been made since the alphabet.⁴⁵ Governor Clinton, President of the Free School Society of New York, compared its operation in education to that of the labor-saving machinery in the useful arts.⁴⁶ The trustees of the Lancasterian school in Georgetown accepted the system as a sign that God had not "forgotten to be gracious."⁴⁷

Lancaster's plan was made the official system of the Free School Society of New York at the establishment of the society's first school in 1806 and was continued until 1853, at which date that organization gave up its charter. Lancaster came to the United States in 1818 to devote most of the remaining years of his life to promoting the system. He was received with acclaim. In fact, a visit to the larger cities took on somewhat the appearance of a triumphal tour. In Washington, Clay yielded him the speaker's chair. Many cities in all parts of the United States followed the lead of New York in establishing Lancasterian schools and societies. Statesmen, including governors and congressmen, urged the general adoption of the plan. Roberts Vaux, Chairman of the Committee on Public Schools of

⁴⁴ David Salmon, *Joseph Lancaster*, pp. 25-52. London, England: Published for the British and Foreign School Society by Longmans, Green & Co., 1904.

⁴⁵ *Westminster Review*, January, 1824, as cited in John Franklin Reigart, *The Lancasterian System of Instruction in the Schools of New York City*, pp. 7-8. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 81. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1916.

⁴⁶ Reigart, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *The British System of Education: Being a Complete Epitome of the Improvements and Inventions Practiced by Joseph Lancaster: To Which Is Added, A Report of the Trustees of the Lancaster School at Georgetown, Col.*, p. 123. Washington: Published by William Cooper; and by Joseph Milligan, Georgetown, 1812.

the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy, eloquently urged the system and in the outline of a bill for the education of children at public expense in Philadelphia provided for its adoption "in its most complete character."⁴⁸

The success of monitorial schools in Philadelphia City and County, which became the "First School District" of the state under a law passed in 1818, was the subject of considerable comment in the newspapers and journals of the day. A state system was proposed in North Carolina but not adopted by the legislature. Maryland provided for a state system in 1826 but abandoned the idea soon after. Outside Massachusetts scarcely a voice was raised to question Clinton's words spoken in 1809 which were prophetic of the general attitude toward the system for the succeeding twenty years or more.

His [Lancaster's] tree of knowledge is indeed transplanted to a more fertile soil and a more congenial clime. It has flourished with uncommon vigor and beauty; its luxuriant and wide-spreading branches afford shelter to all who require it; its ambrosial fragrance fills the land, and its head reaches the heavens!⁴⁹

The plan developed by Lancaster provided for the collection of as many as a thousand children in one schoolroom, the sorting of these children into groups of approximately equal attainment, the seating of the children in rows of six to ten, and the assignment of a previously taught boy to instruct each group. There were monitors to take attendance, monitors to teach the various subjects, monitors to keep order, monitors to care for equipment, and monitors in charge of monitors. This high degree of organization extended also to the course of study and the teaching procedures. Lancaster turned out numerous publications outlining exact procedures.⁵⁰ He had worked out the lessons in the most minute detail.

The mechanical aspects of the system extended to the disciplining of the pupils. Lancaster abhorred the use of the rod more, perhaps,

⁴⁸ *Report of the Committee on Public Schools to the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy*, p. 10. Read at its Meeting, on November 10, 1817. Philadelphia: Printed for the Society, 1817.

⁴⁹ De Witt Clinton, Address to the Free School Society, New York, 1809, as quoted in Reigart, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ Joseph Lancaster, *Hints and Directions for Building, Fitting Up, and Arranging School Rooms on the British System of Education*. London, England: Printed by the author, 1809; Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education; Abridged: Containing a Complete Epitome, of the System of Education, Invented and Practiced by the Author*. London: Printed by the author, 1808.

than many of his disciples, but he designed a carefully organized system of rewards and punishments, including the use of placards, shackles, and yokes. He also suggested that children be suspended from the roof in baskets or be left tied up in blankets in the school-room overnight to reflect on their misdeeds. However, the mechanical activity, the obedience to rules engendered by the system, and the pervading air of mild militarism were not entirely bad in a day when, it is reported, three hundred schools were closed in one state in a single year because teachers could not manage the unruly pupils.

The beneficial results of the Lancasterian or monitorial system have been enumerated at length. It helped awaken an interest in education. It presented an organized scheme of classification and promotion. It pointed to the need of teacher-training. The work of the teacher was made more dignified. Above all, its cheapness made possible some training for thousands of children who would, otherwise, have had less or none. Also, through the use of the system some communities were gradually led to assume the expense of public education. On the other hand, the "spell of Lancaster . . . hindered all reform movements. Pestalozzian methods . . . were cast in the Lancasterian mould. The imparting of information rather than training in observation and eliciting of thought became the aim." The maintenance of the system became the main end of its sponsors in many cities. In the words of the secretary of the Public School Society, the constant aim of the trustees was "to preserve, in all its integrity, a scheme of popular education rendered eminently honorable by the names of distinguished men who had been interested in it from its inception, and to hand it down to their successors in a form massive and enduring, and as faultless as practical wisdom, enlightened philanthropy, and liberal endowment could make it."⁵¹

The failure of the system of monitorial instruction to make greater headway in Boston was not due, as has been suggested, to that city's complacency and dislike of the unorthodox; Boston had already had a wide experience with a better system. There it was generally conceded that the plan might be well adapted to those cases "where the object was to confer a very limited degree of instruction, at the least possible expense, to those entirely ignorant." Continuing the argument, the *Boston Advertiser* stated:

⁵¹ Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-28.

It will be found on examination, to be principally in use in the most unenlightened and uneducated parts of Europe, as a means of giving a degree of knowledge, preferable only to total ignorance. In New York, there are about 12000 children who attend no school whatever. It is not strange, then, that any thing which has the appearance of instruction, should there be considered as success.⁵²

This statement is a fair evaluation of the system, whose only real virtue was that it reduced the costs of instruction. Lancaster at one time expressed the hope of being able to reduce the cost to four shillings per pupil per year and to complete the education of a majority of the children in twelve months. His system did stimulate a widespread interest in popular education, but it soon outlived its usefulness and became a hindrance to the healthy development of universal education at public expense.

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL AGENCIES

This period of cautious movement in the direction of public support of education and of intensified philanthropic effort was also characterized by a continued emphasis on denominational schools and a marked expansion of private educational agencies. At the elementary level, the various denominations, especially in the Middle Atlantic states, maintained numerous parochial schools. Private elementary schools were also fairly numerous. Even in New England private schools were commonly patronized by those who could afford it, and the once highly regarded public schools were beginning to take on something of a pauper taint. As one well-informed contemporary put it in commenting upon the lower schools of New England:

The country schools are every where degraded. They stand low even in the estimation of their warmest friends. It is thought a mean thing for a man of competent estate, or for any but the mechanic, the artisan, or the laborer, to send their children to them for their education.⁵³

⁵² As quoted in "Monitorial Instruction," *American Journal of Education*, III (May, 1828), 314.

⁵³ *Remarks upon Mr Carter's Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers*, p. 9. Boston: Bowles & Dearborn, 1827.

It was, however, in the field of secondary education that private schools thrived most vigorously. Each year saw the private or semi-private academy take on increased importance. In higher education, the denominational college maintained a pre-eminent position which, as we have already seen, was being challenged by the rise of state institutions.

THE RISE OF ACADEMIES

Although it has been customary to date the academy movement in America from the establishment of Franklin's academy in Philadelphia near the middle of the eighteenth century, it has been generally recognized that somewhat similar schools had been in existence long before and that many schools known as academies could not have been readily distinguished from these earlier institutions.⁶⁴ By the beginning of the national period academies were to be found throughout the entire nation. By 1820, or before, they provided almost exclusively the opportunities for instruction at the secondary level. These schools, to a considerable degree, took the place of the old town grammar schools in New England, and great numbers of them sprang up in all sections of the country.

The academies were a product of the age. While the country was new and the vast majority of people were forced to bend every effort to the task of carving a precarious foothold on the edge of three thousand miles of wilderness, the Latin grammar school had provided, more or less satisfactorily, preliminary classical education for a small select number of youth who sought admission to Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, and other colonial colleges. The Latin grammar schools had served primarily the interest of the upper class, of youth who looked forward to entering the professions or to taking their place in the ranks of planters or merchants. But gradually, as the frontier was pushed westward, a new kind of social and economic life evolved and a growing middle class emerged. Young persons other than prospective ministers and the sons of planters and merchants began to manifest an interest in obtaining education beyond that provided in the dame school, the old-field school, or the reading and writing school. Moreover, they wanted an education more practical than that offered in the Latin schools which

⁶⁴ Examples are the Free School at Charleston, South Carolina, established in 1712 and the Public School of New York, established in 1732.

were still dominated by classical tradition and religious purpose. As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, private teachers began to meet the needs of the rising middle class by offering instruction in surveying, navigation, modern languages, mathematics, and a great variety of subjects. The Latin schools were unable to adapt themselves to the needs of the rising middle class. This failure to adjust to new needs was not wholly the result of inability to break with the traditional curriculum. In fact, a number of Latin schools did materially modernize their curricula. Perhaps the real reason why Latin schools were unable to adjust to the new demands on secondary education is to be found in their method of support. Latin grammar schools, particularly in New England where they were most numerous, were town schools, and were supported, in large measure, out of town funds. The establishment of a sufficient number of secondary schools to provide the training demanded by the new clientele probably would have required more funds than could have been made available under existing and acceptable plans of taxation. Certainly such a program would have resulted in a tax burden which would have been intolerable to a people not yet convinced that education beyond the merest rudiments was a function of the state and a legitimate charge upon government.

The academies, however, were, in the light of contemporary theory and practice, generously supported. State, county, and town governments encouraged the establishment of these institutions. They were given rights and immunities under state charters. Their properties were generally made exempt from taxation. They were privileged to receive endowments and to raise money by subscription and quite often by lottery. They were sometimes given the receipts from the sale of confiscated lands and certain types of fees collected by state offices. In Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and other states, they received aid in the form of money grants. For example, ten academies in New York received, in 1793, amounts ranging from \$215 to \$515. In 1828, fifty academies received nearly \$10,000 pro-rated at about \$6.12 per student enrolled in the classical or higher English courses.⁵⁵ Land grants were made to the acad-

⁵⁵ "Abstract of Reports Made for 1828 to the Regents of the University of Academies Incorporated by Them or Subject to Their Supervision," compiled from *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York at Their Fifty-Second Session*, January 6, 1829, in Ernest Everett Piper, "The American Academy to 1800," pp. 51-56. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1915.

emies in several states. By 1800, twenty-four academies in Kentucky had each been endowed with six thousand acres of land and permission had been granted to twenty-three of them to raise one thousand dollars by subscription or lottery. In other states academies received funds from varied sources: state aid, endowments, gifts, subscriptions, and tuition.

Some academies were established as private stock companies; many sprang from the generosity of wealthy donors; a considerable number were founded by churches and religious organizations. Among the religious groups, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, noted for their favorable attitude toward education and for their insistence upon an educated ministry, were particularly active in founding and maintaining academies. Many such institutions originated as strictly private ventures. An enterprising teacher sought out a likely location, provided himself with a schoolroom, and solicited the patronage of the neighborhood. All schools, chartered or unchartered, whether aided by the state, sponsored by a religious denomination, or established by an individual, were tuition schools. All who attended were expected to pay, except those who were received on scholarships which were set aside, particularly in the state-aided schools, for the poor.

The states generally exercised little control over the organization and management of academies. Chartered institutions were usually under the control of boards of trustees which possessed corporate powers and were, in the main, self-perpetuating. In some instances, certain requirements with respect to such matters as the subjects taught, the location, and the number of free places reserved for the poor had to be satisfied before institutions became eligible for state aid. But, for the most part, they were permitted the greatest freedom. Not bound by tradition, they provided instruction to girls at the secondary level as well as in the common branches. Sometimes separate institutions were established for girls, but quite often they were instructed in "female departments" of co-educational academies. Instances in which boys and girls, except the very youngest, were taught in mixed classes are, however, difficult to find. The practice may not have been uncommon in some of the smaller one-teacher institutions. Each academy was, within limits, free to develop in its own way. In the field of the curriculum particularly there were few restrictions.

Whatever else may be said of the academies, they were in accord with the developing spirit of American democracy. They were, however, tuition schools and therefore closed to many children. In describing the conditions of education in Massachusetts in 1824, Carter forcefully called attention to their shortcomings in this respect:

The decline of popular education among us, or rather the comparatively retrograde motion of the principal means of it, has been more perceptible, during the last twenty or thirty years, than it ever was at any former period. And in the meantime, there has sprung up another class of schools, more respectable, indeed, in their character, and better answering the demands of a portion of the public, but not free. The academics are *public*, but not *free* schools. They are open to the whole community, under certain conditions. But those conditions exclude nineteen-twentieths of the people from participating in the advantages which they are designed to afford.⁸⁶

The academies were largely independent of the colleges, and although they usually provided a preparatory course, they sought to give a substantial education to students whether they wished to go to college or not. They were therefore able to enter the neglected field of education for women. As the number of elementary schools increased, academies were called upon to assume a teacher-training function, which they did with reasonable success. When the history of the academy movement is adequately written, the contribution of these institutions to American education will loom large.

THE GROWTH OF DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES

Despite the rise of a considerable number of state colleges and universities, higher education continued to be dominated by private and denominational institutions. Most of the approximately fifty new colleges established between 1780 and 1829 belonged to this class. The expanding number of new colleges marked a tendency to popularize higher education, but even so, private and public colleges alike continued to be extremely selective. They administered to the needs of a very small part of the population. Cubberley has reproduced figures on attendance which indicate that in 1815 the graduating classes numbered, at Harvard, 66; Yale, 69; Pennsylvania, 15; South Carolina, 37; Princeton, 40; and Williams, 40.⁸⁷ Table 1

⁸⁶ Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁸⁷ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 114.

TABLE 1. GRADUATES OF SELECTED COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES,
1823-1827*

Colleges	Graduates in 1823	Graduates in 1824	Graduates in 1825	Graduates in 1826	Graduates in 1827
Waterville College.....	3	3	3	3	14
Bowdoin College.....	31	13	37	31	32
Dartmouth College.....	34	28	26	37	38
Vermont University.....	8	9	13	13	14
Middlebury College.....	17	24	16	19	15
Williams College.....	7	15	19	24	31
Amherst College.....	3	17	23	32	23
Harvard College.....	37	67	58	53	47
Brown University.....	27	41	48	27	38
Yale College.....	73	68	68	100	79
Union College.....	67	79	62	71	68
Hamilton College.....	34	17	23	28	23
Columbia College.....	29	22	21	24	34
Princeton College.....	36	47	38	29	28
Dickinson College.....	10	24	19	14	22
University of Pennsylvania	23	14	14	8	15
16 Colleges.....	448	488	488	517	521

* Data for the first four years are taken from an article, "View of Colleges in the United States," *American Journal of Education*, I (November, 1826), 692. The article gives the *New York Observer* as its authority. The figures for 1827 are taken from an article, "Colleges in the United States," *American Journal of Education*, III (January, 1828), 63-66. The *Richmond Visitor* is given as the source.

indicates that, omitting South Carolina for which the later figures are not available,⁵⁸ these colleges which had a total of 230 graduates in 1815 graduated only two hundred in 1827.

Other evidence reveals the relatively small enrollment in colleges during this period. In 1826, the *New York Observer* estimated that the 488 graduates of sixteen colleges represented two thirds of the whole number of graduates in the entire United States.⁵⁹ Two years later the *Richmond Visitor*, on the basis of the number of graduates reported for the same sixteen plus nine additional colleges and universities, estimated that the total for all the colleges in the United

⁵⁸ According to Edwin L. Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, pp. 432, 437, there were enrolled 114 students in 1827. Thirteen of them graduated, twenty-four seniors were expelled.

⁵⁹ "View of Colleges in the United States," *American Journal of Education*, I (November, 1826), 692.

States was not less than eight hundred. The whole number of students enrolled was estimated at something over 3200.⁶⁰

CHANGES IN THE CURRICULUM

During the fifty years following the Revolution the curriculum at all levels underwent considerable expansion and enrichment in response to the changing conditions of American society. In the elementary schools the teaching of spelling and reading was materially improved by the publication of new texts by Noah Webster and Caleb Bingham. Webster's famous "blue-backed" speller, published in 1783, soon supplanted the New England Primer as a school text. The teaching of arithmetic was also popularized by the appearance of new texts by Nicholas Pike (1788) and Warren Colburn (1821). The publication of Lindley Murray's *Grammar* in 1795 and of Caleb Bingham's *The Young Lady's Accidence* of about the same date did much to make English grammar a common-school subject. Morse's *Elements of Geography* (1795) and Goodrich's *A History of the United States* (1822) stimulated the introduction of these subjects in the elementary schools. It should be pointed out, however, that these new subjects — grammar, geography, and history — were added slowly. Outside the cities it was a long time before the enrichment provided by them affected the education of any considerable number of children.

Changes in the curriculum at the secondary level were especially significant. The curricula of the academies, designed to meet the needs of an upsurging middle class, were extremely flexible. The academies, like the Latin grammar schools before them, prepared students for college, but they also provided education to an increasing number of youth to whom a college education was not attractive or was too expensive and time-consuming. A single academy might offer as many different subjects as were demanded by the students. In 1828, the Albany Academy offered Latin, Greek, English grammar, geography, Kane's criticism, algebra, descriptive geometry, engineering, natural philosophy, trigonometry, rhetoric, Roman antiquities, Euclid, surveying, French, United States history, bookkeeping, mapping, physical geography, Grecian antiquities, composition,

⁶⁰ "Colleges in the United States," *American Journal of Education*, III (January, 1828), 65-66.

and declamation. This course of study, less comprehensive than those of some less pretentious contemporary institutions, was perhaps more extensive than those of earlier academies. However, an examination of the curricula of nineteen academies (all in New York) of the last half of the eighteenth century reveals that Latin was offered in all of them; Greek in eighteen; English grammar in eleven; geometry, arithmetic, and geography in ten; writing in nine; logic in seven; and reading, oratory, composition, mathematics, surveying, navigation, trigonometry, and philosophy in more than three and fewer than seven. Twenty-two other subjects, including French, algebra, history, astronomy, commerce, music, and dramatics were taught in one or two of the institutions. During the next half century, many new subjects appeared. Kandel states that one hundred new subjects were introduced in New York alone between 1826 and 1840. The report made in 1828 to the Regents of the University of the State of New York on academies incorporated by them, or subject to their visitation, reveals that in that year approximately fifty subjects were offered in the fifty academies of the state which received state aid. Latin, Greek, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic were offered in each of the fifty; algebra, composition, and declamation in forty; natural philosophy in thirty-five; rhetoric and philosophy in thirty-two; surveying in thirty; bookkeeping in twenty-eight; United States history in twenty-five; French in nineteen; chemistry in eighteen; logic in sixteen; astronomy in thirteen; and about thirty other subjects in twelve or fewer institutions. In comparing these offerings with those of the eighteenth-century academies, Piper has noted the increasing popularity of history and the scientific subjects. An examination of other courses of study of the period indicates that the subjects taught in the New York academies were typically those offered by better types of academies elsewhere.

Although there were numerous examples of well-staffed schools, probably a majority of them were one-teacher institutions, and certainly a relatively small number had more than two instructors. In most academies located in small villages and the open country, a single teacher held forth in all the common branches plus as many higher studies as his students requested and his own scholastic attainments permitted. Some, no doubt, restricted themselves to a more highly specialized curriculum. The Derby Academy, located

in Hingham, Massachusetts, was probably more nearly typical of the academies found in the more settled areas. An account of this school appearing in 1826, described its course and organization:

The number of instructors is three; the preceptor, preceptress, and her assistant. . . .

The present number of male scholars is thirty-eight. . . . The number of females in winter is about forty, in summer forty to fifty five. . . . Females may enter the institution and stay at pleasure; males not intended for college, at twelve years of age; if for college, younger at discretion. The studies . . . are "for males, the Latin, Greek, English, and French languages, and the sciences of Mathematics and Geography; and for females, writing, and the English and French languages, Arithmetic, and the art of needlework in general." To these may be added reading, orthography, history, rhetoric, philosophy, astronomy, and composition. . . .

About two fifths of the male scholars are not classed, except in reading. These are such as enter the institution for the purpose of attending almost exclusively to one object of study, in arithmetic, navigation, or surveying, for example. The scholars are . . . admitted at any time . . . and for as short a period as three months.

There has been very little use of corporal punishment in the institution. . . .

The institution is supported, principally, by funds furnished by Mrs. Derby. . . .⁶¹

There were, of course, among the academies, many that were competently staffed, well-organized, and offering work in some subjects not inferior to that of many higher institutions. The Round Hill School, staffed by twelve instructors, described in 1826, in the *American Journal of Education*, must have been one of these:

The whole number of boys at the school is one hundred and twelve. Of these thirty-three pursue the study of Greek in seven classes. . . .

There are ninety-five who pursue the study of Latin, in twelve classes. . . .

One hundred and ten attend to French, in thirteen classes. . . .

Fifty-four learn the Spanish, for which are arranged in ten classes. . . .

In the two German classes there are twelve. . . .

⁶¹ "Derby Academy, Hingham, Massachusetts," *American Journal of Education*, I (July, 1826), 433.

A small class in the Italian language has just been formed.

The whole number pursue mathematical studies in thirteen regular classes, of which six are engaged with Arithmetic, and the rest have courses in Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and the Application of Algebra to Geometry.

The English Language is made a subject of study to all. Exercises in Grammar, Reading, Declamation, and Writing . . . constitute the course.

For English Grammar and Composition the school is divided into two parts. . . .

For reading the School is divided into sixteen classes. . . .

Besides these regular classes, there are several which are organized for the furtherance of particular views. . . .⁶²

During this period the college curriculum also underwent a considerable change. At the end of the colonial period the colleges confined their efforts, in the main, to providing instruction in Latin; Greek; Hebrew; mathematics, including elementary arithmetic, algebra, geometry, conic sections, and the arithmetic of infinities; philosophy; and very elementary aspects of science.⁶³ Soon after the Revolution, however, forces that have already been discussed contributed greatly to accelerating the expansion of the scope of the college curriculum and rendering it more practical in the light of contemporary needs. Divinity continued, however, to be its crowning glory. A surprisingly large part of the college graduates entered the ministry far into the national period. Latin and Greek retained their position of importance throughout the entire period, but the scope of instruction in mathematics and the sciences was extended. Physics, chemistry, and mineralogy took form from natural philosophy. Modern languages were made regular subjects of instruction in an increasing number of institutions. Political economy was introduced at William and Mary and other colleges. John Quincy Adams, at Harvard in 1806, became, said the *Salem Gazette*, the "first professor of Rhetorick and Oratory which New England has ever known."⁶⁴ When the University of Virginia opened for instruction in 1825, it offered a program of courses which fully represented the development that had taken place in the college curricu-

⁶² "Round Hill School," *American Journal of Education*, I (July, 1826), 437-38.

⁶³ See Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 116. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934 (new edition).

⁶⁴ *Salem Gazette*, June 20, 1806, as quoted in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

lum during the preceding hundred years. This program provided instruction in the ancient languages; modern languages, including French, Spanish, Italian, Anglo-Saxon, and, if required, Danish, Swedish, "Hollandish," and Portuguese; mathematics, including architecture; "physico-mathematics," including astronomy; physics, chemistry, and mineralogy; botany and zoölogy; anatomy and medicine; government; municipal law; and ideology, including ethics, rhetoric, and fine arts.⁶⁵ The solution of the problem arising from the multiplicity of courses was attempted by the introduction, for the first time in an American college, of the elective system. Another recourse was the establishment of special types of schools.

The expanding scope of instruction had necessitated separating divinity from the regular college course. Several professional schools of divinity were established in connection with existing colleges and before the end of the period several theological seminaries were founded, three before 1800. Medicine and law developed slowly. The first medical school was established in connection with the College of Philadelphia in 1765; King's Medical School was founded in 1767; the Harvard Medical School was organized in 1782; instruction in medicine was given in Dartmouth in 1797; the College of Medicine of Maryland and the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York were established in 1807; the Medical Institution of Yale College, chartered in 1810, was opened in 1813; and several other institutions were established before the close of the period. The instruction given in all institutions was meager and, in some, extremely poor. For a long time to come, the practice of medicine was to be learned in the main by "reading" under the direction of practicing physicians. Early instruction in law was offered at William and Mary (1779), Pennsylvania (1790), Columbia (1797), and Transylvania (1799). A law faculty was organized in the University of Maryland in 1812 and a law school was opened at Harvard in 1817, and, a few years later, at Yale and the University of Virginia. The earliest and most famous of the private law schools was conducted at Litchfield, Connecticut, by practicing lawyers and jurists. Between 1784 and 1833, this school instructed more than one thousand students, among whom were John C. Calhoun, Aaron Burr,

⁶⁵ See Charles F. Thwing and William T. Foster, "The American College," *A Cyclopedia of Education*, II, 64-65. Edited by Paul Monroe. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1911.

Horace Mann, and other persons destined to become important public figures. Higher technical education which may be said to have begun with the establishment of the United States Military Academy in 1802, as well as agricultural education, is rightfully to be considered in the development of the succeeding period. When the program of higher education in 1825 is compared with that of the colonial period, it is evident that the fundamental changes in the curriculum as well as in the organization of higher education were inevitably influenced by the basic changes which were taking place in society.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 7

1. Account for the rather slow development of education during the three or four decades following the Revolution.
2. Do you think it was fortunate or unfortunate that we did not follow the recommendations of many publicists that we establish a national system of education? Defend your position.
3. What progress had been made toward making education a function of government by 1828?
4. What were the forces making for and retarding the development of education as a state function during the period 1763-1828?
5. Do you think that the efforts to bring private colleges under some degree of state control was justifiable? What, in your opinion, is the proper relation of the state to the private college?
6. Account for the early rise of state universities in the South.
7. Account for the very great emphasis on philanthropy as a means of school support during the early national period.
8. Evaluate the influence of the academy on the development of American education.
9. Show how and to what extent the curriculum was influenced by political, social, and economic developments during the period 1776-1828.

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Chapter 8 The Clash of Economic Interests and the Triumph of Industrial Capitalism, 1828-1860

ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

THE THIRTY-TWO YEARS following the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 were packed full of significant change. The tides of migration swept with increasing volume beyond Illinois and Michigan into Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. Manifest destiny had set its stamp upon these land-hungry Western expansionists and neither plains, nor desert, nor mountains could stop them. Backed by the fur-trading interests in the East and by New England merchants who were already exploiting the commerce of the Pacific, they pushed on into the Oregon country and forced Britain to compromise her claims. No less romantic and no less imperious were the slaveholders of the lower South. They relentlessly drove the Indians from the fertile lands of Georgia and Alabama, took over Texas from Mexico, and extended the cotton kingdom to the banks of the Rio Grande. The Mexican War resulted in the acquisition of New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

This epic of Western expansion meant far more than the annexation of an imperial domain and the reshuffling of people in search of economic and social opportunity. No aspect of American life—political, economic, or cultural—could escape the impact of the ideas, attitudes, and interests which took form as men pushed steadily westward. Men who were now living on what had only recently been the frontier took their places in the political councils of the nation and not infrequently dominated them with characteristic Western imperiousness. Nor did the exploitation of the resources of the great Ohio and Mississippi Valleys have any less influence on the expanding national economy. Most important of all, however, were

the conflicting ideals that emerged with respect to desirable forms of political and social organization. As we shall see later, the cotton planters of the deep South came to repudiate Jeffersonian liberalism. In time, however, the mantle of Jefferson was to fall on the ungainly form of Lincoln of Illinois. In the upper Mississippi basin democratic liberalism found a congenial climate. Here men may not have been deeply devoted to democratic ideals in the abstract as Jefferson and his closest followers had been, but they used democratic principles as a powerful weapon in their battle against the rising capitalistic aristocracy of the East and the slavocracy of the South. In fact these Western farmers and small business men made such telling use of the ideals of democratic liberalism that henceforth men must at all cost give lip service at least to these ideals and appear to make programs of action square with them.

Social and economic revolution was also laying its hand on the Northeast. The old merchant-capitalist class which had held high sway for so long was beating a stubborn retreat in the face of the rising forces of industrial capitalism. A household and domestic economy was giving way to the factory system. Men whose fathers had gone down to the sea in ships and reaped a fortune in far-flung commercial ventures were now searching the fall line of the rivers for factory sites for power-driven machines. The milk was in the corn of a great technological revolution which was finally to sweep aside agrarian opposition and move forward in seven-league strides. In the meantime, factory towns mushroomed overnight in the Northeast, bringing in their wake the exploitation of child and woman labor, poverty and pauperism, juvenile crime and delinquency, bitterness and strikes among workingmen, socialistic experiments, a broad humanitarianism that sought to soften the harshness of the new industrialism, and a demand for public education. Farmers in the East, caught in competition on the one hand with the rising industrialism of the East and on the other with the more prosperous farmers of the West, began to lose a preeminence in American life they were never again to recover. The intellectual leaders of New England were turning from the stern God of their Puritan forebears to the God of love and comradeship of the Unitarians and Transcendentalists. Here was a social order shot through with dynamic change. With each passing year industrial capitalism entrenched itself more securely. It is not strange, in such a society, that public education

should have made a wide appeal. Under its banners were enlisted such diverse elements as agrarians, workingmen, humanitarians, intellectuals, and capitalists. As will be noted later, progress was not so great as has commonly been supposed, but even so, education, like democracy, was on its way to become something to which all men confessed allegiance.

No section of the country was caught in the grip of a more thoroughgoing economic and social revolution than the Southern states. As the demand for cotton to supply the needs of mill owners in both old and New England increased, planters in the South revived a dying plantation and slave system and spread it imperiously from Virginia to Texas. History affords no more romantic and dramatic chapter than that which recounts the rise and fall of the Cotton Kingdom with its millions of slaves, its dream of empire, its aristocratic ways, its ceaseless struggle with the rising forces of Eastern capitalism, its ideal of a Greek democracy, and its vain efforts to defy the rising moral sentiments of the western world. Southern leadership undertook to devise a political order, a social philosophy, and a pattern of cultural arrangements that would conform to the realities of Southern economic life. So long as the planter South was able to hold the allegiance of the West, the other great agrarian interest of the nation, it could prevent the control of the national government from falling into the hands of the industrial capitalists of the East. But the South was facing a force more powerful than the moral sentiment of the western world; it was opposing the advance of technological revolution. And when the Civil War finally came, industrial capitalism was able to unhorse its ancient enemy and to move forward in its conquest of a continent despite the ineffective opposition on the part of agrarian interests.

Enough has been said to make it clear that during the period under consideration the United States was divided into three great competing sections—South, East, and West. Each of these was undergoing an economic and social revolution, each sought to modify its culture to meet the demands of imperious economic forces, and each sought to bend national policy to the protection of its own interests. The development of education during this period, to be understood, must be viewed against the background of economic and social change, of sectional rivalries, of competing ideologies, of the clash of economic interests. Broadly conceived, the

moving forces of the period were not new, they merely represented a continuation of the old struggle between agrarianism and capitalism, between democracy and aristocracy, between common men and the possessors of wealth, power, and prestige. And education then, as always, was in large measure the product of the social order in which it developed. But before taking up the specific educational changes of the period, it will be helpful to examine more carefully the transformations that were taking place in each of the major sections.

THE PLANTER SOUTH: THE BID OF KING COTTON FOR POWER

The South over which Jefferson Davis assumed the presidency was a far different South from that which had sent Thomas Jefferson to Washington in 1800. The invention of machinery for the spinning, weaving, and ginning of cotton and the consequent growth of cotton mills in England and New England had the effect of disrupting the economic life of the South and of establishing it on a new basis. In the early nineteenth century tobacco and rice were still the great staple crops, but nature had set narrow limits within which rice could be cultivated and the demand for tobacco was not such as to make it the basis of support of a far-flung planter aristocracy. In the eastern counties of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and to some extent in what had been the back country before the Revolution, one could still find large plantations worked by numerous slaves. But most Southern whites were not slave-owners and it appeared that the small farmers of western Virginia and the Carolina piedmont would carry their system of small holdings into Kentucky and Tennessee and into the virgin lands of the deep South. True aristocrats there were in Virginia and South Carolina, but one could not travel far to the westward without encountering small farmers who were deeply devoted to democratic ways. Slavery in Virginia was no longer highly profitable. Indeed, many felt that it was not profitable at all. Moreover, Jefferson and many of the Virginia squirearchy had drunk more deeply at the springs of French humanitarian liberalism than any other group in America. To them the Declaration of Independence was more than a political platform; the principles of democratic liberalism were more than a weapon to be used in defense of one's own special interest. They

did what men seldom do: they accepted the principles of democracy as a program of broad social action. True, Jefferson and other Virginia aristocrats were owners of slaves, but the system under them was highly patriarchal. What was more important, most people in the South regarded slavery as doomed to extinction and few could be found who would defend it as a positive good. Jefferson sought to overthrow it until his dying day. He almost succeeded: in 1831, a few years after his death, the legislature of Virginia seriously considered a plan of emancipation and the measure failed in the committee to which it was referred by only a single vote. This near did the Old Dominion come to the realization of the dream of its great leader.¹

Already, however, the economic life of the South was responding to the dynamics of a new force. Broad acres planted in cotton were infusing new life into the system of slavery and causing many to have new dreams of wealth and position. In 1820, the cotton crop amounted to no more than 160,000,000 pounds, but each decade thereafter until 1860 the amount produced doubled or tripled, reaching a total of 2,200,000,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War.² Practically the whole natural increase of population, white and black, of the older settled South was moving into the cotton belt, which in time was to extend from North Carolina to eastern Texas and up the lower reaches of the Mississippi Valley. Men who had been small farmers "back home" in the Carolinas or Georgia were soon to become the masters of a hundred slaves and owners of plantations in the rich river bottoms of Alabama and Mississippi. Many planters in Virginia who found it no longer profitable to grow tobacco on exhausted soil sold their land for whatever it would bring and joined the migration to the cotton country. First families in Charleston, if they did not themselves move into the Southeast, frequently invested their surplus capital in slaves and plantations in Mississippi and Louisiana. Here in the deep South King Cotton ruled over a veritable El Dorado where men of ambition and intelligence were making fabulous fortunes in the course of a few years. Nor were Southerners the only ones who joined in this exploitation of Negro slaves and a fertile soil. Shortly before the Civil War no

¹ William E. Dodd, *Statesmen of the Old South*, p. 80. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1911.

² Chester W. Wright, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 370. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941.

less than a hundred ships of New York registry were engaged in the illegal business of supplying Southern planters with slaves fresh from Africa. Not a few Northerners also migrated to the South and became slave and plantation owners, among them Sargent Prentiss from distant Maine, who is said to have received fifty thousand dollars as a lawyer's fee in a single case. Others who remained in the North invested surplus capital in cotton lands and Negroes or married into wealthy Southern families. The Barnwells of South Carolina and the Roosevelts of New York were closely linked by family ties, and Douglas, the Little Giant of Illinois, married a North Carolina heiress who numbered her slaves by the scores.

It must not be supposed, however, that all white Southerners came to be large slave holders and the owners of large plantations. Most Southerners remained small farmers, owning no slaves at all, or at the most, only three or four. (Table 2.)

Gray summarizes the situation in 1860 as follows:

. . . in 1860 half the people of the South were slaves or members of slaveholding families. In the border States less than two fifths of the people were slaves and slaveholders, but in the lower South they were nearly two thirds. In the South as a whole only a little more than one fourth of the free population belonged to slaveholding families. Even in the lower South the population comprised in such families was only a little over a third of the entire free population, and in the border states only one fifth. . . .

In 1860 the plantation population (persons connected with families holding ten or more slaves) was only 7.4 per cent of the total free population; in the border States 4.7, and in the lower South 12.1. . . .

If we consider the large, or upper class, planters as those with 50 or more slaves, the number of holdings included in 1860 was 10,993, comprising 0.75 per cent of the total free population, but owning more than a fourth of all slaves. In 1860, only one slaveholding reported more than 1000 slaves. It was located in South Carolina. There were 14 holdings of 500 and under 1000, nearly all in South Carolina and Louisiana, and 74 holdings of 300 and under 500. The total number of holdings of 100 or more was 2358.

What we may call the middle-class planters, those with from 10 to 50 slaves each numbered 99,895. About two thirds of them had under 20 slaves, and more than two fifths under 15. The entire group of middle-class planters comprised about 6.6 per cent of the

free population, but controlled approximately one half of the entire slave population.³

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF SLAVE POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION, SLAVEHOLDING POPULATION TO TOTAL FREE POPULATION, AND COMBINED SLAVE AND SLAVEHOLDING POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION, 1860^{*}

States	Per Cent of Slave Population to Total Population	Per Cent of Slaveholding Population to Total Free Population	Per Cent of Combined Slave and Slaveholding Population to Total Population
Alabama	45.1	35.1	64.4
Arkansas	25.5	19.4	40.0
Delaware	1.6	2.9	4.5
Florida	44.0	36.0	64.1
Georgia	43.7	38.0	65.1
Kentucky	19.5	22.8	37.9
Louisiana	46.9	32.2	64.0
Maryland	12.7	12.6	23.7
Mississippi	55.2	48.0	76.7
Missouri	9.7	12.5	21.0
North Carolina	33.4	28.8	52.5
South Carolina	57.2	48.7	78.1
Tennessee	24.8	24.3	43.1
Texas	30.2	28.5	50.1
Virginia	30.7	25.9	48.7
Southern States	32.3	26.1	50.0
Border States	22.3	20.8	38.5
Lower South	44.8	35.6	64.5

^{*} Adapted from Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, I, 482. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933.

Economic power in the South came to be highly centralized. In 1850 a thousand families in the cotton states "received over \$50,000,000 a year, while all the remaining 666,000 families received only about \$60,000,000."⁴ With wealth came political control and social prestige. In all important matters of public policy — local, state, and national — small farmers and poor whites alike looked to the great statesmen of the South for guidance and leadership. The

³ Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, I, 481-83. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933.

⁴ William E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, p. 24. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

planter economy required that certain national policies be kept in force which meant that the South must control the national government. In any event, the control of the government must not be permitted to fall entirely into the hands of the industrial East, the South's great economic antagonist.

The planter aristocracy saw clearly the economic foundations of the state. Consequently, they formulated a clearcut political program and pushed it relentlessly to its logical conclusion. The Constitution must be so construed as to make it a shield for the protection of slavery and to justify the right of secession in case such a measure became necessary. There must be no high protective tariffs which would lay tribute on Southern planters in the interest of Eastern manufacturers. The federal government must not launch upon a program of internal improvements because this might lead to a policy of broad construction of the Constitution and to a demand for a protective tariff to supply the necessary funds. The western lands, the great public domain, must not be given away to the prospective settlers because this might create an economy of small farmers whose interests would probably conflict with those of the South. And finally, the national government must adopt an expansionist program to acquire new lands for Southern planters. The acquisition of Texas and California from Mexico was not enough. In the fifties, Southern leaders were casting covetous eyes on Cuba, Mexico itself, and on the republics of Central America. Here was an ambitious program grounded firmly on the rock of economic realism. To carry it into effect there must be no division in the ranks of the Southern people. They must be brought to act as a unit, to share common ideals, to have the same deep loyalties. As we shall see later, Southern leaders were shaping educational policy to make it conform to their broader strategy. But it would not be enough to have a solid South. Political support must come from one of the other great sections, the capitalistic East or the farmer West. Not a few financial and commercial leaders in the East gave their support to Southern interests and a considerable number of small farmers in that region still voted the Democratic ticket, unaware that the party of Jefferson and Jackson had become the organ of vested interests. Even so, the industrial East was the great protagonist against which the South was girding its loins. Since the farmer West held the balance of power, the success of the

South depended on holding the West in line. This it was able to do during most of the time from Jackson to Lincoln.

During the four years preceding 1860 Southern leaders were proudly confident. The President in the White House, though a Northern man, was subservient to their interests; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was the master mind of the cabinet; the Supreme Court was under their control and consistently interpreted the Constitution to their liking; and the Democratic party commanded a majority in Congress. In the South itself opinion was united in defense of the existing social order. A system of education was evolving designed to socialize youth in terms of existing institutional arrangements. The volume of cotton produced within the decade was to double, while tobacco and sugar were still substantial crops. Four million slaves were laboring in the fields. The three great crops of cotton, tobacco, and sugar were worth about \$300,000,000 annually,⁵ a sum only slightly less than the output of the iron, cotton, and wool manufacturers of the East.⁶ The South was furnishing about two thirds of the exports of the nation, although the great volume of these goods was billed through Northern ports.⁷

But the bid of the planter economy for national dominance was about to fail. As we shall see a little later on, the contest for economic power was being won by the industrial East and its demands could no longer be compromised. By 1860, the East had become the great manufacturing, financial, and shipping center of the nation.

When Lincoln was inaugurated, the capital invested in industries, railways, commerce, and city property exceeded in dollars and cents the value of all the farms and plantations between the Atlantic and the Pacific—a fact announcing at last the triumph of industry over agriculture. The iron, boots, shoes, and leather goods that poured annually from the northern mills alone surpassed in selling price all the cotton grown in southern fields.⁸

The South produced no great financial and manufacturing institutions of its own. It relied on the North to market its agricultural products abroad and to supply it with manufactured goods. And in the process much of the wealth created on Southern plantations re-

⁵ William E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 194. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁸ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, 635. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

mained in Northern pockets in the form of profits, tariffs, freight charges, commissions, and interest. In reality the South had become a colony of the industrial North. Nor were Southern leaders ignorant of the fact. One of them, speaking before a Southern commercial convention to promote railroads and manufactures, asked:

How much does the North receive from us annually in the support of her schools and her colleges, her editors, her authors and her clergy, her Saratogas and her Newports? . . . I think it would be safe to estimate the amount which is lost to us annually by our vassalage to the North at one hundred million dollars. Great God! Does Ireland sustain a more degrading relation to Great Britain? Will we not throw off this humiliating dependence, and act for ourselves? What a country would be the South, could we retain this money at home — What ships and navies we should have — What dense and metropolitan and magnificent cities — What manufacturing establishments. . . . What schools and colleges, in which our sons should be reared to fidelity to their native South? ⁹

The South was losing the contest with the East for economic supremacy, and at the same time its political alliance with the West was becoming more tenuous. When the Republican party came into power and was skillfully made the carrier of the economic interests of both the industrial East and the agricultural West, and when its great leader rallied the really democratic forces of the nation by taking seriously again the principles of Jefferson, the South was isolated. It chose secession and the great Civil War was to be fought to decide whether America was to be ruled by agrarian or capitalistic interests.

The spread of slavery and the plantation system, after about 1825, produced a new social philosophy in the South. With \$100,000,000 ¹⁰ invested in slaves, Virginia planters had never been quite able to bring themselves to square facts with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and when slavery became more profitable around 1825 men began to turn from the "humanitarian idealism" of Jefferson to the "economic realism" of Calhoun.¹¹ The

⁹ Herbert Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859*, pp. 84-85. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930.

¹⁰ Andrew C. McLaughlin, William E. Dodd, Marcus Wilson Jernegan, and Arthur P. Scott, *Source Problems in United States History*, p. 389. New York: Harper & Bros., 1918.

¹¹ Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II: *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860*, p. 61. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

voice of the apologists for slavery grew still and men began to assert boldly that the institution was a positive good, divinely sanctioned, and basic to the highest form of civilized life. Thomas R. Dew, a professor at William and Mary and only recently returned from study in Germany, was the first to formulate an able defense of slavery. Chief Justice John Marshall and John Randolph also lent the weight of their great names to the defense of the South's peculiar institution. Chancellor William Harper, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, came forward with a treatise even more forceful in its arguments than that produced by Dew. Calhoun, who had grown up as a boy in back-country South Carolina, where slavery was unpopular, now became its ablest spokesman. Lesser men everywhere — lawyers, ministers, and college professors — were its ardent supporters.

Slavery, it was asserted, had the sanction of divine authority. It was in conformity with natural law. Said Harper:

It is the order of nature and of God that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature that men should enslave each other as that animals should prey upon each other.¹²

Servitude, moreover, was the essential basis of all great civilizations, as the history of the past clearly revealed. Was not the greatness of Athens, they argued, the product of slave labor? And finally, as Calhoun employed the logic of his great mind to prove, did not the Constitution of the United States give the slaveholder legal protection to his property? Thus the defense of slavery stood four-square: it had the authority of the Bible behind it, it was in harmony with the law of nature, it had the support of history, and it had the sanction of the supreme law of the land. Moreover, it was profitable.

The social philosophy of the South, however, embraced far more than a mere defense of slavery; it laid the theoretical base of a well-articulated social order. Southern leaders repudiated outright the principles of democracy as they had developed in America and as they had taken concrete form in the Declaration of Independence, and they embraced with ardor and conviction the principles of aristocracy. As George Fitzhugh put it, the Declaration of Inde-

¹² McLaughlin, Dodd, Jernegan, and Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

CULTURE IN THE COTTON KINGDOM



Court House, Medical School, and Church, Augusta, Georgia

From Slave States of America, by J. S. Buckingham



Hoing the Young Plants

From Harper's Weekly, February 2, 1867

pendence and the Virginia Bill of Rights were "wholly at war with slavery" and "equally at war with all government, all subordination, all order."¹³ Jefferson was not merely in error, he was "exhuberently false, and arborescently fallacious."¹⁴ Southern society was to consist of three main orders: the upper class of true aristocrats who would have the wealth and the leisure to develop the finest fruits of civilization; a middle order of professional men, yeomen, traders, and mechanics; and at the bottom, Negro slaves — the mudsill of the entire edifice. But the feudalistic principles of Southern social theory were tempered by the presence of the great mass of non-slaveholding whites, men upon whom the frontier had left its stamp and who did not propose to have the door of opportunity closed in their face. Consequently, the Southern social philosophy moved steadily in the direction of a Greek democracy. Although the members of the white race would be divided into social ranks, all would be members of a superior social class and all would profit by the labor of slaves.

SOCIAL THEORY AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

This view that all whites should be regarded as members of a superior ruling caste profoundly affected educational policy and practice. It meant that all whites should be educated at public expense and that they should be brought to accept the basic principles upon which the Southern social order rested.

In the eighteen-forties and fifties, public education was coming to be an important element in the strategy of Southern social policy. An educational renaissance was under way, and it was not, as might be supposed, a mere imitation of a similar movement in the Northern states. It had its own social origin and its own peculiar objectives. By 1860, it had acquired a momentum far greater than has been commonly supposed. The following resolutions adopted at the Southern Commercial Convention held in New Orleans in 1855 reveal something of the spirit in which the program of education was to be carried out:

1. That the convention is gratified to see the several state institutions of the South prosper in the cause of education.
2. That parents and guardians be earnestly recommended to consider that to

¹³ George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South*, p. 175. Richmond, Virginia: A. Morris, Publisher, 1854.

¹⁴ As quoted in Fitzhugh, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

neglect the claims of their own seminaries and colleges, and patronize and enrich those of remote states is fraught with peril to the sacred interests of the South. 3. That governors and legislatures of Southern States be requested to support the establishment of normal schools for the free admission of such persons of both sexes as might wish to become teachers. 4. That the legislatures should encourage the production of Southern books by the offer of suitable prizes to authors. . . . 6. That a committee be appointed to prepare a report on the subject of the book trade of the South.¹⁵

George Fitzhugh, the author of an influential treatise, *Sociology for the South*, also set forth a view on education that was coming to have wide acceptance:

As ours is a government of the people, no where is education so necessary. The poor, too, ask no charity, when they demand universal education. They constitute our militia and our police. They protect men in possession of property, as in other countries; and do much more, they secure men in possession of a kind of property which they could not hold a day but for the supervision and protection of the poor.

Free schools should at once be established in all neighborhoods where a sufficient number of scholars can be collected in one school. Parents should be compelled to send their children to school. The obligation on the part of government, to educate the people, carries with it the indubitable right to employ all the means necessary to attain that end.¹⁶

Educate all Southern whites, employ them, not as cooks, lacqueys, ploughmen, and menials, but as independent freemen should be employed, and let negroes be strictly tied down to such callings as are unbecoming white men, and peace would be established between blacks and whites. The whites would find themselves elevated by the existence of negroes amongst us. Like the Roman citizen, the Southern white man would become a noble and privileged character, and he would then like negroes and slavery, because his high position would be due to them. Poor people can see things as well as rich people. We can't hide the facts from them. It is always better openly, honestly, and fearlessly to meet danger, than to fly from or avoid it. The last words we will utter on this subject are, — The path of safety is the path of duty! Educate the people, no matter what it may cost!¹⁷

¹⁵ Wender, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁶ Fitzhugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

Religious zeal as well as social theory stimulated the development of education, especially at the higher level. Indeed, institutionalized religion, as has often been the case, became an important carrier of social theory. The Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches, essentially Puritan in spirit, had all but supplanted the old Episcopal establishment, and the generous religious sentiments of such men as Jefferson and Doctor Thomas Cooper were giving place to a rigid orthodoxy. Ministers of these evangelical faiths — William A. Smith, Basil Manly, A. M. Poindexter, James P. Boyce, John H. Thornwell, Richard Fuller, Benjamin Palmer — were as zealous in their advocacy of higher education as their spiritual prototypes had been in Massachusetts at an earlier day. These advocates of collegiate training for youth found in the aristocratic South a fruitful field for their labor. The result was the establishment of a number of denominational colleges in all of the Southern states and a state university in most of them. During the decade 1850-60 scarcely a college in the South failed to double its enrollment.¹⁸ Dodd describes the situation with respect to higher education as follows:

Twice as many young men per thousand of the population were in colleges in the lower South or in some of the Eastern institutions as were sent from similar groups in other parts of the country. Eleven thousand students were enrolled in the colleges of the cotton States, while in Massachusetts, with half as many white people as were found in all the cotton states, there were only 1733 college students. Illinois, with a population of 1,712,000, or more than half as many white people, had three thousand young men in her colleges. The income of all the higher institutions of the lower South in 1860 was \$708,000, which represented an increase of more than a hundred per cent over the figures for 1850. The six New England States, with the best public school system in the world outside of Germany and with an accumulated wealth far in excess of that of the cotton region, spent only \$368,469 per year in collegiate education, and their population of 3,235,000 sent only 3748 young men to college.¹⁹

Nor was education at the secondary and elementary levels neglected. Academies appear to have been more numerous in the South than elsewhere, but many institutions which bore this name were in the South as in other sections in reality no more than ele-

¹⁸ Dodd, *Cotton Kingdom*, p. 111.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

mentary schools. Educational leaders, such as Ruffner in Virginia, Wiley in North Carolina, Perry in Alabama, and statesmen like Yancey in Alabama and Brown in Georgia, were creating public sentiment in favor of state support of popular education. The educational system was far from being highly effective, but in both 1850 and 1860 the South was spending more per capita of the free population on education than any other section. The percentage of white children of school age attending school in the South was, however, lower than in other sections. Dodd describes the situation of the cotton states with respect to the support of common schools as follows:

Although the states were not so liberal in their grants to lower schools as to colleges and universities, yet there were 425,600 children in the schools of the cotton States in 1860. This showed that one child in every seven of the white population in the lower South was in school at least for a short term. In the remainder of the country the ratio was one to five or five and a half. In the cotton states \$2,432,000 was expended each year upon common schools and \$1,883,000 in the maintenance of academies and private schools. Comparison with Eastern conditions or with those of the Northwest shows once again that the planters were not far behind in actual performance and that they were in the lead in the ratio of progress.²⁰

THE EAST: THE RISE OF AN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

While the institutional life of the South was being transformed by the spread of cotton culture and the plantation system, a revolution no less important was taking place in the Eastern section of the United States. At the beginning of the national period, the New England and Middle Atlantic states were peopled in the main by small farmers and mechanics, although, as we have seen, political power and the advantages of wealth and social position still rested in large measure in the hands of the great merchants in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other seaboard cities. The nineteenth century was not far advanced, however, before the East was caught in the grip of an industrial revolution that was to bring about a shift in the locus of economic power, create political issues of national import, undermine the position of small farmers, call new social classes into being, change the pattern of social values, and transform the means for cultural and intellectual growth.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

A number of influences stimulated industrial development in the young republic. The breaking of the political ties with England and the War of 1812, with its restrictions on commerce, forced the people of the United States to rely more and more on their own manufacturers. Mechanical inventions which were producing an industrial revolution in England found their way to the United States and were developed and added to by American inventors. The phenomenal increase of population of about 35 per cent each decade — from 9,600,000 in 1820 to 31,400,000 in 1860²¹ — created a rapidly expanding market. And finally, a protective tariff, though not always as high as manufacturers desired, placed American producers at an advantage in competition with foreign rivals.

Household and domestic manufacture was slow, however, to give place to the factory system of production. As late as 1820 about two thirds of all textiles were still produced by domestic industry, and ten years later, taking the nation as a whole, "home still probably outranked factory production in the ratio of four to three."²² As early as 1814, however, the first modern factory in this country had been built at Waltham, Massachusetts, for the making of cotton cloth. Not many years were to pass before New England capitalists were seeking sites for cotton factories wherever water power was available. Industrial cities sprang up along the falls of the Merrimack and in the Fall River district. The consumption of cotton increased from a mere 5,000,000 pounds in 1790 to 423,000,000 in 1860,²³ and New England was the great center of the industry. By 1850, cotton manufacturers were employing nearly a hundred thousand workers and producing goods valued at \$76,000,000.²⁴ Profits of 10 per cent or more a year were not unusual. Samuel Slater, starting as an English emigrant with almost no capital, was able to amass a fortune of \$700,000.²⁵ Woolen mills were also numerous in New England, Pennsylvania, and New York. The value of their product in 1860 was about \$8,000,000.²⁶ The iron industry was confined largely to the valleys of northern rivers — the Hudson, Monon-

²¹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

²² Edward C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life*, p. 327. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1932 (revised edition).

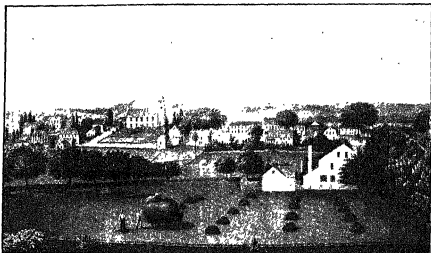
²³ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

²⁴ Kirkland, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

²⁵ Fred Albert Shannon, *America's Economic Growth*, p. 211. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940.

²⁶ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

INDUSTRY COMES TO NEW ENGLAND



View of Windham, Connecticut, in 1815

Courtesy of The New York Historical Society



Pawtucket in 1835

From Memoir of Samuel Slater, by George S. White

gahela, Lehigh, Delaware, Schuylkill. Pennsylvania took the lead in producing the 600,000 tons which represented the nation's output in 1850.

By 1860 an industrial belt had developed much smaller in size but stronger in economic power than the cotton kingdom. Says Dodd:

The East had developed her manufactures beyond all expectation, and the great mill belt stretched from southeastern Maine to New York City, its center of gravity, thence to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and from these cities westward to Pittsburgh. Another belt ancillary to this began in western Massachusetts and extended along the Erie Canal to Buffalo, thence to Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. In these areas, or in the industrial belt as it may be termed, there lived about 4,000,000 mill operatives, whose annual output of wool, iron, and cotton manufactures alone was worth in 1860 \$330,393,000 as compared to the \$58,000,000 of 1830.²⁷

In 1860, the three great Southern crops of tobacco, cotton, and sugar were valued at about \$300,000,000.²⁸ Thus the industrial East was already outdistancing the agricultural South. Moreover, since the Southern planter owned his own labor, the capital investment of the South was markedly greater than that of the East.

Business enterprise in the East was by no means limited to the manufacture of textiles, iron, and other commodities. The shipping of the country was largely concentrated in the hands of Eastern capitalists. The tonnage of the East increased from 500,000 in 1830 to 5,000,000 in 1860.²⁹ Although the South provided far more than half the nation's exports, these goods were carried abroad chiefly in Northern bottoms. Merchants in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other Eastern cities reaped rich profits by supplying Southern planters with a large part of the goods they consumed from abroad or from Northern factories.

It was but natural that Eastern capitalists should seek to tie in the markets of the great agricultural West and South with Middle Atlantic and New England cities through the development of means of transportation. At first canals were employed, but by 1828 railroad rails were being laid. By 1840 almost 2800 miles of railroads threaded Eastern and Southern cities, and during the next decade

²⁷ Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

the mileage was more than tripled. It was not, however, until shortly after 1850 that the railroads extended their lines to tap the rich agricultural markets of the West. By 1860, thirty thousand miles had been built; the industrial East was extending its roads to Chicago and St. Louis and dreaming of spanning the continent to the Pacific. As railroads opened up Eastern markets for the products of Western farms, the West began to shift its political allegiance from the South to the East. In fact, the West was beginning to develop industries of its own and to become a part of an expanding industrial economy.

The East was also the area in which were concentrated the great banking and financial interests of the country. Since Hamilton's day banking had been highly concentrated in the Middle Atlantic and New England states. Around 1830, the East had 414 of the 502 banks of the nation.³⁰ Despite Jackson's attack on the National Bank, Eastern capitalists were able to keep their grip on the financial structure of the country. In 1860, the East had about two thirds of all banking capital; New York alone did a business of some \$7,000,000,000 each year.³¹

Thus, each decade from 1830 to 1860 saw the East become increasingly the center of the nation's industry, its commercial interests, its transportation system, and its financial institutions. As Dodd points out, there was a certain similarity between the cotton belt and the industrial belt. In the one was the plantation, in the other the factory; in the one about 4,000,000 slaves, in the other about 4,000,000 mill operatives.³² The economy of both sections was frankly grounded on the exploitation of labor, but the Southerners claimed that their system of exploitation was the more humane. In the South the principle of aristocracy was frankly accepted and the principles of the Declaration of Independence openly rejected; in the East, an aristocracy of wealth was rising and the prosperous manufacturers and merchants entertained much the same social philosophy as Southern planters. Of this Eastern aristocracy, Professor Schlesinger of Harvard has the following to say:

In the North at the same time a pretentious aristocracy was rapidly establishing itself socially, confined largely to the great cities of the Atlantic seaboard. Men of that section who had made money out of land speculation and the nascent manufacturing industries

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.³² *Ibid.*, chap. x.

were beginning to coalesce into a special caste although as yet there were few millionaires to be found among their number outside of the Astors, the Girards and the Longworthys. Distinguished visitors in America became aware of the growing importance of social distinctions. The English historian, Harriet Martineau, was told much about the "first people" of Boston, New York and Philadelphia when she visited the United States in the thirties; and in the last named city she discovered a sharp social cleavage between the ladies of Arch Street whose fathers had made their own fortunes and the social leaders of Chestnut Street who owed their wealth to their grandfathers. Compared with the corresponding social class in the South, the upper stratum of northern society constituted an upstart aristocracy, based upon fluid capital rather than upon land, and destitute of traditions or culture or negro vassals. Contemned by the southern patricians as *nouveaux riches*, this aspiring group were destined to be the forerunners of the class that was to supplant the southern aristocracy in the period after the Civil War and become the modern conservators of the aristocratic tradition.³³

The dominant group in any society seeks to control the state as a means of promoting its own interests. During the period between 1820 and 1860, the three great sections of the nation — South, East, and West — were waging a great triangular battle to control the federal government. Each expressed nationalist sentiments when in control of the government and each used the threat of secession when it felt its own interests too greatly in jeopardy. The industrial East insisted first of all upon high tariffs to keep out competitors from rapidly expanding American markets, although many Northern merchants, farmers, and some financiers steadfastly voted with the South in opposition to the tariff. Naturally, the East favored a liberal immigration policy that would result in abundant and cheap labor, internal improvements in the form of roads and canals, subsidies to railroads, and a monetary system that would both safeguard debts and permit Eastern capitalists to dominate the credit structure of the nation. Although the East had a staunch ally in Chief Justice John Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, who always interpreted the Constitution in the interest of industrial capitalism, from the election of Jackson to 1860 the agrarian South and West were able most of the time to dominate national policy. But, as we

³³ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, pp. 91-92. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922.

have seen, the East, even without excessively high tariffs, was able to forge ahead in the struggle for economic power. And in 1860 it was able, by making the newly formed Republican Party the conveyor of its interests, to break the political alliance between South and West. The Republican platform of 1860 offered a protective tariff to the industrial East and to rising industrialists in the West; it also promised a free homestead to Western farmers and to dispossessed laborers in the East. As the Beards point out, the rallying cry to the masses of the West and East was, "Vote yourself a farm," and to the manufacturers, "Vote yourself a protective tariff." "The hour for the transfer of the public domain to private persons without compensation and the creation of protective safeguards for American industry was at hand."³⁴ The new party of Lincoln not only united East and West on great economic interests; it also appealed to common men in the North, many of whom had come to entertain a bitter hatred of the slaveholding Southern aristocrats. The new party, skillfully tying together the economic interests of Eastern capitalists, mill operatives, and Western farmers and appealing to deep-seated emotional drives of men East and West, won the election of 1860 and left the South as isolated as New England had been in 1812. And the South, like New England, began to think in terms of secession. To be sure, Lincoln was no radical. As Hacker puts it:

The fact is, as his abolitionist enemies within his own party were soon to learn, Lincoln did not believe in equality for the Negro, or indeed, in emancipation. There was to be no federal interference with the institution in the states; he favored the enforcement of the fugitive-slave law; and he was willing to approve of a constitutional amendment protecting slavery in those states where it already existed.³⁵

The South exaggerated its fear of Lincoln. What he was determined to prevent was the extension of slavery into free territory and the dissolution of the Union. Southern leaders were wrong if they thought they saw in the election of Lincoln the immediate extinction of slavery. They were right when they recognized in the party of Lincoln the successor of the party of Hamilton, Webster,

³⁴ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 692-93.

³⁵ Louis M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, pp. 336-37. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

and Clay. What they should have seen, but did not, was that in the long struggle between Hamiltonianism and Jeffersonianism, between industrialism and agrarianism, the former had won. Quite regardless of the fortunes of political campaigns, America had become a great industrial nation. But Southern leaders had too long dominated the national government to yield. A great civil war was to be fought to decide whether the planter South or the industrial East was to direct the destiny of the nation. But as the Beards have pointed out, before hostilities began, the issue had already been decided in terms of bank deposits and ledger entries.

THE RISE OF ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE DEMAND FOR STATUS

If profits of cotton manufacturers, exclusive of salaries, often amounted to ten per cent or more a year, or if iron manufacturers sometimes declared dividends of from forty to one hundred per cent,³⁶ the result was not wholly due to the genius of men of business enterprise. The prosperity of the East was based upon an exploitation of labor scarcely more humane than that of the planter South. As industry expanded, a definite labor class developed. At first mill hands were drawn largely from the rural hinterland of the rising industrial centers, but in the late forties a stream of immigrants began to flood the country. Hamilton had urged that manufacturing establishments would render women and children more useful than they would otherwise be,³⁷ and New England industrialists viewed the matter in the same light. Large numbers of women were employed in the making of boots and shoes, in the ready-made clothing industry, and especially in cotton mills. As early as 1831 women constituted four fifths of the workers in the textile mills of Massachusetts. Women and girls, it was estimated, comprised in the same year 68 per cent of the labor force of the cotton mills of New England. By 1850, the percentage had dropped to about 62.³⁸ More important for its influence on education was the extensive use made of the labor of young children. Says Curti, in regard to child labor:

In 1833 a report of a committee of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and other Working Men exposed the fact that two fifths of all persons employed in New England factories were children between seven and sixteen; that hours were from daylight to eight in the evening; and that the only opportunity for them

³⁶ Shannon, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

³⁷ Kirkland, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

to obtain an education was on Sunday, or after eight on week days. At Hope Factory in Rhode Island, workers, more than half of whom were children, toiled fifteen or sixteen hours a day. In the same state, where conditions were worse than in Massachusetts, small, half-clothed children went to work and came home by dark, and as late as 1853 their numbers were increasing.³⁰

In the eighteen-thirties, a normal day's work was twelve or more hours and wages were barely above what was required for existence. Standards of living and moral conditions were shockingly bad. Shannon describes the general status of the working class in the following statement:

The factory system was particularly baleful in its influence on wages and hours of labor. Skill was supplanted by machinery, and painstaking tasks were replaced by monotonous routine which could be entrusted to women, children, poorhouse inmates, homeless orphans, and baffled immigrants at pitifully low wages. Mathew Carey estimated in 1830 that 20,000 women in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were employed for 16 hours a day at wages of no more than \$1.25 a week. By 1837 other figures showed women in the needle trades receiving less than \$60 a year for full time, or below \$36 if their attention was divided by the care of children. At the same time the average in the cotton mills was about \$2.50 a week.

Wages varied widely in different sections, usually being in inverse ratio to other costs of production. In many cases the whole family was employed in the same mill to make a bare living. Nearly three fifths of the cotton-mill operatives from New England to Virginia were women, and 7 per cent were children under 12 years of age. In 1832 an estimate showed two fifths of all employees in Massachusetts factories under 16 years. Men who operated spinning mules received as much as \$7.50 or \$8.50 a week before 1830, but the period of wage-cutting had already begun.

Laborers at heavy tasks, even when paid in money instead of truck, got little more than starvation wages. Workers on the Pennsylvania Canal in 1831 were given bed and board and from \$10 to \$12 a month, except in the coldest months, when they were lucky to get just their board and bunk. Carey calculated that such a worker could by no means support a wife and two children. The wife might make a pittance, but if eight cents a day was allowed for

³⁰ Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, p. 98. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

food for the wife and each child, with other necessities in proportion, the man would be \$30 in debt at the end of the year. Since no such laborer could get that much credit, he would have to cut the clothing allowance for the family from \$40 to \$10. But about half of the men so employed returned to their homes in the winter, broken in health by malaria. City workers making 75 cents a day were hardly any better off, even when their rent was figured at 50 cents a week. When such men struck for a living wage, their disturbances were referred to as riots, and it was no uncommon thing for them to be quitted by a well-armed militia. Many Southern slaves had a larger money income than they. Even skilled craftsmen did little better. Philadelphia shoemakers were getting only 94 cents a day after a successful strike in 1835, and had to furnish their own tools and findings. At the same time New York carpenters got \$1.37½ for a day of from 15 to 17 hours.

The great stream of immigrants in the eighteen-forties and following added to the distress of the laboring classes. Between 1847 and 1854 a total of 2,676,000 arrived, including 1,187,000 from Ireland alone. The aliens, accustomed to hard lives, were submissive under a régime of from 14 to 16 hours a day at almost any rate of pay they were offered. Their presence in the Eastern cities had such a depressing effect on wages as to cause the first organized protests of American workingmen against unrestricted immigration.

Slum conditions were a natural result of this situation. An enumeration made by the chief of police of New York in 1850 showed 18,456 people living underground in 8141 cellars. Sometimes the "flophouse" system was found where a bedding of loose straw cost two cents a night or bare floor space one cent. In such places black and white people, men, women, and children, were "mixed in one dirty mass." Bedrooms were found "without air, without light, filled with damp vapor from the mildewed walls, and with vermin; they are the most repulsive holes that ever a human being was forced to sleep in." Numerous other like situations were revealed where people with steady employment had to live far below a decent plane of existence. Small effect did the much vaunted limitless expanse of public land have in improving the situation. Transportation charges to the regions of cheap land were heavy, the lifetime savings of a whole working family often not being enough to pay the cost, much less leaving a surplus to pay for the land, equipment, and sustenance needed before a crop could be grown.⁴⁰

It was only natural that the working class should seek to improve

⁴⁰ Shannon, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-30.

its status through forms of co-operative action. In the early years of the nineteenth century skilled craftsmen — shoemakers, printers, hatters, masons, and the like — began to organize locally. In time all these craft societies in a single city coalesced into a single "Trades Union." The first of these was organized in New York in 1833 and in a few years they were to be found in many industrial cities. A few craft unions became national in scope, and attempts were made to organize a national trades union.⁴¹ Labor was becoming articulate even if its ranks were not very tightly closed nor its organization very powerful or permanent. Efforts of workingmen to improve their condition and status took various forms. Strikes to obtain a ten-hour day were numerous and usually unsuccessful. Many sought an escape from the hard realities of an industrial society in socialistic experiments of one kind or another. Toward the end of the period there was a throw-back to earlier agrarian ideals and free homesteads in the West were regarded as a means of improving the condition of the laboring masses.

For our purpose it is more important to note that workingmen were quite as much interested in status as in shorter hours and higher wages. The upper classes had long had a substantial monopoly of education and had used it to protect their favored position. The spokesmen of labor now undertook, through political action, to break down this monopoly and to establish systems of tax-supported, non-sectarian schools. In this they were perhaps more successful than in any other of their endeavors.

HUMANITARIANISM, ROMANTICISM, LIBERALISM

French revolutionary philosophy, which had done much to inspire Jefferson and his fellow agrarians in their struggle for political democracy, had left New England cold. Emerson was perhaps too drastic a critic when he said of Massachusetts: "From 1790 to 1820 there was not a book, a speech, a conversation or a thought in the state." But new currents of thought and emotion were forming which were to result, among other things, in a great humanitarian movement. Puritanism had always had a deep ethical content at its core and now this spiritual and ethical quality, in the lives of a few great intellectual leaders, was breaking through the crust of Calvinistic theology and bourgeois acquisitiveness. At long last

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Puritanism was coming to flower in the God of love of Channing and other Unitarians and in the sensitive social conscience of Emerson and his fellow transcendentalists. Other forces were also operating to create a social conscience, to accent the divinity in man. German idealism was being grafted onto the native spiritual and ethical qualities of Puritanism. Sensitive souls could not remain indifferent to the social wreckage that acquisitive industrialism was leaving in its wake — to the grinding labor of women and children, to juvenile delinquency, to pauperism, to intemperance, to the disintegration of family life, and all the other social ills to be found in rising urban centers. As Emerson observed, a "restless, prying, conscientious criticism broke out in unexpected quarters."⁴² "It was a day," said John Morley, "of ideals in every camp." Some organized to suppress intemperance; some championed the rights of women; others struck at the criminal codes; many became abolitionists. To these crusaders for righteousness public education made a strong appeal, and humanitarians in general struck hands with organized labor in the struggle for tax-supported schools.

THE RISING SENTIMENT FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As we have seen, Southern planters were giving education a social orientation in terms of a caste system based on Negro slavery — in terms of their ideal of a Greek democracy, which was a compromise between the principle of feudalism and the frontier spirit of freedom and equality. Similarly, in the East an educational policy took form as a result of the conditions and forces we have been considering. Many diverse elements of the population were brought to support more adequate tax-supported schools, although there was no general agreement with respect to the ends education should accomplish. There was a widespread acceptance of the view among all classes, though not by all members of each class, that popular education was essential to the preservation of republican political institutions. This argument was tellingly used over and over again by intellectuals, publicists, and spokesmen of labor. Schools, it was also asserted, would teach respect for law and authority, they would make labor more productive, they would alleviate pauperism and prevent crime, they would be conducive to

⁴² Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins, editors, *The Heritage of America*, p. 415. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1939

political honesty — in short, they would promote the general welfare.

But men who supported the cause of education often differed with respect to more specific ends. Among men of property, talent, and social position there was much misgiving with respect to the social disturbances of the day — the gains of democracy, the agitation and strikes of laborers, the insistence of common men that they climb the ladder of economic and social opportunity and find a place for themselves at the top. Men of wealth had two choices: they could oppose public education or they could support it with the view of making it a means of giving permanence and stability to the new order of things created by expanding industry. Some chose the first alternative, opposing education on the ground that it was unjust to tax one man for the education of the children of another and that free schools would destroy the self-respect of the poor. Some took the position that free public education would break down class distinctions and promote an undesirable growth of the democratic spirit. Like Southern planters, they held that cultural accomplishment is made possible by a small leisure class which in turn depends on wealth. It was insisted, too, that the "only way to get along with such ignorant people [the working class] is to keep them from mischief by keeping them constantly employed." ⁴³

Others among the industrial and commercial leaders saw in free schools a means of creating a more productive labor force and of checking social unrest. Men like Abbott Lawrence insisted that an intelligent working class was essential if American manufacturers were to compete successfully with their English competitors. "Let your common school system," he said, "go hand in hand with the employment of your people; you may be quite certain that the adoption of these systems at once, will aid each other." ⁴⁴ Horace Mann, it will be recalled, was at great pains to convince employers that educated workingmen were more efficient and productive than those who were left in ignorance.

Education, it was also urged, would serve to develop loyalties to the existing pattern of social and economic arrangements. It could be made a conservative force to create respect for law and order, to allay social unrest, to check revolutionary tendencies, and to protect property rights. Says Professor Curti:

⁴³ *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, III (June, 1833), 257-58, as quoted in Curti, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴⁴ As quoted in Curti, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

But it was not only prosperity that the industrialists were led to expect from public education. Anxious to wring support for public schools from propertied interests then opposed to taxation for that purpose, educational spokesmen warned them of the dangers to property rights from universal suffrage, Jacksonian democracy, and even, possibly, revolution — any of which might result if the masses were left undisciplined by education. If the rich would enjoy security against hostile legislative attacks on corporation franchises; if they would put an end to the mob violence which was already attacking property; if they would curb “men of warm passion and little reason,” vindictive and dangerous workingmen, restless and vicious frontiersmen — they could do no better than to lend support to the movement for free public schools. A writer in the conservative *North American Review* drew from Dorr's rebellion the lesson that the security of the established order depended on whether the masses were instructed or remained untaught, saying that the manufacturers might well tremble in the presence of the large masses of uninstructed population which were growing up around them, and see it written everywhere with a distinctness which none could comprehend as well as they, that it was only by educating this population that their business would prosper and their lives and property be secure. This is by no means an exceptional statement.⁴⁵

The position of these men indicates that the movement for the education of the masses was not merely a democratic movement peculiarly at home in republican America. It was in part a product of the industrial capitalism rapidly becoming dominant throughout the western world. We tend today to think of our American system of public schools as having been founded out of a great zeal for the welfare of the plain people. But actually this zeal was tempered by zeal for the welfare of the employers of labor, by zeal for maintaining the political and social *status quo*. These economic motives were frankly recognized in the days of the founding. Now, however, looking back, we tend to rationalize, and to recognize only the more idealistic motives, which were of course also operative.⁴⁶

Others saw in education a different purpose. Humanitarians and labor leaders insisted that free public schools would salvage and even prevent some of the human wreckage which industrialism was leaving in its wake. Free schools would be a means of social mobility, of making class distinctions less sharp, and above all, perhaps,

⁴⁵ Curti, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

of improving the status of workingmen. Seth Luther, a spokesman of labor in Boston, said:

In our review, we have seen a large body of human beings ruined by a neglect of education, rendered miserable in the extreme, and incapable of self-government; and this by the grinding of the rich on the faces of the poor, through the operation of cotton and other machinery.⁴⁷

The privileged few, it was said, had a monopoly on learning and employed this monopoly to keep the masses in an inferior social status. "Literature and education, thus affianced to opulence, naturally feel a strong repugnance to share their intellectual dominance with the mass of society."⁴⁸ Labor leaders were coming to look to education "for redress of that perverted system of society, which dooms the producer to ignorance, to toil, and to penury, to moral degradation, physical want and social barbarism."⁴⁹ The point of view of labor is well expressed in a report adopted by workingmen in Philadelphia in 1830:

When the committees contemplate their own condition, and that of the great mass of their fellow laborers; when they look around on the glaring inequality of society, they are constrained to believe, that, until the means of equal instruction shall be equally secured to all, liberty is but an unmeaning word, and equality an empty shadow, whose substance to be realized must first be planted by an equal education and proper training in the minds, in the habits, and in the feelings of the community.⁵⁰

Summing up the social tensions that centered around education in New England and New York in the period 1827-1842, Jackson says:

The great problems before the intellectual leadership, in the New England and New York of the eighteen-thirties, was to parry the thrusts of Jacksonian Democracy. For American life had developed in a manner that seemed to them to make their position precarious. They wished to use the church, the school, and whatever other

⁴⁷ As quoted in Frank Tracy Carlton, *Economic Influences upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850*, p. 48. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1908.

⁴⁸ Stephen Simpson, *A Manual for Workingmen* (1801), p. 201, as quoted in Carlton, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴⁹ Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, as quoted in Carlton, p. 49.

⁵⁰ As quoted in Kirkland, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

means of propaganda were at their disposal, to buttress the claims of the Elect, politically, and theologically. Yet the advances of the prevailing economic system, and the spirit and philosophy accompanying it, rendered their task most difficult. . . .

To meet this situation the educators offered improved common schools. By avoiding the conflict over the nature of man and every other ticklish issue that did not force its way into the discussion, they gathered the necessary support in at least three states — New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The businessmen and property-owners generally were approached in the name of their own protection. The warring sects of Christendom were appeased with *Bible*-reading in "non-sectarian" schools. The workingmen and shopkeepers, who asked for a better living and for a realization of their theoretically enjoyed "equal rights," were given some concessions and the advice that education rather than political action would lead to the Promised Land.

Very little was said to the farmer, and he was more a hindrance than a help in the struggle for better schools. For he was suspicious of "book-farming," city people, and anything requiring cash out of his pocket. . . .

The youth of the colleges, on the other hand, received particular attention. For the intellectual leadership had to be perpetuated in ideas as well as in physical existence.⁵¹

THE WEST — THE RISING POWER OF AGRARIAN DEMOCRACY

In the triangular struggle for economic well-being and political power — for place, position, prestige, and cultural advance — which characterized the period from 1830 to 1860, Western farmers were to measure their strength with Southern planters and Eastern capitalists. Then, as always, the West was a difficult geographical area to define, but the West which sent Jackson to the White House in 1828 may be thought of as comprising the Northwest and the Southwest, as well as the older Western states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. The Southwest was soon to be drawn within the orbit of the Southern system, indeed, to become the heart of the cotton kingdom, but for the moment, if voting for Jackson was a criterion, it stood solidly in the ranks of the West. Western in sentiment, too, if not in geographical location, were large numbers of small farmers in the

⁵¹ Sidney L. Jackson, *America's Struggle for Free Schools*, p. 172. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941.

back-country South and the western counties of the Middle and New England states. In time, the Southwest, as suggested above, became more Southern than Western in interest and sentiment, and the Northwest expanded to include Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WESTERN SOCIETY

While the spread of slavery and the plantation system was working an economic, social, and political revolution in the South, and while capitalistic enterprise and the factory system were bringing about a revolution no less important in the East, the West was filling up with a multitude of small farmers. Before the opening of the Erie Canal (1825), New England had fought practically every measure calculated to promote Western development, but despite this opposition each year saw thousands of new settlers pushing on into the land of the "western waters," buying cheap lands from the government or "squatting" without taking the trouble of securing a title. At first, the settlers came largely from the back-country South where the principles of Jeffersonian democracy had taken deep root, from Kentucky and Tennessee, and from western Pennsylvania and New York. Later, thousands from New England and from Europe, especially Germany, joined the Western movement. By 1830, some 4,000,000 of the 12,500,000 people comprising the population of the nation lived in the West, while another 2,000,000, in the western parts of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, were in reality Western in interest and sentiment.⁵²

Although the plantation system was beginning to eat its way into the lower Mississippi Valley, the West in 1830 was essentially a land of small farmers. The small, family-sized farm was to continue to dominate the Northwest during the whole of our period. In 1850, for example, the average number of acres per farm in Ohio was 125 and the average number of improved acres per farm was 68.5. In no Northwestern state did the average farm include more than 185 acres, nor did the number of improved acres per farm, on the average, exceed 70.⁵³ In 1830, life in the West was harder and less romantic than we now sometimes suppose. Land, to be sure,

⁵² Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 28.

⁵³ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850*, p. 298. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1935.

was fertile and relatively cheap in terms of dollars, but even so the average settler from the East was not able to obtain and develop a farm without great effort and hardship. Turner estimates that a pioneer, who obtained title from the government of a 160-acre tract, built a log cabin, improved half of his tract, bought stock and tools, and sustained his family until the first crop was harvested, would need about one thousand dollars.⁶⁴ And one thousand dollars was not easy to get. The farmer could grow plenty of food, his log cabin and homespun clothes would keep him warm, but to get his hands on cash was another matter. Unless he lived near a river, it was next to impossible to find a market for his surplus wheat, corn, hogs, or cattle. Now and then, along with his neighbors, he would drive a drove of cattle and hogs into the South and sell them to the cotton planters, or to Baltimore and Philadelphia or other Eastern cities in search of a market. But the amount of cash that passed through his hands was small, rarely amounting to more than ten dollars per capita each year.⁶⁵ Despite a crude plenty, the economic structure of the West was weak. The farmer was often in debt to the government for his farm or to Eastern bankers who had supplied him directly or indirectly with the necessary funds to get started. If he were a "squatter," he was haunted by the fear of dispossession. Until there was improvement in economic conditions, there would be little money for the support of schools or other agencies of cultural advance. Economic improvement depended upon markets, and markets could not be opened up without internal improvements in the form of turnpikes, canals, or railroads. Most Westerners, like Lincoln, had been born in a log cabin, and to them life was still hard. As we shall see, however, they developed a program, and every year saw them register a gain over the South and Northeast in numerical importance.

Western farmers entertained a political and social philosophy strikingly different from that of Eastern capitalists and Southern planters. Many of them had come from a stock that had accepted the ideals of Jefferson, and frontier conditions had served to deepen their faith. Here men both believed in and practiced political democracy. In their daily lives they exhibited their loyalty to the ideals of equality of opportunity and social mobility. To be sure, the Westerner did not believe in equality of condition; like everyone

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁶⁵ Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 31.

else in America, he was exploitative and acquisitive. He knew that men of talent and energy would get ahead and he was determined that merit should have its reward. At a time when Southern planters were flaunting the principles of the Declaration of Independence and Eastern capitalists with much the same social philosophy were devising ways and means to protect themselves from too much democracy, Western farmers were asserting the rights of the common man and rising in revolt against the pretensions of aristocracy. Nothing was so damaging to a candidate for public office as to have plain people feel that he belonged to a superior social class. Individualism was a high component of democracy; differences in conditions were not yet sufficiently great to cause men to realize that economic freedom is incompatible with the ideal of equality of opportunity. If the plain people of the West were little given to abstract thinking about democracy, and if they exhibited no great concern about the condition of either the black slave of the South or the wage slave in the East, they, nevertheless, believed in it for themselves and they employed its principles and its dogma in their struggle with the other two great sections of the nation for economic advance and political power.

THE STRATEGY OF POLITICS

The election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 symbolized the emergence of the democratic state, the passage of political power from the hands of men of talent and property to those of the common people. The old general was not elected because his position on the important political issues of the day were known and approved. No one, perhaps not even Jackson himself, knew just where he stood. Southern planters supported him because they hoped he would be favorable to their interests, and because they saw that an alliance with the West was essential if the South was not to be isolated in the political life of the nation. Western men throughout the length of the Mississippi Valley and small farmers in the back-country South and Pennsylvania were bent on overthrowing the old Jeffersonian machine, which had become conservative, and on placing in the White House a man, who, in their own minds at least, was the perfect embodiment of the common people. "King Numbers" had come into power and the West was the seat of his empire.

The West was not content merely to force one of its sons into the presidency; it had its grievances and its interests, and it formulated a program no less specific than that of the South or the East. Above all else, perhaps, the West wanted legislation which would dispose of the public domain on easier terms for the settler. The price of land must be lowered, or, better still, homesteads be given to those who would come and take them. Laws were required, too, to confirm the rights of the squatter to the land he had taken and improved without legal title. The West was always imperialistic, always ready to join the South in extending our borders westward and in adding new acres to the national domain. It demanded internal improvements at national expense — for roads and canals over which surplus commodities could find a market. The West was also in favor of a monetary policy that would provide cheap money, not to say inflation. Since farmers were commonly in debt to Eastern banking interests, a bountiful supply of bank notes would raise prices and relieve their distress. Naturally enough, they supported Jackson in his war on the United States Bank and later approved a system of state banks that all but nullified the constitutional prohibition against a state's coining money or emitting bills of credit. And finally, on the great issue of the tariff, the West, though not always unanimous, was disposed most of the time to go along with the South in favor of low duties. On most of the important issues of the day — tariffs, internal improvements, the disposition of Western lands, banking policy, territorial expansion — the two great agricultural sections, the West and the South, had much in common. They did not agree on all issues, nor did the West maintain its allegiance to the South against the Northeast at all times. During most of the period, however, Southern planters and Western farmers found enough in common to cause them to work together to prevent the national government from falling into the hands of Eastern manufacturing and financial interests.

THE GROWTH OF ECONOMIC POWER AND THE SHIFT OF POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE

The development of transportation facilities in the West, together with the invention of machinery for the planting and harvesting of grain, brought an economic revolution, comparable to that which was taking place in the South and East. In 1825, the Erie Canal

linked New York City with the Great Lakes region and provided an outlet for an ever-increasing quantity of grain. When Jackson was elected President, the annual tonnage of the Great Lakes was less than 6000; by 1851, the value of the trade passing through the Erie Canal was \$300,000,000.⁵⁶

In 1834, the Pennsylvania system of canals connecting Philadelphia with the West was also completed.⁵⁷ Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in their turn, launched upon expansive programs of canal construction. But the railroad era was at hand. The Erie Canal made obvious the great commercial possibilities that lay in the expanding wheat fields of the West, and it was not long before Eastern capitalists began to push their railroad lines in that direction. In 1851, the Erie Railroad connected New York City with Dunkirk on Lake Erie. The following year the Baltimore and Ohio pushed its line over the mountains to Wheeling, West Virginia.⁵⁸ During the decade 1850 to 1860, some seventy-five hundred miles of railroad were built in the Northwest. The Eastern financiers and capitalists were bringing into the orbit of their economic system the rising cities of the Northwest — Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Columbus.

While the building of canals and railroads was opening up expanding markets for Western grain, the invention of farm machinery in the eighteen-forties — seed drills, reapers, and threshers — was making grain the great staple crop of the Northwest in much the same way that the invention of the cotton gin had made cotton the staple crop of the South. In the single decade between 1850 and 1860, the value of the wheat and corn crops of the Northwest increased from \$80,000,000 to \$225,000,000.⁵⁹ In this connection, it may be well to recall that the value of the three great staple crops of the South in 1860 — cotton, tobacco, and sugar — amounted to about \$300,000,000. During these years the Northwest was laying the economic basis on which the structure of a well-supported educational system was in time to be erected.

The upper Mississippi Valley had become the granary of the nation and a center for the production of hogs and cattle; it was also becoming industrialized. Eastern capitalists, bankers, and merchants saw in the West a profitable field for the investment of surplus

⁵⁶ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁵⁸ Kirkland, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁵⁷ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 636.

⁵⁹ Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 201.

capital. Not a few men in the West itself were turning from agriculture to industry. In 1850, Ohio stood second to Pennsylvania in the production of pig iron,⁶⁰ and ten years later, one fourth of the woolen factories of the nation were located in the West.⁶¹ Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago were already to be numbered among the nation's great urban centers, and many smaller places were beginning to pulsate with the vigor of industrial growth.

As canals and railroads opened up Eastern markets to Western products and as the commerce of the West shifted from the South to the East, the upper Mississippi Valley was gradually drawn into the economic orbit of the East and into the pattern of cultural arrangements that an expanding industrial economy was weaving. The ties that had long bound the agricultural Northwest to the agricultural South were snapping. Until 1860, the Democratic Party could count on strong support in the Northwest, but the time for a political realignment was at hand. In that year, as we have already seen, the newly formed Republican Party compounded the economic interests of the Northeast and the Northwest and became the carrier of deep-seated emotional drives of both sections against the South. The Civil War was to follow and in its wake came the passing of the dominance of rural America. An industrial society was about to come of age.

THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIALIZATION

Education in the West was slow to develop on a large scale, but from the beginning its purpose and its ideals were more genuinely democratic than was the case in either the South or the East. There was nothing of the Southern purpose to socialize youth to take their places in a democracy based on caste like ancient Athens, and there was little of the Eastern purpose to make education a means of creating acquiescence on the part of the laboring classes to the existing pattern of economic arrangements. In the West there was greater emphasis on the preparation of youth to perform their civic duties in a democratic republic, and education was designed more than elsewhere to prevent the rise of social classes, to make social mobility a reality, and to release the moral and intellectual capacities of the individual.

⁶⁰ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁶¹ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 638.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 8

1. In what sense is it true that the South underwent an "economic and social revolution" during the period 1828-1860?
2. What was the difference between the "humanitarian liberalism" of Jefferson and the "economic realism" of Calhoun?
3. What was the effect on education in the South of the general acceptance of the ideal of a "Greek democracy"?
4. Indicate the major economic, social, and intellectual changes that occurred in the East, 1828-1860.
5. In what ways did the industrialization of the East promote the development of public education?
6. Draw up a list of the groups in the East that gave their support to the cause of public education and indicate why each group supported the cause.
7. Compare and contrast the social ideas of people in the West with those of people in the South and East during the period covered in this chapter.
8. Show how educational attitudes and institutions were affected during the period covered in this chapter by changing economic, social, and political conditions in each of the major regions of the country—South, East, and West.

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Chapter 9 ~ Education in the Emerging Democratic State:

THE STRUGGLE FOR A SYSTEM OF

PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1828-1860

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD

CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT exists among historians with respect to the status of public education during the three decades which preceded the Civil War. A tendency on the part of some writers to exaggerate the importance of state school programs has resulted perhaps from the uncritical acceptance of public-school legislation as evidence that the conditions enjoined by the laws were immediately effected. This exaggeration has been further fostered by failure on the part of some investigators to understand that the word "public" as used in reports of the period had various meanings and was, in many instances, used to describe schools supported almost entirely by tuition. In general, it appears that those states which made strong legal provisions for the establishment of state school systems have been credited with greater achievements than they actually attained. On the other hand, there has been, in some instances, a tendency to discount the educational programs of the states which failed to make strong statutory provisions for public schools. Educational arrangements were many and varied and in their variety reflected the many different stages through which education passed as it moved slowly toward full state support and jurisdiction. Although forces long at work had created in most parts of the country the general expectation that all children should learn to read and write, it was not accepted, even in New England, that education should be provided free to those children whose parents

were able to pay for it. In fact, "as late as 1840 only one half of the children of New England were given free education, one seventh of those of the Middle States and one sixth of those of the West."¹

Although some states, particularly in New England, permitted districts to levy taxes for the support of schools, "public schools" were supported in the main by returns from rate bills levied against the patrons of the schools and from the meager revenues received from state-school funds. The most important of these was the permanent fund of Connecticut which was derived largely from the sale of lands in the Western Reserve. In the West some legislation and much hope centered about the "sixteenth section" of land which had been set aside for education, but this section of unimproved land failed, in a country characterized by low land values, to provide schools or funds for schools in keeping with the expectations of optimistic thinking.

In all parts of the country, even in those areas in which tax support was permitted, the public schools were a reproach to the democracy which fostered them. Conditions in Massachusetts, a state in which school maintenance was required by law and perhaps provided to a greater degree by taxation than elsewhere, led a reviewer of Carter's *Essays upon Popular Education* to complain that the common schools were degraded, held in low esteem by their warmest friends, and considered worthy of attendance only by children of the artisan and laboring class.² Although more or less grudgingly supported by men of means, public schools were not commonly patronized by the upper classes, nor can it be stated that they found general favor among the poor. Schools, particularly primary schools, however, were accessible in Massachusetts and in other parts of New England to those who would attend. The total costs of operating these schools, approximately two dollars per week for summer schools and from six to ten dollars per week for winter schools, indicate the background for contemporary complaints that teaching positions were either considered as stepping-stones to better-rewarded activities or as licensed refuges of the incompetent. An article based largely on the *Report of the Committee of the Society for the Im-*

¹ Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*, p. 217. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

² *Remarks upon Mr. Carter's Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers*, p. 9. Boston: Bowles and Dearborn, 1827.

provement of Common Schools in Connecticut, 1828, and the Report of the School Convention (Hartford), 1831, stated:

The average compensation, in addition to board, is about \$11 a month for male teachers, and a dollar a week for females. Many females, however, of considerable experience, teach at 75 cents a week; and some whose experience is less at 62 1-2, or even 50. Many board themselves and teach for one dollar; as it is generally supposed that a female instructor can earn enough at some other employment, during the intervals between school hours, to pay for her board. . . .

One of the greatest evils which exists in connection with the common schools of Connecticut, is a *perpetual change of teachers*.³

In other parts of the country, with the possible exception of New York state, conditions with respect to public education were even worse. In New York City there was no provision for public schools, but here, as in Philadelphia and other large cities, philanthropic societies contributed toward the education in non-sectarian schools of children not provided for by the churches and church organizations. In 1800, New York was a city of some sixty thousand population, but it had no schools other than those provided privately or by churches. Five years later, however, the New York Free School Society was organized under the leadership of De Witt Clinton and, until its work was completed in 1853, it spent each year increasingly large amounts on its system of Lancasterian schools which provided a free, if extremely meager, education to thousands of children.

In Pennsylvania conditions varied considerably. Here the desire of each religious sect to provide instruction in its own faith led to the establishment of denominational schools wherever churches were financially able. Outside Philadelphia chief dependence was placed upon these parochial schools, some of which, such as those of the Quakers and Moravians, must be considered by the standards of the time as generally adequate. Even pauper education was not available on a large scale. Where it was available, it was often not acceptable to a large number of that part of the poor who were unable or unwilling to pay tuition charges. Whole communities were without educational facilities of any kind except those provided in homes in

³ "Common School System of Connecticut," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, II (April, 1832), 202.

which parents generally possessed the most meager academic backgrounds and little enthusiasm for intellectual attainments.

In the South the greatest diversity existed. From early colonial times the theory had prevailed in this region that parents, without compulsion, would educate their children to their proper station in life. Tutors were employed by persons of means, and considerable opportunity was provided through private schools for children whose parents could pay modest fees. Some concern was shown for paupers and other dependents, but little provision was made for the ordinary poor who were unable or unwilling to pay for their education. When schools were organized for the poor, the children of the well-to-do did not attend.

In the West "a faith in and a tradition for education constituted the chief educational assets." Perhaps less opportunity to attend schools, private and public, was provided in this area than in any other section, the South included. The situation in the new states, aggravated as it was by frontier conditions, poverty, and an optimistic dependence upon the income from permanent funds and school lands, was such that most children went without any schooling and only a few were able to attain an education of substantial quality.

Throughout the country at the beginning of this period opportunities for an education beyond the rudiments were thinly if rather widely distributed. Although satisfactory statistics are not available, it appears that opportunities for secondary education, as in the case of elementary education, were most numerous in New England. In this region, however, as well as elsewhere the great popularity of the academy is evidence of the widespread acceptance of the idea that the responsibility for education was one which rested upon the parent. Here, however, were found the old Latin or grammar schools, with a history extending over two hundred years. Here also, beginning in the eighteen-twenties, a few high schools were established. The Massachusetts law of 1827 required towns of five hundred or more families to establish tax-supported high schools. By 1840, a few high schools had been established in New York, Vermont, Maine, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Connecticut, but the academies, seminaries, and other private schools were by far the most important secondary schools throughout the entire period. Although the many academies and private institutions which thrived in the more heavily populated centers taught many

secondary, vocational, and higher subjects to a larger and larger number of youth, they were barely tapping the great reservoir of potential learners.

Opportunities for education above the secondary schools were generally poor in quality and limited in the extent of their diffusion. Although more than twice as many colleges were established in the decade preceding 1830 as had been organized during the entire colonial period, the increase in numbers was more remarkable than the growth of any of these institutions. The great day of college building lay in the future. In 1830, most of the colleges were the result of denominational pride and, at least in theory, retained their original purpose of educating clergy in the true faith. The University of North Carolina had been brought under complete state control in 1821, Virginia had established its university in 1825, and in the Western states land grants for the aid of higher education had stimulated the laying of foundations upon which state universities were to rise, but the period just beginning was to be noted for denominational rather than state activity. Whether state or denominational, the colleges were generally small and lacking in facilities. Fees were commonly charged and, although they were not large, they were probably important factors in keeping down the enrollment. For the most part the courses were grounded in Latin, Greek, and mathematics. New subjects such as science and literature began to find a place, not so much by any fundamental reorganization of the curriculum as by the curtailment of the requirements in theology and logic. To offset this, theological seminaries were springing up to provide prospective ministers with the training which was not provided in sufficient measure by the colleges. At the beginning of the period, professional training except for the ministry was still very largely a matter of apprenticeship. The organization of professional training, however, had begun. A few previously established law and medical schools together with new ones now being opened in connection with a few of the colleges were attracting students whose training gave them a certain amount of prestige over those who learned their profession by "reading law" in the office of a successful lawyer or by assisting in the routines of the medical practitioner. Here and there, particularly in Rensselaer and Franklin Institutes, scientific and technical training was available, but for all except the very few such training was acquired through the more

difficult and laborious means of apprenticeship and self-instruction. Trades were taught in private schools established in the larger towns and cities, but few persons destined for the trades ever had the advantage of such instruction. In 1830, no provision had been made for the education of women above the secondary level, but within three years the opening of Oberlin was to mark the beginning of a great coeducational experiment.

URBANISM AND HUMANITARIANISM

The leaders of the educational awakening of the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century were motivated by the same humanitarianism which prompted an unusually large number of persons of that generation to strive against all forces which debased man and to aid, with almost missionary zeal, in promoting any movement which promised human betterment. Among these enthusiasts, some stressed the social benefits to be derived from the reform of the administration of penal institutions, some found release for their humanitarian feelings in promoting temperance or abolition, some urged the training of the deaf and dumb, and still others engaged in one or more of the numerous reform activities of the day. Nearly all reformers, however, had one thing in common. They were characterized by an almost blind faith in the power of education to improve the individual and to eliminate social evils, and almost to a man they were active supporters of the public-school movement.

Although these reformers were spiritual descendants of the eighteenth-century liberals, their program, both as to direction and significance, to a considerable degree arose from a growing urbanism. Most of their support came directly or indirectly from the rapidly expanding towns and cities in which an articulate middle class and a much larger group with middle-class aspirations were coming to be an increasingly important element. Nor did the reformers appear on the scene too soon. For decades changes had been occurring in the economic life of the nation creating problems of a social and political nature which necessitated sweeping modifications in the existing institutions.

The Industrial Revolution had changed more than the long-practiced methods of production; it had also changed the ways of

living and thinking. In New England and the Middle states, cities sprang up, rising in the midst of a type of squalor unknown to an earlier agricultural society. Farm boys and girls, men and women, were drawn from the farms to become operatives in the newly established mills and factories. But the factories were increasing more rapidly than the social insight needed to solve the problems which they created.

It was in the rapidly growing urban centers that the inadequacies of institutions which had served the old order first became apparent. The breaking-up of the old rural economy and the crowding of thousands of people in unsanitary and hideous factory towns and cities, with the consequent loss of old social restraints, created conditions which would have been generally recognized as a national disgrace if there had been a real social consciousness. Intemperance, poverty, sickness, disease, crime, and moral decay thrived in the new urban communities. Illiterate and unruly children roamed the city streets uncared for and considered only as potential workers in factories which took them at a tender age. Employers of young workers were looked upon as public benefactors because they kept small boys and girls from idleness and from succumbing to criminal tendencies during the ten to thirteen working hours of the day. Children were not the only economic assets. The mother also was likely to be employed at wages which added to the income of the other members of the family provided it a bare subsistence. At the same time, huge profits were rolled up on invested capital. The resulting conditions threatened a moral and social breakdown. To persons not "submerged in apathy nor blinded by the prospects of rapidly acquiring wealth," far-reaching reforms seemed not only desirable, but, on every consideration, necessary. Even in the field of politics there were persons who foresaw disaster if the quality of the slowly expanding electorate was not improved.

It was in the cities also that the accumulation of wealth made feasible reforms which required relatively large expenditures. Here, philanthropy, although failing, made its greatest bid to solve the educational problems of the new order; and here the first and most persistent demands for reform were heard. Reformers, statesmen, and other leaders, who generally esteemed education highly as a means of curing social, economic, and political ills, came more and more, with each new evidence of the impotence of philanthropy, to

demand free schools equally open to all as the only agency through which the amelioration of these conditions might be effected.

It was also in the cities that the more articulate of the laboring classes, conscious of the strength which organization and the expanding suffrage gave them, added their voices in demanding a better education for their children than workers could finance privately. Moreover, the laboring classes were less and less inclined to accept education as a charity, even had this means of financing proved adequate. Between 1828 and 1832, the period of workingmen's political parties, demands were heard for schools at public expense, for schools in which rich and poor would mingle on terms of equality, and for schools under boards directly responsible to the electorate. Labor leaders were also demanding competent teachers, infant schools, and some means for education beyond the rudiments.

So much have the demands of labor leaders and organizers impressed themselves upon the minds of historians that exaggerated claims have been made with respect to the influence of the laboring classes on the development of the American public-school system. It has been claimed, for example, that "to the agitation of organized labor in the twenties and thirties . . . we owe the beginning of the public-school system"; that the public-school system was created because of the insistence of these early trade-unionists; that "to this movement, more than to all other causes combined, is due the common school system"; and that "the vitality of the movement for tax-supported schools was derived, not from humanitarian leaders but from the growing class of wage-earners."⁴ The careful reader of Curoe's authoritative history of the educational attitudes and policies of organized labor in the United States must, however, be convinced that workingmen's organizations were only contributing factors in a much wider movement for education and social reform. It is true that the workingmen's organizations did great service in educating "their own membership to the value of education, thus counteracting the inertia or avarice of laboring parents, and changing apathy toward education into active interests"; in working "with other groups toward stirring up an interest in educational reform among the complacent members of legislatures and among the gen-

⁴ As quoted in Philip R. V. Curoe, *Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States*, p. 31. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 201. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.

eral public"; and in helping to develop "the idea that a voting citizen cannot discharge his obligations without a modicum of education and some leisure for self-improvement."⁵ If these associations had accomplished no more than to move the indifferent in their own ranks toward an acceptance of public education, their contribution would not have been negligible, for, as Noble has pointed out, free schools did not result from a proletarian upsurge.⁶ The great masses were indifferent to education.⁷ The men who led the fight for free schools had to battle the selfishness of the well-to-do who were able to provide privately for their children and who looked upon taxation for social purposes as merely a legalized plundering of the rich for the benefit of the poor. More important still, perhaps, they had to overcome the apathy of the poor who in protecting the "rights of the individual" — rights which they never possessed — joined hands with the reactionaries to make the lot of children in towns and cities scarcely less distressing than that of Negro youth born into another type of servitude. The battle for public education was half won when the masses had been educated to the point of insisting upon free schools open on equal terms to all children.

Although many of the social ills and maladjustments of the period were, in a large measure, the result of growing urbanism, it was the cities from which humanitarianism drew its strength, and it was in the cities that a class of persons was emerging from which members might be recruited in the struggle for education and reform. It was the influence of urbanism combined with the long-established tradition for education in New England and the presence there of the best educational programs existing at the time that account for the leadership of the East in advancing education. While it is true that the cities of the East made the greater progress, it is also true that, wherever found, cities were powerful forces and their influence extended far into the hinterland, in fact, throughout the entire length and breadth of the country. It was no accident that the "educational awakening" was first noted in the East, that New England with a long history of state participation in education yielded more readily to the impact of new forces, and that Massachusetts, which

⁵ Curoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.

⁶ Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education*, p. 150. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938.

⁷ Edward H. Reiser, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, p. 378. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929.

had dominated the larger part of New England from the early colonial period, led the way.

PREPARING THE WAY FOR FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Many of the persons influenced by the humanitarian movement of the period followed strange enthusiasms with a tenacity deserving of a better cause. Among the educational reformers there were those who mixed their zeal for public schools with hopes for millenniums to be achieved by many and varied means. Although not of single mind as a group, they were all but unanimous in voicing the great social and political heresy that education be liberally supported even to the point of providing schools at public expense for all the children of the state. Nor was it easy to combat the sentiment against free public schools whose enemies argued that education merely gave rise, on the part of those born to inferior positions, to disturbing aspirations; that class distinctions made for social cohesion; that the encouragement of indolence begot indolence; that the strangulation of religious effort in education was not only unwise but immoral; that the rights of individuals should not be invaded, nor parents divested of their natural authority; that no state could long withstand the financial strain involved in maintaining free schools; and that no lasting good was likely to result from implementing the dreams of impractical and sometimes agnostic visionaries. The drive which gave direction and strength to the movement, however, was provided by those persons whose fear of change had been supplanted by an almost naïve faith in the power of education to reduce poverty and distress; to prevent child delinquency and crime; to promote the well-being of the individual, the intelligent use of the suffrage, and the welfare and stability of the state.

Needless to say, the struggle for free schools was not won overnight. A generation was to pass before the idea became generally acceptable in the North. In the almost entirely agricultural South progress was somewhat slower. Although rapid improvement was to be noted in all sections, particularly in urban areas, the implementation of the ideal of free schools was largely the accomplishment of the last half of the nineteenth century. The work of promoting the cause of public education remained for a long time the task of an inspired minority, the members of which became expert proselyters

of their faith. They recruited influential persons as well as lesser personages who in the face of threatened social disintegration found in the "struggle for schools an outlet for the pent-up feelings of foreboding disaster." They urged statesmen and public men to positions in advance of those of their constituents. They made use of all means and methods to spread their faith — the daily press, journals, political parties, labor organizations, conventions, educational societies, and foreign example.

With respect to the struggle to advance the cause of public schools, Cubberley makes the following summary statement:

For this work of propaganda hundreds of School Societies, Lyceums, and Educational Organizations were organized; many conventions were held, and resolutions favoring state schools were adopted; many "Letters" and "Addresses to the Public" were written and published; public-spirited citizens traveled over the country, making addresses to the people explaining the advantages of free state schools; many public-spirited men gave the best years of their lives to the state-school propaganda; and many governors sent communications on the subject to legislatures not yet convinced as to the desirability of state action. At each meeting of the legislatures for years a deluge of resolutions, memorials, and petitions for and against free schools met the members.⁸

THE AID OF PUBLIC MEN

The humanitarian influence of the times, the recognition of the new needs of society, and the pressure of educational reformers aroused men of influence to take advanced positions with respect to education. Most prominent among these were the governors of several states. Although the recommendations and demands of these governors for schools were not lacking in earlier years, they increased in frequency throughout the first third of the century. The extent to which such statements had become common by the beginning of the period is revealed by a quotation taken from an 1831 issue of the *Annals of Education*, the outstanding educational journal of the time.

We are happy to see that the governors of Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, Ohio, and Illinois, in their

⁸ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 167. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934 (revised & enlarged edition).

recent messages to the Legislatures of those States, have adverted to common education: in some instances with peculiar emphasis. In addition to these, Gov. Trimble of Ohio, in his last message (Dec. 6, 1830) adverted with interest to the same subject.

The executive of Maine congratulates the members of the legislature on account of the progress and influence of "mental light and good morals among the people." Speaking of literary institutions generally, he says: "For the correct management and progressive improvement of these institutions we cannot feel too anxious, since on education depends so much of our happiness and the security of our free governments."

Gov. Throop, of New York, speaks in the most unqualified terms of the importance of general education to the happiness of a free people, and the very existence of free institutions. He rejoices that the public mind is beginning to awake on this great subject. After a recapitulation of the most important facts contained in the Superintendent's last Report, he says: "I feel confident that, under proper regulations, a vast amount of knowledge in arts and sciences, connected with agriculture and handicraft, which are simple in their principles and easily comprehended, might be taught to children during those years which are usually spent at common schools." He complains of a want of competent instructors, and of suitable books, for the purposes of the common schools.

Gov. Hamilton, of South Carolina, says that the only safe and effective Agrarian system is the scheme of public education. This alone will secure to the poor their just rights; and he recommends the subject to the consideration of the legislature.

Gov. McArthur, of Ohio, insists that "intelligence alone is capable of self-government." He urges upon every member of the community, as a "solemn duty," attention to common schools.

The executive of Delaware urges in strongest terms the claims of primary education, from various considerations, especially from the fact that an enlightened public opinion is the only safeguard of a government like ours. He thinks, however, that legislation in that State has been carried far enough; and that an attempt to give further aid to the cause, by extending the system of taxation, would defeat the object intended.

Gov. Reynolds, of Illinois, suggests the importance of having our eyes fixed on the rising generation, in all our movements. His language on this subject is strong and emphatic, and his arguments incontrovertible. He speaks, especially, of the importance of having the intellectual growth "keep pace with the physical."

Gov. Wolf, of Pennsylvania, devotes a very considerable portion of his message to the same subject, taking a very liberal and extended view of its importance.⁹

Nor were governors the only public men to advocate free schools. A number of the members of legislative bodies, both national and state, and men destined for even higher positions not only expressed their firm opinion on the subject, but also were often active in the organizations which were established to promote the wider diffusion of knowledge and the organization of state systems of education.

INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Hundreds of organizations devoted to the promotion of free public schools sprang up in all sections and states of the nation. The direct influence of these educational societies and associations is difficult to measure, but fundamental educational reforms have been attributed to the efforts of several, such as the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools and the American Institute of Instruction. Although the programs of these organizations varied somewhat in nature and in scope, all were directly focused upon spreading the free-school doctrine and upon the improvement of education. Among the scores of educational associations established, the two most important were the American Lyceum and the Western Academic Institute and Board of Education, later succeeded by the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. These represented the organized propaganda for public education at its best whether judged in terms of aims, organization, effective use of available means, or the character of the personnel of the proselyting groups.

Western Literary Institute. In 1832, the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers succeeded the Western Academic Institute and Board of Education which had been launched in Cincinnati in 1829 by Albert Pickett. The reorganized institute was supported by such outstanding leaders as Lewis, Stowe, and Beecher. By 1835, auxiliary organizations had been established in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. By 1840, auxiliaries had been formed in every state of the Union outside of New England, with the exception of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. Each state organization

⁹ *American Annals of Education*, I (March, 1831), 125.

was charged to form county associations within its state. Of this great society, it has been said by Cubberley:

It raised money, employed an agent to visit the schools of the State, published its proceedings in good form, diffused information as to education, tried to elevate the character of teachers of the State, and repeatedly sent delegations to the legislature to ask for action. In addition it sent out lecturers to arouse the public, through its state auxiliaries it memorialized legislatures in behalf of schools, and enlisted the support of the newspapers for its work. For two years (1837-38) Pickett edited the *Western Academician and Journal of Education and Science*, which was published at Cincinnati as part of the propaganda work. It sent Professor Stowe to Europe to investigate education there, and on his return induced the legislature (1837) to print ten thousand copies of his *Report on Elementary Education in Europe* for distribution. . . . In 1836 it called a state convention in Ohio of the "Friends of Education," in 1837 induced the legislature to create the office of Superintendent of Common Schools, and in 1838 the culmination of its efforts came in what has been frequently called "the great school law of Ohio." . . . It has been said of this institution that it was "the commencement of a new era in education in the West."¹⁰

The American Lyceum. The most widely known and perhaps the most useful of these organizations was the American Lyceum organized by Josiah Holbrook in 1826 "for the improvement of its members in useful knowledge, and the advancement of popular education, by introducing uniformity and improvements in common schools, by becoming auxiliary to a board of education."¹¹

Within two years of the Lyceum's foundation, the *Boston Advertiser* reported that more than fifty societies had been organized, and, in 1829, Barnard noted that branches had been formed in nearly every state of the Union. It appears, however, that they were more numerous in New England than elsewhere.¹² On May 4, 1831, delegates from the state lyceums of Maine, Massachusetts, and New York, together with representatives from Yale and Dickinson Colleges and of several county lyceums, met in New York City and organized a

¹⁰ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 169-70.

¹¹ From a circular by Holbrook, as quoted in Cecil B. Hayes, *The American Lyceum*, p. 3. United States Office of Education Bulletin 12, 1932. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932.

¹² Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

national lyceum.¹³ By the time of the second annual meeting of this organization in May, 1832, it was reported that there were, in addition to numerous state and county lyceums, nine hundred such institutions in towns scattered throughout the United States. Although perhaps most of these were not large, memberships of two and three hundred were not uncommon. The Salem Lyceum, it is said, had twelve hundred members. Although they flourished in the East, they were also popular in the South and West. In 1832 Holbrook wrote concerning the importance of this institution in the Western country, where he was then traveling, as follows:

The lyceum system never presented itself to my view with so much grandeur or importance, as since my visit to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in each of which state meetings or conventions of the friends of education have been held, and measures adopted to organize State Lyceums, and to extend the system through the whole community. A unanimous opinion and strong feeling have been expressed, at every meeting, and by every individual, when any has been manifested upon the subject, in favor of the Lyceum, as peculiarly fitted to a new and thinly settled country; and it is perfectly evident, that nothing is wanting but a sufficient number of good agents, to act under the patronage of State and County Lyceums, to extend their operations and their blessings to nearly every family in this Western country while not more than a third part of them have the advantages of schools.¹⁴

As Hayes in his excellent study of the movement points out, neither the rather remote National Lyceum nor the state organizations functioned well as compared with the town lyceums which touched intimately the lives of many people. The state and national organizations, however, were not without influence. The nine annual meetings of the National Lyceum were given over largely to a consideration of educational problems and of ways and means of promoting schools. A list of the chief topics presented to the first meeting for discussion is indicative of the interests and purposes of the organization:

1. What are the greatest desiderata in relation to the improvement of the common Schools?

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁴ "Correspondence," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, II (February, 1832), 110.

2. What are the most eligible and practical means of advancing and perfecting the science of instruction?

3. To what extent is the monitorial system advisable and practicable in common Schools?

4. What is the most eligible plan of promoting education, by legislative enactments?

5. Ought manual labor Schools to be encouraged, and upon what general plan?

6. Should every boy who can devote his whole time to study until the age of 16, be put to the study of Latin and Greek, and if not, to what class should these languages be restricted?

7. To what extent may lectures be useful in common Schools?

8. To what extent can the natural sciences be advantageously introduced into common Schools?

9. The object and usefulness of town and district Lyceums?

10. What should be the object of County and State Lyceums, and how should they be formed?¹⁵

Throughout the entire existence of the National Lyceum, the problems of public education continued to be its chief consideration.¹⁶ The ninth and last meeting was given over to a discussion of plans for a national educational convention which met in Philadelphia in November, 1839.

Although the lyceums after 1838 more and more stressed adult improvement, they were active long after that date in the advancement of popular education. The service rendered the cause of public schools by the lyceum movement would be difficult to overestimate. The testimony is overwhelming that wherever local lyceums were established, interest in and concern for public education were soon manifested. Henry Barnard, in 1838, wrote:

The increase of active and well-conducted lyceums in this State [Connecticut] and at this season is much to be desired as one of the most direct and effectual means of directing the attention of the people to the importance of improving the schools.¹⁷

The lyceums aided in stirring parents from their general apathy toward education, long recognized as one of the most important obstacles to educational development. They also aided in resolving

¹⁵ "American Lyceum," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, I (June, 1831), 278-79.

¹⁶ "The American Lyceum," *American Journal of Education* (Barnard), XIV (September, 1864), 535-37.

¹⁷ As quoted in Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

the conflicts of opposing groups. Holbrook wrote that they provided common ground on which, in the states north of the Ohio, the former Kentuckians, Tennesseans, Virginians, Carolinians, and Yankees could meet.¹⁸ They were effective instruments in overcoming the hostility of the enemies of public education in Pennsylvania where a vigorous public-school movement was meeting the strong opposition of several powerful groups.¹⁹ Religious groups — Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, Catholics, and Lutherans — were able to co-operate in advancing the purposes of the lyceum and, at the same time, although incidentally, the interests of public education.

The co-operative action in support of education of persons of different habits, notions, philosophies, prejudices, and religious persuasions found expression in many ways. The lyceum attempted to find means by which the qualifications of teachers might be raised. It promoted the organization of teachers' associations. At least one county lyceum established a school for teachers. By various means, the necessity of providing better-trained teachers was kept constantly before the public. The lyceum was also a powerful force in promoting the establishment of state control over public education. Early in its existence, this organization was advocating state and county boards of education. State and county lyceums were attempting to perform some of the functions which the boards they sponsored performed after they had been organized. Many local lyceums in their constitutions expressed the idea that they would become auxiliary to the local board of education. Persons prominent in the affairs of the lyceum often became active in school affairs. The American Institute of Instruction was founded by such persons. Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts at the time of the creation of the State Board of Education, had been a vice-president of the National Lyceum from its founding. As already mentioned, this latter organization planned the national educational convention which met in Philadelphia in 1839. State and local branches supported and sometimes sponsored the educational conventions which were held in the various states and sections.

Educational conventions. State conventions were held in Virginia, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and in other states. These

¹⁸ "Correspondence," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, II (February, 1832), 110.

¹⁹ "Josiah Holbrook," *American Journal of Education* (Barnard), VIII (March, 1860), 242.

conventions, although not following an exact pattern, engaged generally in one or several activities, among which the most common were the preparing of addresses to the people, the developing of plans of education, reporting on defects and needs of the schools, and preparing memorials to be submitted to the various state legislatures urging the more liberal support of education and the establishment of free schools.

EDUCATIONAL JOURNALISM

Among the conditions necessary to the development of educational journalism was the presence of a somewhat professional-minded teaching group and the existence of a considerable measure of educational consciousness. Davis has gathered evidence to show that the reading public of the United States, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was not entirely ignorant of educational development in Europe or at home.²⁰ Lay journals and newspapers treated a number of educational subjects, but of course failed to go far enough beyond the interests of their readers to satisfy the ardent friends of education. These latter were witnessing the beginning of journalism in a number of special fields, none of which was, in their minds, so important as education.

Beginning with the *Academician* (1818-20) in 1818, some twenty educational journals were founded before 1840, but at this date only three were being published. Few continued publication more than a year or two. Notable exceptions were the *American Journal of Education* (1826-31), edited by William Russell; its successor, the *American Annals of Education* (1831-39), edited by W. C. Woodbridge; the *Common School Assistant* (1836-40), edited by J. Orville Taylor; Henry Barnard's *Connecticut Common School Journal*, published from 1838 to 1842 and revived in 1851; and the semi-monthly *Common School Journal* (1839-52), edited by Horace Mann during the first ten years of its existence.

The educational journals of the period, although intended largely for teachers, aimed to interest a wider public in the extension of education. Along with discussions of methods of teaching and of school subjects, such as grammar, geography, and arithmetic, they presented

²⁰ Sheldon Emmer Davis, *Educational Periodicals During the Nineteenth Century*. United States Bureau of Education Bulletin 28, 1919. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919.

articles advocating the education of girls, infant schools, mechanics' institutions, lending libraries, better qualified teachers, and schools at all levels, both private and public. It appears, however, that in general their first consideration was the extension of common schools free to all children. Among the aims of these journals listed by the editors may be found statements expressing the purpose of awakening "the attention of our community to the frightful disproportion that exists between the want and the amount of education"; of securing "intelligent legislation upon the subject of common schools"; of improving and promoting the "elevated character of common schools"; of arousing "the community to a sense of the importance of education"; and of "disseminating among the masses" correct views with respect to the importance of education. It is obvious that educational journalism itself was in a large measure a product of the educational awakening. Nevertheless, it appears to have played at least a small part in promoting the cause of public schools.

THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN EXAMPLE

The acceptance of the public-school idea, particularly its implications for a measure of state supervision, was further fostered by increased familiarity with European practices. These were becoming known in America largely through accounts in the newly established educational journals, but also through the reports of a number of Americans who had visited England, France, and the German states. The tendency to look to Europe for guidance is revealed in contemporary writings. For example, one writer in 1828, who listed the advantages to be expected from the organization of a society for the improvement of education, wrote:

Some measures for facilitating the extensive reception of *European works* on the various departments of education, and of transferring to our systems of instruction whatever might seem valuable in them, would be another object of attention with the society, and would afford opportunity of effecting extensive and permanent good.²¹

During the third decade of the nineteenth century, accounts by American travelers of the educational programs and arrangements

²¹ "Advantages to Be Expected from the Formation of a Society for the Improvement of Education," *American Journal of Education*, III (February, 1828), 84.

of European countries, including the reforms of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg and the teachers' seminaries of Prussia, became available to teachers, educational reformers, and, in fact, the entire reading public. In 1832, there was published in France Victor Cousin's report to the French government on the condition of public education in Prussia and other German states — a report which influenced the reorganization of the French school system and which was to become one of the most widely read documents in the history of education.²² The part of the report which pertained to primary schools was translated into English and published in London in 1834 under the title, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*. This translation, republished in America, was described as "an account of the best school system in the world, by the first philosopher of the age."²³ Francis Bowen, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Harvard, called the American publication "a judicious and timely step, as the work contained the outlines, and even the minute details, of the most elaborate and complete system of common schools which had yet been devised in the civilized world."²⁴

As Cubberley has pointed out, this report, the first complete account of a European school system to be made available to Americans, came at a time when those who labored for the extension of state supervision and the improvement of the schools needed support in their efforts to limit the authority of the local district and to transfer some of its functions to the state. Not only did it give aid to those interested primarily in educational organization and administration, but also to those who saw the state-supported teachers' seminary as a necessary step toward the establishment of effective state systems.²⁵ The influence of the report was widespread. There was scarcely an educational journal that did not reproduce large portions of it. Speakers made use of it. Calvin Stowe, a member of an enlightened Western group interested in improving instruction and promoting the establishment of schools, read a paper before a body of teachers in Columbus in 1836. In this lecture which was published under the title, "The Prussian System of Public Education

²² Victor Cousin, *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publique dans quelques pays d'Allemagne, et particulièrement en Prusse*. Paris: Paul Renouard, 1835.

²³ "Notices of Books," *American Annals of Education*, V (April, 1835), 190.

²⁴ "Memoir of Edmund Dwight," *American Journal of Education* (Barnard), IV (September, 1857), 14.

²⁵ See Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 357-59.

and Its Applicability to the United States," he drew heavily upon Cousin's report. Walz, the historian of the German influence on American education, states that this lecture gave the clearest and most succinct account of the Prussian school system to be found in the literature at that time.²⁶ At the close of the paper, Stowe said of the Prussian system:

It is impossible to contemplate the system without admiring the completeness and beauty of the plan — the wisdom, benevolence and good taste of its minutest regulations — and the promptness and efficiency with which every part of it is carried into execution.²⁷

He was especially impressed with the provisions made in Prussia for the education of teachers and in his lecture he urged the adoption of a similar policy in the United States. Partly due to Prussian example, American educators generally were coming to regard the training of teachers as essential in any adequate state program.

Stowe was instrumental somewhat later in making known to many Americans the essential features of the Prussian educational system. In 1836, the legislature of Ohio directed the governor to commission Stowe, who was going to Europe to buy a library for Lane Theological Seminary, to make a study of European school systems. Stowe made this study, and late in 1837 submitted a report to the legislature in which he dealt largely with the Prussian primary school and its counterpart, the teachers' seminary. Of the Prussian program, he wrote that it was "in its great outlines, as nearly complete as human ingenuity and skill can make it; though undoubtedly some of its arrangements and details admit of improvement; and some changes will of course be necessary in adapting it to the circumstances of different countries."²⁸ This report was printed by the legislature of Ohio and copies were sent to every school district in the state. Several other states also printed the document and circulated it widely.

Alexander D. Bache, sent to Europe by the trustees of Girard College, an institution for the care and education of orphans, after an extensive inspection of schools in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, France, Austria, and Switzerland was equally enthusiastic with

²⁶ John A. Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*, p. 18. Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1936.

²⁷ As quoted in Walz, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁸ As quoted in Walz, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

respect to the German system, to which more than two hundred pages of his report, published in 1839, were devoted. Of the Prussian system of primary schools, he wrote:

This is the most perfect of the centralized systems, allowing considerable latitude in the arrangement of the individual schools, while all are subject to the influence of the central authority. It has not, as is commonly supposed, recently sprung into existence, but has been the work of time, has been altered and amended, and is still in progress. Its present condition is the result of experience, and thus it commends itself to enlightened imitation, by which I mean that which, laying aside what is inapplicable to the political or social institutions of the country adopting it, would employ the large amount of useful material which it contains.²⁰

Bache, Stowe, Taylor, and many other writers of the period did not share the fears of those who saw a threat to democracy in the adoption of the educational ideas of an absolute monarchy. In fact, American educators expressed chagrin that a free government such as our own should in educational matters be so much less progressive than was the most absolute of European governments.

Of those to visit Europe, Barnard perhaps exerted the greatest influence. For a full generation after his visit during the middle eighteen-thirties he was ever outspoken in advocating the introduction "into our state school systems the best of European organizations and practices." As the most prolific writer on educational matters in the United States, he presented to the growing professional group and to lay groups as well excellent descriptions of educational organization in foreign states. Many of his articles which had appeared in magazine form were published in 1854 in one of his works, *National Education in Europe*.

Among others to report on European systems of education, particularly the Prussian system, were Julius, Smith, and Mann. Julius, at the instigation of the Reverend Charles Brooks, appeared before the Committee on Education of the Massachusetts Legislature and gave a lucid account of the Prussian system. Smith, who had lived in Prussia, prepared at the request of Governor Campbell of Virginia a report on the school system of that country. He drew upon his own observations and upon those of others, particularly Stowe.

²⁰ Alex. Dallas Bache, *Report on Education in Europe, to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans*, pp. 171-72. Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey, 1839.

among other things, he dealt with the training of teachers, the machinery of administration, and general taxation for the support of education. Mann, who did not go to Europe until 1843, several years after the creation of the Board of Education in Massachusetts and the establishment of the state normal school, found much to admire in the Prussian system. His famous *Seventh Report*, in which he appraised what he had seen in such a manner as to place American practices by comparison in an unfavorable light, precipitated a bitter controversy with the Boston schoolmasters.

The amount of material dealing with the educational system of Prussia in the relatively new educational journals of the day is significant. The general diffusion of information concerning a system which was strong in those very aspects in which American systems were most lacking must have been an influential factor in the struggle to curb the power of local districts, provide state supervision, and establish state institutions for the training of teachers.

GENERATION OF EDUCATIONAL STATESMEN

In listing the forces which promoted and gave direction to the public-school movement, the influence of a group of educational reformers who went on to become educational statesmen would be difficult to overestimate. These persons, content to forsake the easier venues of public service for which their ability and capacity for leadership fitted them, turned aside to blaze new trails that led to a more extended and better education for American children. Among these men, Mann, Barnard, and Wiley have received the greatest acclaim, but there were also others. In fact, in every section of the country there arose men of ability to give aid and direction to the movement for public schools.

James G. Carter. Perhaps more than any other person, James G. Carter prepared the way for the public-school "revival" in Massachusetts and for its acclaimed leader, Horace Mann. After graduation from Harvard in 1820, Carter continued to teach and soon began to write on educational matters for the press. The leading thoughts of some of his articles written for the *Boston Transcript* were made the basis for a series of essays which appeared in pamphlet form in 1824 under the title, *Letters to the Hon. William Prescott, LL.D., on the Free Schools of New England: With Remarks upon the Principles of Instruction*. In these letters, Carter traced the

history of educational legislation in Massachusetts, noted the decline of free schools, listed causes for the impaired state of education, and made suggestions for the improvement of free schools. He dealt at some length with the baneful and long persisting influence of incompetent teachers, poor books, and an inadequate understanding of the science of education. "The success of our schools," he said, "depends as much on the principles by which they are governed, and the school books, as on the personal and literary qualifications of the instructor."³⁰ More specific proposals were made for the improvement of the educational system of Massachusetts in his widely read *Essays upon Popular Education* which was published in 1826.

Carter presented a petition in 1827 to the legislature of Massachusetts asking for an appropriation for the establishment of a state normal school. A bill was introduced, but was lost in the Senate by one vote. He then opened a private school in Lancaster, but during the succeeding years continued to work to arouse interest in the training of teachers. He was chosen a member of the House in 1835, served as chairman of the Committee on Education, and drafted the bill which created the State Board of Education. His name headed the list of the appointed members of the board. He was active in the organization of the American Institute of Instruction and for a time served as one of its officers.

Carter urged that education be considered a science. He stressed the importance of having pupils discover truth inductively and urged the views of Pestalozzi. His regard for Colburn's textbook on arithmetic led to a long discussion of it in the *Letters*.³¹ He suggested inductive methods for the teaching of other subjects, particularly languages and geography. In collaboration with William H. Brooks, he attempted to apply the inductive method in an illustrated geography of Essex, Middlesex, and Worcester Counties which was to lead up to the larger unit, the state.³² His later years were spent in the eclipse of the more dynamic Horace Mann, who had been named secretary of the State Board of Education, a position for which, in the minds of most educators of the state, Carter was better fitted.

³⁰ James G. Carter, *Letters to the Hon. William Prescott, LL.D., on the Free Schools of New England*, p. 60. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1824.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-111.

³² See note on *A Geography of Massachusetts; for Families and Schools*, by James G. Carter and William H. Brooks, "Critical Notices," *American Journal of Education*, I (May, 1830), 211-13.

Horace Mann. Horace Mann, more closely identified with the public-school revival than any of his contemporaries, personified in many ways the social, educational, and moral movements arising from the ferment of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The son of five generations of New England Puritans, he too was a Puritan, but one in whom the stern Calvinism of his early youth was sublimated in a zeal for human betterment and its corollary, an enthusiasm for education. Although by the age of ten he had learned the whole Calvinistic creed "and the dialectics by which it was maintained," at twelve he rejected the main tenets of that theology and later embraced Unitarianism as the better expression of his religious thought. His rejection of the Calvinistic theology was a step toward, and foreshadowed, his acceptance of the doctrine of the improbability of the human race, a belief clearly set forth in an oration, "The Gradual Advancement of the Human Species in Dignity and Happiness," delivered by Mann on the occasion of his graduation from Brown in 1819.

Recent writers have contended rightly that Mann was entirely content to work within the framework of the existing capitalistic economy. It is unlikely that any other alternative presented itself to a reformer who believed implicitly in the revolutionary doctrine that through education man is an indefinitely perfectible being, a theory which was in the process of influencing and which was destined to promote wide-sweeping social change. Mann, convinced that most ills could be remedied by education, appealed, it is true, to all with the arguments he thought most forceful to the occasion, but it should be noted that, although he urged education as a means of promoting industrial welfare and thus rather directly the welfare of the industrialists, he urged, more emphatically and on more numerous occasions, education as a necessity for a republican form of government, as a method of equalizing opportunity, and as a means of saving people from vice, crime, and poverty. It was fortunate for the cause of public education that Mann never doubted certain generally accepted core values; never wavered in his overestimation of the effects of knowledge; never joined with a minority group of contemporary reformers in seeking to escape the difficult social problems of the new order by attempting to re-establish the old which had not been inflicted with the evils of industrialism; and never sought one of the shorter routes to Utopia, the "over-

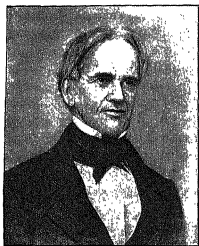
grown trails" of which cross, but seldom parallel, the main path of social progress.

Mann appeared on the educational scene at the most opportune time. Industrialization, urbanism, and other kindred phenomena were creating new social conditions which made urgent, and at the same time possible, a new shaping of elementary education. It was fortunate that the indefatigable labors of Carter and lesser men had prepared the way for Mann, even to the point of persuading the state legislature to create the State Board of Education in 1837. To be secretary of this board, Mann was called from a promising legal and political career which had already brought him to the presidency of the State Senate, but which he did not hesitate to renounce in favor of the opportunity to devote himself "to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth,"³³ a service which was to occupy the twelve most active years of his life.

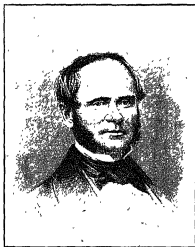
Although the cause of public education was nowhere strong, Massachusetts at the time Mann became secretary of the State Board of Education was threatened with the loss of her position of educational leadership. In fact, feeble developments in New York, recent permissive legislation in Pennsylvania, and efforts of a few other states to adapt their educational programs to the needs of a society in which democracy was taking on new meaning threatened to make Massachusetts' pride in leadership nothing more than vain boasting of earlier glory. Within a few months after taking office, Mann disclosed the glaring defects in the system which investigation at first hand had made apparent to him. He pointed to the poor quality of the school committees and charged that they were derelict in the performance of their duties. Little attention was paid to the laws concerning visitation and certification of teachers. One third of the children dependent upon public schools for their education were absent in winter; two fifths in summer. Inadequately trained teachers, teaching in schoolhouses unbelievably bad, and further handicapped by the apathy of the people, the multiplicity of texts, the lack of necessary facilities, the absence of libraries, and a term averaging less than seven months, created little enthusiasm for public schools which were generally less highly regarded than private and sectarian ones.

³³ As quoted in B. A. Hinsdale, *Horace Mann*, p. 112. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

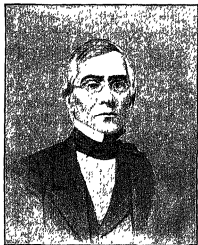
EDUCATIONAL LEADERS
OF THE AWAKENING



Horace Mann



Henry Barnard



Caleb Mills



Calvin Wiley

Mann, fully aware that any long-term program of improvement would have to be based on popular acceptance, launched, immediately upon his acceptance of the secretaryship, the most intensive and sustained campaign for public education that had ever been conceived by one person. He made the most of the limited powers allotted to the board. He journeyed up and down the state, held educational conventions, promoted teachers' institutes, called men of prominence to take the platform in behalf of education, sponsored the establishment of the three first public normal schools, wrote twelve annual reports which remain notable documents in the history of educational statesmanship, founded and edited for ten years the *Common School Journal*, and worked tirelessly for the improvement of the common schools. With respect to his accomplishments, his biographer wrote:

First, the campaign of education in Massachusetts that he conducted was thoroughly successful; the people of the State were converted again to that one of their ancient institutions in which their faith had most waned — their common schools. Secondly, the Board of Education and the Secretaryship were strongly entrenched in public confidence; before he laid down his office all serious danger of a backward step had passed away. Thirdly, the Normal schools, the teachers' institutes, the county associations, and school district libraries were founded and placed beyond the reach of hostile influences. Fourthly, the common schools made great material progress. The appropriations more than doubled; a sum in excess of \$2,000,000 was spent in providing better schoolhouses and equipments; the wages of men teachers increased 62 per cent, of women teachers 51 per cent, while the relative number of women teachers had increased 54 per cent; a month was added to the average length of the school; the ratio of the private school expenditure to the public school expenditure fell from 75 per cent to 36 per cent; the compensation of school committees was made compulsory, and the supervision which they exercised over the schools improved in both quantity and quality; about 50 new high schools were established, thus restoring secondary teaching to large numbers of pupils. Fifthly, the schools improved in studies, in textbooks, in both the absolute and relative number of pupils in attendance, in methods of teaching and discipline, and, above all, in spirit.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Hinsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-76.

Henry Barnard. Mann's influence in stimulating and directing the public-school movement was outstanding in a period characterized by able, aggressive leadership and great accomplishment in all parts of the country, but his contribution was perhaps in no way greater than that of his contemporary, Henry Barnard. Although Barnard, looking back to his earlier years, stated that, so far as he could remember, "the cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune, seemed most worthy . . . of any sacrifice of time, money, and labor . . .,"⁸⁶ there was little in his early experience to indicate that the promotion of the cause of public education was to be the consuming interest and work of his life. In fact, after graduating from Yale in 1830 and teaching for a year in a Pennsylvania academy, Barnard prepared himself for a legal career, was admitted to the bar, and engaged in local politics. He visited Europe from 1835 to 1837, where he spent much of his time in studying schools, particularly those which reflected the Pestalozzian influence. On his return he became a member of the Connecticut Legislature. A bill to provide for the better supervision of schools, introduced by him in 1838 and passed unanimously by the legislature, created a state board of commissioners of common schools of which he became a member and, after Gallaudet's refusal, the first secretary.

Conditions in Connecticut, as described in contemporary accounts, were even worse than those found by Mann in Massachusetts. As in Massachusetts, the towns had been largely divested of their educational responsibilities. Taxation for educational purposes was opposed, and the public schools were operated by local societies, almost solely on the income derived from the permanent school funds of the state. Few but the poor attended the free schools, others enrolling in the academies and other types of private schools. Teachers were generally untrained and inefficient, and even so, underpaid; the turnover was appalling. School buildings and equipment, except in relatively few instances, were almost indescribably bad. Barnard, as Mann was doing in Massachusetts, set out to awaken the state to its obligations. He addressed letters to the people, organized conventions in every county, gathered information on the operation and defects of existing schools, prepared reports to the legislature point-

⁸⁶ Harris Elwood Starr, "Henry Barnard," *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 622. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.

ing toward needed changes in the school laws, founded and edited the *Connecticut Common School Journal*, emphasized in speeches and writings the need for trained teachers, and established the first teachers' institutes to attempt seriously to improve the quality of teaching. After four years of unselfish service, dynamic leadership, and great accomplishment, Barnard was, for the time, removed from the scene by the enemies of public schools in the legislature, who legislated his office out of existence.

In 1843, he was called to Rhode Island, where conditions were still worse than those he had faced in Connecticut and where opposition to state intervention in education was a tradition of two centuries' standing. Employed to collect and disseminate information regarding the defects and possible improvements in the school system and to awaken an interest in education on the part of the public, he launched a campaign similar in many respects to the one that he had carried on in Connecticut. In 1845, largely as a result of his labors, a good school law was passed which he as state commissioner of public schools (1845-49) put into operation before his resignation in 1849.

At this time, it is stated, he might have been appointed to a professorship in one of two colleges; the superintendency of Boston, New York, Cincinnati, or New Orleans; or the presidency of the state university of either Michigan or Indiana. In 1851, however, he accepted the principalship of Connecticut's newly established normal school (New Britain) by virtue of which action he became *ex-officio* secretary of the State Board of Education. In this position, he spent most of his time promoting the public-school cause—rewriting school laws, obtaining additional tax support, and curbing the power of the school societies.

When, in 1855, he resigned on account of his health and in order to devote himself to the publication of the *American Journal of Education*, he had already achieved some distinction as a writer and editor. He had edited four volumes of the *Connecticut Common School Journal* (1838-42) and three volumes of the *Journal of Rhode Island Institute of Instruction* (1845-49); written an excellent work on school architecture; and was the author of a number of noteworthy reports while serving as the chief state school officer in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Among the latter, his first annual report (Connecticut) has been characterized as a "bold and startling

document" containing "a minute, accurate, comprehensive, and instructive exhibition of the condition and operation of the common-school system."³⁶ His first printed report as commissioner of public schools in Rhode Island has often been called the first school survey report, and his 1853 report³⁷ as *ex-officio* secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Education, which was a history of educational legislation in Connecticut, was a scholarly and significant study. His greatest contribution to educational leadership, however, was the *American Journal of Education*. This monumental work, brought out between 1855 and 1882, in thirty-two volumes of more than eight hundred pages each, treated, in a somewhat encyclopedic fashion, nearly all phases of education from the earliest times to Barnard's own, and upon it his recognition as the "scholar of the awakening" is largely based. Although he took time from the journal and his other writings to serve as chancellor of the University of Wisconsin from 1858 to 1860, as president of St. John's College for a short period during 1866-67, and as the first United States commissioner of education from 1867 to 1870, his great reputation as an educator rests largely upon his work in establishing the school systems of Connecticut and Rhode Island and his immeasurable contribution to American educational scholarship.

Leaders in the South and West. Not only in New England, but in almost every state in the Union, capable enthusiastic persons engaged themselves in stimulating interest in public education and promoting the organization of state school systems, often in the face of greater obstacles than were confronted by Mann, Barnard, and their contemporary reformers in the relatively wealthy and somewhat urbanized states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. The campaigns for free public schools in the states of the South and the West followed, within limits, the pattern set in New England. But, although outside example was a factor of great influence, reformers everywhere were, perhaps, more deeply indebted to the pioneering work within their own states done by persons who had preceded them and but for whom the ideal of universal education, never very strong, would have entirely disappeared.

In North Carolina, the work of Calvin Wiley, the outstanding

³⁶ James Kent's *Commentaries*, as quoted in Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 219. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934 (new edition).

³⁷ *History of the Legislation of Connecticut Respecting Common Schools Down to 1838*.

figure in the educational awakening, would have been less successful had it not been for the activities of such men as Braxton Craven, the founder of Trinity College, and President Caldwell, of the University of North Carolina. In the early thirties Caldwell pointed out the deterrents to educational advancement, "suggested plans for overcoming the State's educational backwardness, discussed the usual methods of school support, remarked freely on educational practices in the State, discussed the public-school systems of other States, . . . pointed out those features which would be practicable for conditions in North Carolina," and presented a plan to provide for the training of teachers which was considered as "a necessary feature of any system which the State should adopt. . . ." ³⁸

Although the foundation for a system of education had been laid by the school law of 1839 and a "fairly creditable educational plan was in operation" ³⁹ when Wiley took office as state superintendent, he faced, as had Mann in Massachusetts and Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island, a situation characterized by negligence on the part of school officials, stubborn localism, poorly prepared teachers, primitive schoolhouses, inadequate facilities, and much prejudice on the part of many people with respect to public education.⁴⁰

As in the case of the two great New England reformers, there was little in Wiley's early life and training to indicate his particular fitness for the tasks of educational leadership which he was later to perform so ably. After graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1840, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1841. After ten years devoted to the practice of law, to editing the *Oxford Mercury*, and to writing, he was elected to the state legislature in 1850. He urged and secured legal provision for a superintendent of common schools to be chosen for two-year terms by the legislature. Wiley was chosen the first superintendent under the act and entered on his duties in January, 1853. A Whig, he was, in spite of predominately Democratic legislatures, reappointed until 1865, when, after the collapse of the Confederacy, his office was abolished. During his term of office, he worked steadily to reorganize and improve the educational program, never ceasing to attempt to stimulate a wider and deeper interest in it. He visited all parts of the state; made speeches before teachers, legislators, and

³⁸ Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, pp. 151-52. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1922.

³⁹ Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 223.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

other groups; prepared and presented annual reports; began and edited the *North Carolina Journal of Education*; organized and headed the Educational Association of North Carolina; and helped promote the work of Normal College, the first teacher-training institution of a semi-public character in the state.⁴¹

That his achievement, as measured by change in the actual status of education, was, after all, relative and easily exaggerated is revealed by Wiley's report for 1860, the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. On the basis of incomplete returns from the eighty-six counties, he estimated that more than three thousand schools had been in session during the year; that approximately 150,000 children or nearly five sevenths of those of school age were enrolled; that perhaps \$100,000 (\$75,929.88 in sixty-five counties) had been collected by taxation; that the school term was nearly four months in length; and that the average salary paid to teachers was twenty-six dollars per month.⁴² However, as modest as these achievements appear, North Carolina compared favorably with many Northern states, and before the Civil War was fast becoming a center of educational reform in the South. Evidence that the foundations were well laid is the fact that both the state organization and the permanent school fund survived throughout the desolating war. Neither the state program nor the Literary Fund, however, could withstand the aftermath.

Every section of the country felt the impact of determined men firmly convinced of the regenerative power of education and the social value of literacy. In Indiana, where the legislature had, with almost studied neglect, ignored the rather strong provisions of the constitution of 1816, education had reached a low ebb. The state and in turn the district had well-nigh abdicated all responsibilities. Education had become an almost individual or parental matter; the dreary situation reflected the low state of group thinking and the helplessness of the individual. By 1840, one seventh of the population was classified as illiterate. Only about one half of the children between the ages of five and eighteen, it was said, could read, and less than one sixth of those of school age were in any kind of school.

⁴¹ Jerome Dowd, *The Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 83. Durham: Duke University Press, 1939.

⁴² *Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of North Carolina, for the Year 1860* (Document 10), pp. 3-6, as quoted in M. C. S. Noble, *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, pp. 225-27. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

The most illiterate of any free state, Indiana, in the ten years which followed, not only retained her unenviable position, but moved below some of the slave states.

Here, too, voices arose pointing the way out of the wilderness. Caleb Mills, born in New Hampshire and a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Andover Theological Seminary, took time from his duties at Wabash College to take a leading part in the educational affairs of the state and to exert a profound influence, for more than a quarter of a century, on the development of the public-school system. In 1846, Mills published the first of a series of six annual "Addresses to the Legislature." In these he called attention to the deplorable conditions and the lack of educational opportunity, outlined needed reforms, and urged the state to accept its responsibilities. These addresses were issued on the opening day of sessions of the legislature, except the fifth address which appeared in 1850 as the constitutional convention assembled. The sixth and last of these communications was published as the first legislature, under the new constitution, convened in 1851 to implement the provisions of the constitution. This address, recommending desirable educational legislation, was published by order of the legislature and circulated throughout the state.

These addresses reflect Mills's advanced views. The constitutional provisions for education and the school laws which were enacted reflect his influence. While he was state superintendent of public instruction from 1854 to 1856, his reports provided further evidence of his advanced thinking, but they also indicate that progress was slow and halting. Another decade was to pass before the schools were placed upon a sound basis, and perhaps a longer period was to elapse before the title of "Father of the Common Schools of Indiana," which was later bestowed upon him, was one in which he might feel pride.

In other states, reformer-educators led campaigns which, although differing in their immediate ends, were ultimately designed to promote the cause of public schools. Their tasks were dictated by the particular needs of their state. Some made their greatest contribution in helping frame a state organization, in curbing a rampant localism, or in breaking the strangle-hold of powerful sectarian interests; others devoted their energies largely to the task of obtaining taxation for the support of schools and of making the schools free;

others labored for the improvement of instruction and a better-trained teaching force; but, in every instance, the ultimate goal was the same. Among the men "who helped fight through the battles of state establishment and state organization and control," Cubberley has given honorable mention to "Calvin Stowe, Samuel Lewis, and Samuel Galloway in Ohio; . . . Ninian W. Edwards in Illinois; John D. Pierce and Isaac E. Crary in Michigan; Robert J. Breckinridge in Kentucky; . . . John Swett in California," and others including the leaders already discussed in some detail in this chapter.⁴³

When the complete history of the public-school movement is written, many forces will stand out as influential in giving it both impetus and direction, but few will be accorded greater importance than the work of these public-minded persons who sought to ennoble man and to equalize the conditions of his existence through universal education.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE

Without in any way minimizing the role played in the so-called educational awakening by humanitarians, political leaders, educators, educational propaganda, and foreign example, we must seek the theme by which the unfolding drama is to be interpreted, not in one or all of these factors, but in the source of which these forces were no more than manifestations. Reformers and the activities sponsored by them were products of the time and had significance only from this relationship. Without the underlying current of social and economic change, there could not have been a generation of reformers pointing to the failure of old institutions — a generation intent upon providing a program of universal education through the establishment of state-controlled and publicly supported schools. Although to interpret the public-school movement without reference to Mann, Barnard, and their contemporaries is to discount the influence of personalities to an extent to which careful students of history are not prepared to go, it is important to note that the dynamics of the new orientation which they sought sprang from an economic, social, and political movement, the nature of which has been indicated by characterizations, such as the "triumph of Jack-

⁴³ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 229.

sonian democracy," the "rise of the common man," and the "emergence of the democratic state."

EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE AND REPRESENTATION

The victory of American arms in the Revolutionary War had resulted in the permanent banishment of the professional monarchical-minded ruling cliques and the sending into exile or obscurity the most vociferous defenders of the old order. The establishment of the republic, proclaimed on democratic principles, both consolidated the products of a century's trend toward political and social equality and pointed in the direction of even greater gains to be achieved. But, although uneven progress continued to be made, at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the control of government was still largely in the hands of men of property and talent. Government remained the business of gentlemen, and the leaders of organized protests against the rule of aristocracy and wealth, on gaining immediate and modest ends, grew conservative and became champions of the *status quo*.⁴⁴

Universal manhood suffrage as the basis of representation was but slowly accepted. Of the thirteen original states, only New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789, allowed full suffrage without the ownership of property, but in these four states only persons who paid taxes were allowed to vote. It has been estimated that at this time less than one fifth of the entire male population of the United States was in possession of the franchise. An often-expressed idea that government had first been instituted among men as a means of protecting property and that this function was still most important was reflected in the suffrage regulations. These, for the most part, were ordered on the assumption that men without property had no stake in government and were unfit either to make the laws or to administer them. Provisions regarding the right to hold office were, as a rule, more restrictive than those which governed the suffrage. "The higher the office, the higher was the property qualification."⁴⁵

Equally important in keeping the control of government in the hands of men of property were the constitutionally sanctioned

⁴⁴ William E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 3. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

⁴⁵ Reisner, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

arrangements within states which made it difficult for the electorate to express its will and which, in some of the older states, successfully minimized the influence of whole sections whose population embraced, in some instances, a majority of all the voters in the state. Everywhere the power of property was accepted.

The slow progress made toward unrestricted manhood suffrage during the first quarter of the century following the Revolution was greatly accelerated during the second. Up to the close of the War of 1812, only four states had removed all property and similar restrictions upon the suffrage. But by 1815, "new winds had begun to blow over the American people," and the democratic movement which sought to abolish political inequalities gained strength rapidly. The economic and social régime in the South resisted the development of democratic institutions, but even so, Maryland in 1809 and South Carolina in 1810 abolished all tax and property qualifications.

With the exception of Ohio and Louisiana, Western states, both north and south, granted full or, in one or two instances, almost full manhood suffrage from the beginning of statehood.⁴⁶

As indicated in an earlier chapter, the democracy of the frontier states had, to use the words of Turner, "reactive effects of the highest importance upon the older States whose people were being attracted" westward.⁴⁷ Eastern states were obliged to extend the suffrage and to give, at least in the case of New York and Virginia, the western counties a more equitable representation. However, the right to vote must have been more important in the minds of many persons who had gained the right than was the actual discharge of this civic duty. Old habits, ideas, and perhaps a sense of futility kept many from the polls who had the right of suffrage.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, under the surface, the ground swell of democracy was strong. With the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828, the changes which had taken place with respect to the franchise were translated for the first time into political action. There now came before the electorate a candidate who could stir the emotions of the common

⁴⁶ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 151.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁸ "In Virginia, with a white population of 625,000, only 15,000 had voted in the election of 1824; in Pennsylvania, whose population was over a million, only some 47,000 had taken the trouble to go to the polls; while in Massachusetts, where the 'favorite son' motive operated, just one man in nineteen exercised the right of suffrage." Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

man. Jackson represented the democracy, the aspirations, and the prejudices of the frontier. "Let the people rule," the battle-cry of the Jackson party, struck a responsive chord untouched by other issues. For the first time the great masses were aroused to use the political power which they possessed. The result constituted a political revolution which, to defenders of the special rights of property in government, threatened to destroy not only property but laws and liberty as well. However, to persons unblinded by unreasoning emotion, it was becoming increasingly evident that in the end the old claims to political superiority on the part of any class would be denied and that everywhere the remaining restrictions on suffrage would be abolished. The people, unskilled in steering, had seized the helm. To make government more directly responsive to their will, election by popular vote came to be, particularly in the West, the approved manner of filling public offices. Even the chief state school officers were chosen at general elections, usually for short terms. The power of the state legislatures was limited, the time of meeting and the length of session prescribed. Although it was thought that equality would be achieved when restrictions on the suffrage, long terms of office, ignorance, and related ills were abolished, the optimistic viewpoint of the time prevented serious thought of leveling society downward. Equality was the reward of striving, and room at the top was believed to be almost unlimited. Fish, one of the foremost interpreters of the period, states:

The limit was only the top. Nothing was to be dragged down. The struggle for equality aimed not at all at transferring one man's wealth to another; no important man thought of an equal division. Nor was there any purpose of limiting any man's liberty. The ideals — that some men's liberty should be restricted because they are not strong enough to use it for their own advantage; that some men's liberty, or at least the liberty of artificial men, corporations, should be restricted because dangerous to other individuals or to the body politic; that the body politic is more deserving of consideration than any of the individuals who comprise it — were never in America so weakly held or apologetically presented. Resources were limitless. Free men could be trusted to want what was right and to get it.⁴⁰

The influence of wealth and the talent it represented continued

⁴⁰ Fish, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

to be a force in government, but with the election of Jackson few could fail to see that the old political order had passed and that only vestiges of it remained.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF A DEMOCRATIC STATE

The counterpart of the emergence of the democratic state was, of course, the eclipse of the old order. This, and previous chapters, have indicated the steps in the process, something of the factors involved, and the fact that the transition, when all of its aspects are considered, was not abrupt. Changes had been gradual, but the culmination of many forces long at work resulted in the general recognition that political democracy had triumphed, and with this recognition came an awareness on the part of many persons that the educational arrangements which had served the old order well were no longer adequate for the new. No longer were the ends of society to be served by educating the few for leadership and the many to be good subjects, and staunch, if unintelligent, supporters of a social system which denied them their just rights. No longer would the classics, traditionally considered the proper content of education, serve the educational needs of a society which was coming to deny the prerogatives that birth and breeding had always given and to measure the value of the individual in terms of his ability to subdue a new country and to gain control of its resources. No longer could education for the masses aim at a literacy far below the functional level, nor could men long continue to feel neither loss nor shame in their inability to read and write.

An educational program designed to induct youth into a social system in which the few planned, directed, and enjoyed most of the returns, required a new orientation. Of all the institutions of the old order, none resisted change more than the school. A long history and the sanctions of religion had given to the content, method, and the arrangements for control and administration of education a vitality which led to the survival of a class system of education in a society which had repudiated class rule.

Education needed to be oriented around the concept of citizenship in the democratic state. This was not a simple task. But men of vision, aware of this necessity, united in the effort to provide, freely and as a right which citizenship implied, adequate opportunity for all — opportunity which was not the kindly offering of an

altruistic church, nor yet the contribution of hopeful, well-meaning philanthropists.

The change was not easily accomplished. Old traditions which resisted change had to be broken. To institute a program of education designed to socialize youth in terms of the new and more democratic way of American life was the work of more than one generation. The history of educational activity of the entire period here under consideration centers about the false starts, halting steps, and real progress toward that goal.

A program of education adequate to meet the needs of the new political order could be implemented only as rapidly as voters came to understand that the success of the great democratic experiment depended upon an enlightened citizenry and to feel that education was worth the cost which its provision entailed. There was little precedent for looking upon education as a matter of general concern. As long as the suffrage had been limited by property and sometimes by religious qualifications, children who were, in later life, to play a part in church and state were educated privately and without undue burden upon the parents. When the suffrage was granted to persons without means to provide for their children — who had neither a tradition for education nor, in many instances, an understanding of its worth — state intervention became a necessity. The state must intervene to require an educational program organized in terms of new political and social conditions — a program to give the state the stability which only an intelligent citizenry could make possible.

This meant that the support of education could not be left to private, religious, and philanthropic agencies, but must be provided out of public funds derived largely from taxation. Control could not be allowed to remain in the hands of persons or groups of persons blinded by their own particular interests, but had to be made responsive to the will of the entire public. Education at public expense had to be extended upward to provide the trained intelligence which the new order required. And above all, a common education — the minimum essential for intelligent citizenship in a democratic state — had to be provided for and imposed upon all. As Fish has pointed out, the exciting and vital educational problems of the period "revolved about the questions of equality of educational opportunity, tax-supported education, the functions of

church and state in elementary education, and the organization of a system of schools adapted to American conditions." ⁵⁰ That the widening of the base of education was recognized as of paramount importance is evidenced by the fact that the greatest amount of educational activity of the period was related to the establishment and development of common schools.

DEMOCRATIZING THE SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

Corresponding stages in the progress toward acceptance of the idea of universal education supported by a tax on all property were reached at widely varying times in the different states and regions, but everywhere the movement was slow. Certain states moved more rapidly than others, but differences between states with respect to this development were perhaps no greater than differences found between communities within a single state. Educational historians have professed to see the origins of free schools in the legislation enacted in Massachusetts in the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century — a series of laws which provided that the cost of government and church should be met by a tax upon the inhabitants according to their means (1638); that children should be taught to read (1642); and that towns of fifty householders should provide a teacher of reading and writing and towns of a hundred householders should maintain a grammar school to fit youth for the university (1647). It should be noted, however, that the idea of taxing wealth for the support of church and state was not new; that the purpose of the law of 1638 was to compel all inhabitants to support the Puritan church; that schools were not contemplated under the law of 1642; that the law of 1647 did not require tax support for schools; and that no legislation of the period was based on the assumption that education should be provided freely to the children of parents who were able to pay.

The claims put forth that the right to tax for the support of schools open without charge to rich and poor alike and that the several other principles upon which the present free, compulsory, and secular systems of education rest sprang from acts of the General Court of Massachusetts acting for the Puritan church, even though they may have a small measure of validity, have tended to obscure

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

the fact that these principles evolved slowly and painfully, and were only recognized and accepted in much later times. Outside Massachusetts, and perhaps one or two other New England states, the principle of public support of education through taxation was rejected during the first half-century of the national period. It is true that the duty of society toward paupers was, as a rule, recognized and some meager provision, which they generally scorned, was made for them. Even in Massachusetts, Carter and others were led to protest against the attitude of persons of means which was threatening to reduce what approximated a free school to a purely pauper institution. When such persons refused to send their children to the tax-supported schools, a stigma naturally attached to pupils attending them. Public tax-supported education was accepted only after it was fully recognized that the education of all the people in a democracy was a matter of community concern; that education which the lower economic groups could or were willing to pay for was entirely inadequate; and that philanthropy, sanctioned by religion and the ages, could not carry the much increased burden of providing even the minimum education needed by the greatly augmented number of children if they were to grow up as effective guardians of the new order.

SUPPLEMENTING THE FUNDS DERIVED FROM TUITION AND PHILANTHROPY

Long before the general public was willing to adopt the policy of school support by taxation — even in early colonial times — attempts were made to increase educational opportunities and to reduce tuition charges by supplementing the two long-accepted means of school support — tuition and philanthropy — by resorting to revenues derived from other sources. As the necessity for universalizing education became more and more accepted, the supplementary methods of securing funds were adopted more widely than ever before and several new sources of revenue were found. Fines and forfeitures were set aside for the use of schools; lotteries were organized for their benefit, sometimes chartered by the states, sometimes organized in cities without state sanction, and, in the case of the District of Columbia, authorized by joint resolution of Congress; state revenues from the sale of stocks of banks and of certain internal improvements were made available for educational purposes; fees for marriage licenses were relinquished to provide funds for schools;

and a motley assortment of indirect taxes collected from slave-traders, hawkers, auctioneers, owners of tenpin alleys and billiard tables, theater proprietors, bankers, and others with respect to whom the state might easily exercise its sovereign right, was added to the total.

Permanent school funds. For a long time it was generally expected that permanent school funds could be built up to the point where the income derived from them would provide an adequate educational program. Connecticut created a permanent school fund in 1750, to which in 1795 was added \$1,200,000 received from the sale of the Western Reserve. By 1821, the income from this fund was so large that the law of more than a century's standing which required towns to levy a two-mill tax for schools was repealed. Virginia, in 1810, established a permanent fund, the income to be used for the education of the poor only. Among the other older states to establish such funds were Maryland (1812), New York (1805), Delaware (1796), New Jersey (1816), Georgia (1817), New Hampshire (1821), Kentucky (1821), Vermont (1825), and North Carolina (1825).

With respect to the possibility of financing education through endowments, undue optimism was aroused and interest stimulated by the federal land grants for education in the new states carved from the national domain. The distribution of the federal surplus of more than \$28,000,000 to the twenty-six states then comprising the Union likewise created great expectations, not only in the West, but also in the older states which had not received federal lands. The states, sharing in this deposit on the basis of their representation in Congress, received sums varying from slightly less than \$300,000, as in Delaware, Michigan, and Arkansas, to something over \$4,000,000 in New York. Although the states were free to make any use of the funds they saw fit, sixteen of them placed the money received in a special fund for educational purposes or added it to the permanent school fund. According to Swift, "the income, or a portion of it, has reached the common schools in every state [then in the Union] except four: Michigan, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia."⁵¹

The funds never became as important as had been hoped. As the costs of education mounted, permanent funds played an increasingly smaller part in financing education. In certain instances the exist-

⁵¹ Fletcher Harper Swift, *Federal and State Policies in Public School Finance*, p. 34. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1937.

ence of a permanent fund operated to inhibit the development of an adequate program. In some states, the restriction of the use of the income to the schooling of paupers fixed more firmly the idea that public-supported and pauper schools were one and the same thing. In others, the early optimism which attended the creation of such funds continued long after educational statesmen had discounted their importance in the total financial program. Contemporary writers blamed the low condition of Connecticut's schools on the existence of that state's exceptionally large and well-managed fund. In Massachusetts, opponents of the establishment of a permanent fund pointed to the sad results of Connecticut's efforts to escape taxation. In the latter state, the increasing costs of education led to a reduction in the quantity and quality of schooling offered, to the extended use of the rate bill as the only practicable means of securing the added funds needed, or to both.

On the other hand, these permanent school funds did serve a useful purpose. They were, in most instances, the "first stable sources of support given to free schools." They fostered the idea of education as a public concern.

Since these funds could be granted or withheld by the state, they could be used to stimulate effort. Districts were granted funds if they fulfilled certain conditions set by the state. As one of these requirements, the state often specified that the local district should raise money to supplement the state funds received. The effectiveness of this requirement in breaking down opposition to local taxation and in otherwise influencing progressive action will be discussed in the following pages.

THE STRUGGLE FOR TAX SUPPORT

By the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it had become apparent to many that all measures for the support of schools short of taxation were futile. The breakdown of the traditional methods of financing education was most noticeable in urban areas where changed conditions of life were creating serious social problems. In the city, also, was found a large and increasing body of voters who paid little or no direct taxes and there, too, capital accumulated from which schools could be supported. The cities, unwilling to wait for the rural sections, often took the lead in demanding schools supported by taxation and the state legislatures responded, usually

slowly and without enthusiasm, by granting permission to certain communities to organize themselves as school taxing districts long before tax support was made mandatory throughout the state. For example, the city and county of Philadelphia were organized as the first school district of the state in 1818, and a system of Lancasterian schools was established. Although these non-tuition schools failed to enroll children of the upper economic groups and were therefore not entirely free from the pauper taint, they enrolled more than five thousand children in 1821 — as many as were being educated under the Poor-Law Act in all of Pennsylvania.

Permissive legislation. In spite of the option it provided, permissive legislation was bitterly contested at every turn and overcame opposition only slowly and with many backward movements. An Illinois law of 1825 provided for an optional district-school tax which, with the income from lands and the permanent school fund, would have maintained free schools in districts accepting the law. Two years later, however, the tax was made obligatory only in the case of those persons who consented in writing to the levy. In some instances only the poor were permitted to benefit from funds raised by taxation. In other instances more than a simple majority of the voters of the district had to unite in demanding taxation, as was the case under the Missouri law of 1824. Under this statute districts were permitted to levy taxes, provided two thirds of the voters petitioned for the privilege. Permissive legislation was opposed, not only because it opened the way to mandatory taxation, but also on the principle that to permit the indolent, although constituting a majority in many districts, to place their burdens upon the thrifty was wrong. The more powerful and wealthy the person threatened by the tax or the more readily he could estimate the immediate and direct effect of the tax upon his own purse, the more likely he was to see the tax as a deathblow to the principles upon which American democracy had been established.

States differed widely in the patterns of their progress toward free, public, tax-supported systems of schools. In general, however, the movement was from the mildest type of legislation, by which permission was "granted to communities so desiring to organize a school-taxing district, and to tax for school support the property of those consenting and residing therein," to legislation which compelled

general taxation by the local district.⁵² The time required to progress from legislation that permitted taxing within a special district (as that under which free schools were established in New York City, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Detroit, Baltimore, and numerous other cities), or that permitted taxation for the education of paupers only, to legislation which required the taxing of all property for the support of free schools varied widely, but roughly the transition required a quarter-century or more. At any given time, tax laws representing all stages of the development were being passed. But as state funds, derived sometimes from permanent funds and sometimes from a small state school tax, increased, and aid could be given to those communities which were willing to tax themselves, sentiment in favor of taxation grew and states in increasing numbers made taxation for educational purposes mandatory upon all communities. This step, opposed by strong and articulate groups, was taken only haltingly and with misgivings. For example, after a long period of agitation for a general school-tax law, the matter was referred to the voters of Indiana in 1848. Although two thirds of the counties and considerably more than half of the persons voting favored such legislation, the legislature timidly drew the new law to apply in only those counties in which it was accepted by the people, and a general state school tax was not voted until 1851. Other instances of slow and timid progress are numerous.

The struggle in Pennsylvania. One of the most bitter and, in many ways, the most dramatic of all the struggles for free schools was waged in Pennsylvania, where the pauper-school idea was firmly established. In his volume on the history of the period, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*, Professor Fish states that "this contest may be taken as the turning-point toward a public-school system free to all on equal terms."⁵³

The dramatic aspects of this controversy and the importance of the victory to the cause of free schools in Pennsylvania and elsewhere justify a somewhat detailed account of the contest in this key state.

In Pennsylvania, a pauper-school law enacted in 1802 carried out the mandate of the Constitution of 1790, which had provided that

⁵² Ellwood P. Cubberley, *State School Administration*, p. 414. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927.

⁵³ Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

the legislature should as soon as convenient "provide, by law, for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught *gratis*." ⁶⁴ No community took advantage of the law of 1802 and a supplemental act passed two years later was also ignored. A clearer law superseded this legislation in 1809. It was, however, a purely pauper law requiring parents to stigmatize themselves as paupers before tuition for their children would be paid in the most convenient pay school. Public acknowledgment of inability to pay for education was grossly offensive to most. Considering this and the lack of zeal among the poor for schooling, it is not surprising that little was accomplished under the law, which remained in effect until 1834, except for a two-year interval following the enactment of a weak optional free-school law in 1824. By this date, several urban counties had been exempted from the pauper-school law and permitted to organize schools for the education of their own poor. Outside of these urban centers only a few thousand children were enrolled annually as paupers, and in the entire state not more than one half of the children between the ages of five and fifteen were enrolled at all.

Growing dissatisfaction with the results of existing arrangements and an intensive campaign led by the friends of public schools resulted in the passage of a free-school law in 1834. Each of the 987 districts created was given the right to accept or reject the law in a school election to be held in the autumn of that year. Nearly one half of the districts, in spite of pecuniary inducements offered, either voted outright against acceptance or refused to take any action with reference to the matter, thereby continuing under the old pauper law of 1809.

This partial victory for free schools, however, only served to arouse general opposition and indignation. The feeling against the law was intense and widespread.

In many districts the contest between those in favor of accepting the new law and those determined to reject it became so bitter, that party and even church ties were for a time broken up, the rich arrayed themselves against the poor, and the business and social relations of whole neighborhoods were greatly disturbed. Cases are known in which father and sons took different sides, and in certain

⁶⁴ As quoted in Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 64.

districts an outspoken free school man was scarcely allowed to live in peace and transact his ordinary business.⁵⁵

The new law met with some favor in the northern counties, settled largely by people from New York and New England. It was not badly received in the western frontier counties. But in the southern, central, and southwestern portions of the state some of the more prosperous elements in the population, the Germans, and several religious denominations, provided a most formidable opposition. The act became the main issue in the autumn elections and nearly all the "legislators were elected on a platform committed to repeal or received specific instructions to that end."⁵⁶

Before the matter could be considered by the new legislature, so many petitions had been received by the House of Representatives that a special committee was appointed "to ascertain the number of petitions in each county of the Commonwealth, praying for the repeal or modification of the school law, and the number remonstrating against such repeal." The report of this committee, consisting of a single paragraph, is significant. It reads:

That although the number who have petitioned for the repeal is deplorably large, yet it is but a small minority of the whole number of voters in the Commonwealth, to wit, about thirty-two thousand. Those who ask for a modification only are two thousand and eighty-four; those who have deemed it necessary to remonstrate against the repeal, two thousand five hundred and seventy-five. The Committee were pained to find among those who deem a general system of education unnecessary and ask for its repeal, sixty-six who are unable to write their own names, and who attached their signatures by making their marks; and according to the best conclusion to which the Committee could arrive, more than ten out of every hundred of the petitioners' names appear to be written by other hands than their own. Whether this arose from inability to write their own names, the Committee do not feel themselves called on to determine. The Committee would further remark, that in most of the petitions not more than five names out of every hundred are written in English, and the great mass of them are so illegibly written as to afford the

⁵⁵ James Pyle Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher*, p. 318. Lancaster: Published for the author by the Inquirer Publishing Co., 1885.

⁵⁶ Thomas Frederick Woodley, *Thaddeus Stevens*, p. 152. Harrisburg: Telegraph Press, 1934.

strongest evidence of the deplorable disregard so long paid by the Legislature to the constitutional injunction to establish a general system of education.⁵⁷

The Senate, on convening in 1835, lost little time in passing a bill repealing the law of the previous year. Members of the House, however, in spite of the opposition voiced by their constituents, were not so easily stampeded. They withstood with rare fortitude the strongly advanced arguments that the act violated the Constitution of 1790; that the old system must have had merit to have continued for twenty-five years; that funds were not available; that under the system, as projected, schools could not be kept open two months a year; that the poor would be better off under the act of 1809; and that further taxation would compel the people to "leave the houses of their childhood and the graves of their fathers" and "migrate into the great unknown regions of the 'far west,' there to enjoy in peace and tranquillity the well-earned reward of their labor and toil."⁵⁸ After a bitter struggle, the House refused to follow the Senate's action and was finally able to force the Senate to accept a bill stronger than the original act. For this victory perhaps equal credit is due to the adroitness of a stubborn minority group in the House, to Governor Wolf who urged the retention of the free-school act and indicated that he would veto a repealing act if passed by the legislature, and to Thaddeus Stevens, the acknowledged leader of the free-school forces, who by his unselfish and uncompromising stand in an oration against the repeal of the school law did much to persuade the House to maintain its strong position.

This speech, in support of a substitute measure for the repealing act of the Senate, said a contemporary, was "so convincing that the friends of education were brought in solid column to the support of the measure and thus saved the common school system." Another witness commenting years later on the speech states: "The House was electrified. The wavering voted for the House sections and the school system was saved from ignominious defeat."⁵⁹ The *Democratic Pennsylvania Reporter*, ordinarily scathingly critical of Stevens, approved the speech and felt "assured that a more beautiful effort at oratory was never listened to within the walls of this or any

⁵⁷ Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

⁵⁸ As quoted in Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

other Legislative Hall.”⁶⁰ Woodley quotes a contemporary historian who, although “politically opposed and unfriendly to Stevens” and although impugning Stevens’s motive in defending the free-school system, said that

... his speech had a magical effect upon the sentiments of members. ... All, without distinction, whether enemies or friends, acknowledged the overpowering superiority of it. Many who had determined to favor repeal changed their opinions and voted to sustain the Law of 1834. This speech ranked its author henceforth, as one of the first intellects of Pennsylvania.⁶¹

Stevens, who had spoken from rough notes, was prevailed upon to set down the speech in full and portions of it were printed on silk by friends of the school system. He considered the speech his greatest single achievement. Fish, almost a hundred years after its delivery, called it one of the great orations of American history. The text of the speech can be found, at least in part, in many volumes, including several standard texts on the history of American education.⁶²

The victory of the free-school forces was decisive. The new law provided for state aid, a measure of state control and supervision, and county and local taxation, but districts willing to forgo their share of the new state funds were free to reject the new law, and it was “not until 1873 that the last district in the State accepted the new system.”⁶³ However, more ready acceptance was the rule. By 1838, the new law had been accepted by 84 per cent of the districts and at the close of the decade which followed only slightly more than 10 per cent continued to reject the law.

The repudiation of the pauper-school idea in Pennsylvania gave support to its enemies elsewhere. Within the next few years, New Jersey repealed its pauper-school legislation and attacks were made upon the system in other states, particularly in Virginia. By the close of the period, the position of the pauper schools was becoming increasingly precarious. They had been repudiated in their former strongholds; the West, where school facilities were perhaps the

⁶⁰ *Pennsylvania Reporter*, April 15, 1835, as cited in Woodley, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁶¹ Alexander Harris, *Political Conflict in America*, p. 27, as cited in Woodley, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–69.

⁶² See Wickersham, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–36; Knight, *Education in the United States* (second revised edition), pp. 268–71; Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education*, pp. 179–81; Woodley, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–67.

⁶³ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 196.

poorest, had never tolerated them; and in the South wherever such schools existed, progress was being made toward their elimination.⁶⁴

The rate bill. Although public-school systems were generally established in the North and West and beginnings had been made in the South, equal educational opportunity for all children was slow to be provided. In fact, several states among the earliest to establish public-school systems failed to make the "schools entirely free" during the period. The rate bill, a charge levied upon parents on the basis of the number of their children attending school, was resorted to quite generally to supplement the funds derived from public sources and to make possible an extension of the school term. In some states, public funds were not used for the purchase of supplies and fuel, and the cost of these items, although small, fell very heavily on the poor.

The rate bill, sanctioned by tradition as in Massachusetts and Connecticut, offering a compromise between private-pay and publicly financed schools, and regarded by even many friends of education as the only feasible means of meeting mounting school costs, gave way only after bitter contests and heated controversy. Educational statesmen, however, were aware of the fact that a system which caused parents to keep children from school in order to avoid payment of rate bills and encouraged men of means to patronize private schools defeated the very purpose for which public schools had been established.

Generally, with respect to the elimination of the rate bill, cities were more forward than the states in which they were located. Cubberley's careful analysis of the fight against the rate bill in New York indicates clearly the attitude of rural districts and their influence in retarding state-wide legislation. After many cities had eliminated the rate bill and after many demands had been made that general state taxation should provide for schools without the aid of rate bills, the legislature, in 1849, ordered a referendum which was carried by the free-school forces. Although more than 70 per cent of the some 340,000 ballots cast were favorable, the legislature refused to act and called for another referendum to be held in the autumn of 1850. Again the results favored free schools, although by a much reduced margin. The legislature then took middle ground by authorizing the organization of "union districts" to provide

⁶⁴ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 196-98.

schools by local taxation when demanded by the voters of the district and by increasing the state appropriation. The rate bill, however, was not abolished until 1867. Within four years after the abolition of the rate bill in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Michigan, and New Jersey joined the other Northern states which had eliminated it earlier.

In the North, although much remained to be done to provide equal opportunity to all children of the state, the "battle for free state schools" may be said to have been won. In the South, the effects of a devastating war and a disastrous "reconstruction" had to be slowly overcome, for the promise of the antebellum period would not be fully realized until returning prosperity and the resolution of old issues made educational reorganization possible.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW PATTERNS OF CONTROL

Revenues for school purposes derived from state taxes, permanent funds, or other sources served not only to assist and encourage communities to establish and maintain schools, but also as means of control, because the state legislature could fix the conditions under which the community might share in the distribution of funds. A growing awareness of the educational needs of the emerging democratic states led an increasing number of legislators, elected by small political units, to view education broadly, particularly as it related to the welfare of the entire state. They began to see with greater clarity that education, to perform its proper function, had to be subjected to a type of control which only the state could exercise.

In theory, there was no reason why the state legislature could not establish its control by merely passing laws, but in practice the problem was not so simple. The state had almost abdicated its right to control education. Members of the legislature were elected by voters whose first allegiance was to the local district or even perhaps to the church. Legislators who moved farther or more rapidly than their constituents were, as a rule, soon returned to private life and their places taken by persons committed to undo the work that had been done.

FORCES OPPOSING THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE CONTROL

All efforts to create state supervision, even of the mildest sort, were opposed by powerful forces. First, any kind of compulsion or

regulation by government was repugnant to a large part of the American people. Even many reformers who sought the aid of government to effect needed improvements or changes in particular areas still recited the old Jeffersonian creed which called that government best which governed least. Control of anything so intimately related to the life of the people as education, particularly by a body as far removed as the state legislature, was certain to be opposed. Old educational agencies, such as the church and other religious organizations, constituted a second center of opposition. For centuries, as long as religious moralism had remained the end toward which the education of the masses was directed, the church had been called upon to lead or, at least, to point the way. In some states, such as Pennsylvania, the church alone had been responsible for keeping alive, if but feebly, the ideal of universal education. Religious schools, good and bad, were strongly entrenched in their communities. They were rooted in the culture and perpetuated the religious faith, sometimes the language, of their patrons. Religious bodies were, therefore, in a position to oppose strongly any action which might curtail their control over their own schools and were able, in some instances, to set the pattern for all education.

The school district was also a factor, perhaps the strongest factor, in retarding the development of state supervision and control. The district, which, as has already been disclosed, had earlier superseded the town as the unit of school organization and administration in New England, spread in the early nineteenth century to New York and to the states of the new West, even making inroads into the South. The district came to be accepted as a splendid manifestation of an almost pure democracy. It fitted well into the philosophy, geography, and isolation of frontier communities. Its advantages no doubt were many, but the disadvantages arising from the decentralization for which it was responsible were greater. It became firmly fixed in the affections of the people whose concern for local matters, often on an emotional basis alone, prevented them from seeing the education problem as a whole and as something involving the welfare of the entire state and nation. When the forces opposing centralization are reviewed, the accomplishments with respect to the establishment of state systems of education appear to be greater than might have been expected. They were, however, attained slowly and with many backward steps.

The districts became more powerful, as the states, either as a means of stimulating local effort or as a compromise measure designed to satisfy both those who favored and those who opposed the extension of public education, passed laws under which towns and other communities were permitted to organize as school districts, employ teachers, levy taxes, and administer the schools without more than a semblance of state control. As this process continued, it was clear that these districts would become even more powerful unless means were found by which they might be made more dependent upon the state. The control of funds raised for school purposes was a powerful means of persuasion. The legislatures generally adopted a policy of granting aid to districts which qualified by meeting certain conditions. Of course, the district might refuse to meet the requirements and reject the money offered, but the trend was toward acceptance. The demands made by the state were usually rather mild. Even when it required that school funds be raised locally, the state in some instances contributed twice the amount which the local district was obliged to raise. Other requirements—that attendance be reported, that the school term should be three or four months, perhaps that a properly certificated teacher be employed—did not immediately result in any large measure of control.

THE RISE OF THE STATE SUPERINTENDENCY

It was found, however, that even the simplest laws did not administer themselves and that the mere passage of a law did not always create conditions aimed at by the legislators. The state, now with money to distribute, found that it needed an officer to receive the required reports, to compile statistics, to dispense the funds according to law, to see that the law was carried out, to keep the legislature informed, and to help create sentiment in favor of legislative provisions. To meet this need, state school officers were provided for by legislation in an increasing number of states.

New York, which had created the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York in 1784 for the purpose of endowing and controlling secondary and higher education, extended its control of education in 1812 by providing for an officer, the superintendent of common schools, to represent the state in the work of establishing and maintaining schools and to dispense the income from the fund which had been accumulating for a number of years. At the

same time the district system was adopted and a district tax for schools was permitted by law. Gideon Hawley, the first superintendent, worked vigorously to improve and establish schools, but the people's indifference (which had allowed the excellent state school law of 1795 to lapse without a serious effort being made toward its continuance) permitted the office to be abolished in 1821. From this date until the creation of the office of superintendent of public instruction in 1854, the secretary of state served *ex officio* as superintendent of common schools.

Other states, confronted with the same needs, followed the lead of New York. Maryland established the office in 1826, discontinued it in 1828, and re-created it in 1864. Michigan, the first state to establish an office to be continued without interruption to the present time, after several years of experience with a territorial superintendent of common schools created, in 1836, a constitutional officer, the superintendent of public instruction, whose title indicates a somewhat different concept of his function. In most of the states, the chief school officer was elected, but other and better methods of selection were also practiced very early. In 1837, Massachusetts established a state board of education which selected a secretary as its executive officer. New England states followed the general pattern set by Massachusetts, but in most other states the laws provided either for *ex-officio* superintendents or for the election of regular officers, or, over a period of time, provided for both, sometimes in one order, sometimes in the other.

By 1850, sixteen of the thirty-one states had officers, nine of which were *ex officio*. A decade later twenty-eight states of the thirty-four had chief state school officers with no more *ex-officio* officers than at the earlier date. By the opening of the Civil War, additional supervision was provided in ten states by county superintendents and in twenty-six cities by city superintendents.⁶⁵

LIMITING THE POWER OF THE DISTRICT

The chief state school officers, charged by the legislature with the establishment and improvement of schools and at the same time given, for the most part, only clerical duties and little authority, often considered themselves educational leaders who must fight all forces which appeared to be retarding the development of state sys-

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

tems of schools. In this struggle they often found themselves opposed by the school districts and other local forces. When these latter were antagonized, the legislature, in many instances, refused to uphold the superintendent. In fact, no little part of the early legislation discontinuing the office after it had been established or changing it from a regular to an *ex-officio* basis resulted from efforts of the legislature to placate local groups who resented the aggressive leadership of a person bent on fundamental reforms in the school system or on its extension to provide more fully for all the children of the state.

The district system had become firmly entrenched. Even the legislatures which provided for state systems in most instances adopted the district as a unit of school organization and increased its powers. By 1840, the system had spread from New England and New York to Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and other states. By this time it had become a deeply rooted political institution, no less able than other institutions to resist attempts to modify it or to restrict its powers.

Although districts might provide schools of high quality if they could afford them and if they chose to do so, the fact remains that generally they provided poor schools and managed them badly. In some states teachers were allowed to teach without examination or certification; little concern was shown for keeping the textbooks uniform; some districts refused or neglected to tax themselves and to provide terms of even the minimum length; and some districts determined which subjects were to be taught. In one state, the extreme of decentralization was reached when parents were permitted to draw their shares of the school funds and to make their own contracts with teachers. State legislatures, unable or unwilling to take direct action, were aided greatly in curbing the power of the districts by the judicious use of state school funds which could be accepted or rejected by the districts. This fiction of a free choice made possible the stipulation of requirements that would not have been accepted otherwise. However, had not a large number of the early superintendents been educational statesmen of the first rank and had not an occasional legislature shown a courage rare in such bodies, the development of systems with a measure of state control would have been long retarded.

Much of Mann's work, already described, was aimed at creating state supervision. His outspoken denouncements of the district



The District School

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system did not endear him to local politicians or, for that matter, to schoolmen generally. For a great part of his long term of office he was engaged in controversies which sprang from his efforts to extend state supervision — an action which wounded the sensibilities of many persons and operated against the selfish interests of many others. Similar activity on the part of Barnard led to his early departure from Connecticut, although he was later recalled to render great service in extending the influence of the state and in reducing the power of the districts. By the end of the period it was apparent that the state was reasserting its authority and that in most states the

foundation had been laid for a system of schools under the general supervision of the state.

ELIMINATION OF SECTARIAN CONTROL

Local districts were not alone in their opposition to state regulation of education. Sectarian bodies, long accustomed to thinking of education in terms of religious aims and purposes and having enjoyed, in many places, a virtual monopoly of teaching the young, were extremely jealous of any agency and fearful of any movement which threatened to affect adversely the financing of church schools or to weaken the control which religious organizations exercised over education. For many years after the beginning of the national period, it was not unusual for church schools to receive land endowments, money grants, and other financial aid from the state. Because of increased immigration, the continued mobility of the American people, the growing diversity of religious denominations, and, perhaps, the spirit of the times, the practice gradually ceased. Even in Massachusetts, churches did not receive state support after 1833. Other changes indicated a decline of religious influence. The content of new textbooks clearly reflected the growing secularism. Mather's *Spiritual Milk for Babes Drawn from the Breasts of Both Testaments* had long since ceased to be required reading for children. The Woodstock edition of the *New England Primer*, published in 1823, dropped the old religious rhymes that through a hundred editions had taught children the alphabet. No longer were abecedarians confronted with couplets such as:

In Adam's Fall
We sinned all.

Thy Life to mend
This Book attend.

The rhymes substituted were, if nothing else, less religious, as is indicated by the rhyme which honored the *bear* rather than the *Book*.

The Bear the forest prowls
Making his surly growls.
Whatever meets his way
This savage beast will slay.

Changes were so slowly made that many persons were hardly aware of them. The Massachusetts law of 1827, which prohibited the purchase with state money of sectarian books, was largely a recognition of what had, in a great measure, already happened. The agitation caused by the appointment of a state board of education, however, served to call these changes to the attention of the public and the religious groups. Mann and the board were blamed by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and other sectarian groups, who professed to believe that the schools should return to their old ways, but no one suggested a reasonable method by which this might be done. Religious forces, thoroughly awakened everywhere, fought zealously all attempts to eliminate sectarian books from the schools, to take away state subsidies whether in the form of money grants or tuition paid out of relief funds for the education of pauper children, and to discredit the theorists who would disobey the Biblical injunction which prescribes the use of the rod. In spite of all this rather largely disorganized opposition, secular influences were to prevail. Attempts by religious forces to abolish the board of education in the Massachusetts Legislature of 1840 and 1841 failed. It appeared that, not only in Massachusetts but elsewhere, the strong trend toward the separation of religion and politics would carry with it the full secularization of education.

The immigration of large numbers of Catholics in the eighteenthirties and forties, however, made the situation, which might otherwise have slowly disappeared, more acute, even though it perhaps did not prolong its duration. Catholics, insisting upon the right to educate their children in schools of their own faith, found both public schools and those operated by non-sectarian school societies unacceptable. The former were likely to be under the control of an entirely Protestant board and both, although non-sectarian, were almost certain to engage in religious activities, such as reading the King James Version of the Bible and others equally objectionable to the Catholic Church. In New York City, the demand of the Catholics for a share of the public funds with which to support their own educational enterprises precipitated a particularly heated controversy. In this city, the Public School Society, a "non-denominational organization but with centralized Protestant control," had provided, over a period of more than thirty years, education for thousands of children who were not

cared for in the religious schools of the city. Its schools constituted the nearest approach to a public-school system in the city. This municipality had been exempted from the operation of earlier state legislation which had established the district system up-state and had provided for public schools under local control. The demand of the Catholic group for a share of the funds was denied by the city council and was then carried to the state legislature. The legislature, pressed by the Catholics on the one hand and by an alliance of Protestant groups on the other, and urged by Governor Seward to extend the up-state system to New York, even though such action was likely to give control in some instances to the Catholics, deferred action for a year or two and then took action not entirely pleasing to either religious group and perhaps not altogether satisfactory to the governor. It created a city board of education charged with the responsibility of establishing public schools, and at the same time specified that in the future no public funds were to be given to any school in which sectarian doctrines were taught or inculcated. The legislature, in establishing the city system of publicly supported schools under the control of the local authority, did not prohibit the maintenance of parochial or private schools nor of those of the Public School Society. Religious bodies continued to support schools, but such action was taken with a growing realization that maintenance in the future was a matter of church rather than public concern. A decade later, the Public School Society, having outlived its usefulness, surrendered its buildings and property to the city board of education and disbanded.

Attempts by religious groups to secure public support were no more successful in other states. The demand of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for aid to denominational primary schools received little attention, nor did the agitation of Catholics and Episcopalians for systems of parochial schools in Massachusetts to take the place of the non-sectarian state schools receive much consideration. The demands of the Catholics in several states for a division of the school funds were followed in Massachusetts by the adoption in 1855 of a constitutional amendment which provided that no religious sect should ever share in the state funds. In fact, no demands to divide the funds made after 1840 were successful anywhere. Between 1840 and the Civil War, six states amended their constitutions to forbid public support of religious schools and three

new states made such provisions in their first constitutions.⁶⁶ That by the close of the period the trend was unmistakable is borne out by history. Every state admitted to the Union since 1858, except West Virginia, has erected constitutional safeguards against possible attempts of religious groups to obtain a share of the public-school funds, and although today more than two million children are enrolled in private and parochial schools, it appears that the issue of state support has been settled.

Although there have been attempts by political parties to make sectarian schools and the division of school funds a national issue, and although President Grant twice urged the submission of an amendment to the Federal Constitution which among other things would have provided that public funds be denied for sectarian purposes, the issue has remained a matter of state concern, but in every state the decision has been much the same. Agitation for increased federal aid has recently given rise to questioning, on the part of some persons, of the existing practices, and to fear, on the part of others, that some concessions may be made to religious groups, but it appears that the policy which evolved in the decades preceding the Civil War will be continued without material modification.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 9

1. How do you account for the fact that as late as 1828 the American people had made so little progress in developing state systems of public education?
2. How do you explain the increasing interest in public education from about 1830 to 1860? Evaluate each of the major forces that contributed to this interest.
3. As a general rule, which is the most important influence in bringing about educational changes: (a) educational leaders and statesman, or (b) changes in the economic, social, and political conditions of the time?
4. Compare and contrast the financial support of education today with what it was in the eighteen-forties and fifties. Do you think any substantial changes should be made in our present policy with respect to the support of education? If so, what?
5. Show how new patterns of control of education were necessary if

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39.

effective state systems of education were to be developed during the eighteen-thirties and forties.

6. Examine the structural organization and the administrative control of education in your state today with the view of discovering any desirable changes.
7. Do you favor more or less control of education by the federal government?
8. What aspects of education do you think should be under the control of (a) the local community, (b) the state government, (c) the federal government?

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Chapter 10 ~ Education in the Emerging Democratic State:

THE RECORD OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS,
1828-1860

IN THE TWO PRECEDING CHAPTERS we have examined the broad social forces that were transforming American commonwealths into democratic states and molding the three great competing sections into a single nation. We also noted that changing conditions had given rise to new attitudes and sentiments with respect to the role education should play in the life of the young republic. The present chapter will be devoted to a more detailed account of the educational gains which were achieved.

The educational needs of the emerging democratic state could not be satisfied merely by providing the barest elements for more children than had been educated formerly. Enrichment of the program, as well as the extension of opportunity to greater numbers, was also a pressing problem. As long as the religious purpose in education predominated, the efforts of the schools had been directed largely toward teaching children to read. Little else was necessary. At most, the ability to read, to write, and to figure accounts was sufficient to meet the needs of all except those few persons of position and wealth in whose hands economic power was concentrated and the control of government was vested.

The breaking of class rule in government was a corollary to the growing dignity of the common man who not only denied the doctrine of divine right as it applied to English kings but also was beginning to deny the theory of inherited differences among men. All things are good as they come from the hands of the Creator, said the philosopher, and the liberal political philosophy of the eighteenth century had stressed the duty of government to provide con-

ditions under which the potentialities of each individual could be realized. Next to fluid institutions, education was looked upon as the most important means of achieving this end. Education would ennoble man by striking away the fetters of ignorance and of political and economic oppression. From this it should not be deduced that there was at any time a spontaneous uprising of the illiterate and unlearned demanding to be freed from the limitations which their ignorance imposed. At best, the masses came slowly to understand the implications of the liberal philosophy. The history of educational legislation of the first fifty or more years of the national period provides ample evidence that the modest extensions and improvements of education were the result, to a considerable extent, of the constant pressure of a strong minority group which maintained a position far in advance of that to which the great public had been led. All in all, however, the forces which for fifty years had been preparing the way for the democratic upsurge which eventuated in the election of Jackson were, when not the same, closely related to those which were to lead to the period of the so-called "public-school revival." This was a period of marked acceleration in the growth of the conception of the function of education in a democratic state. There was unprecedented activity directed toward making education available to the masses, extending it beyond the rudiments, making its support an accepted responsibility of the state, and improving its general quality.

EVOLUTION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

At the beginning of the period, as has been indicated, some progress had been made everywhere in the reorganization of elementary, secondary, and higher education, but few states had established systems of public schools. Therefore, although all levels of education had felt the impact of new forces, it was not strange that the extension of opportunity for an elementary education and the modifications in its content necessary to meet the changed and changing social needs should be the first concern of the evolving democratic order.

The meagerness of the common-school program in the early nineteenth century is made evident by an examination of a *Code of Regulations* drawn up in 1799 by William Woodbridge, president

of the Middlesex County (Connecticut) Association for the Improvement of Common Schools. This code, presented to the visitors and overseers of schools for their consideration, suggested the improvement of existing conditions by indicating what might be considered an adequate program. It is significant that the editor of the progressive *American Annals of Education and Instruction* when recommending in 1837 the perusal of this code by the "friends of education," did not feel constrained to comment upon or even note the limited offerings recommended nearly forty years earlier. With respect to the program, the code reads:

In the morning, the Bible may be delivered to the head of each class, and by them to the scholars capable of reading decently or looking over. This reading with some short remarks, or questions, with the morning prayer, may occupy the *first half hour*. The second, may be employed in hearing the morning lessons, while the younger classes are preparing to spell and read. The third in attention to the writers. The fourth in hearing the under classes read and spell. The fifth in looking over and assisting the writers and cipherers. The sixth in hearing the under classes spell and read the second time; and receiving and depositing pens, writing and reading books. . . .

In the afternoon one half hour may be employed in spelling together, repeating grammar, rules of arithmetic, and useful tables, with a clear, and full, but soft voice, while the instructor prepares pens, writing books, &c. The second and third half hours in hearing the under classes and assisting the writers and cypherers. The fourth in hearing the upper classes read. The fifth to hearing the under classes read, and spell the second time. The sixth in receiving and depositing the books, &c. as above.¹

The recognition of the inadequacy of the colonial-type course of study, so narrow that it could be presented in a single volume, was only a first step in enlarging and enriching the curriculum. Each advance had to overcome the forces of inertia and poverty. The situation was also seriously aggravated by the tendency to divide and subdivide the units of school organization. The district schools, staffed by untrained and poorly educated teachers and handicapped by inadequate teaching materials and poor textbooks, were overwhelmed by problems arising from the fact that pupils

¹ "Forty Years Ago," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, VII (January, 1837), 18.

of all ages attended school — from those who formerly would have attended dame schools to those who for lack of other opportunity, either educational or recreational, came during winter months far beyond the years of childhood.

Expansion of the curriculum and the reorganization of instruction, no matter how sorely the need might be felt, could not take place rapidly. These reforms had to await, not only recognition of their need, but also the growth of towns and cities, the development of union districts, and the appearance of textbooks adapted to the particular needs of the American people.

DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS

In 1783, Noah Webster published a textbook in spelling, *The First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language*. The last two volumes of the series (Second Part and Third Part) were devoted to reading and grammar. The speller, on the general plan of Dilworth's earlier book, contained the alphabet, lists of words, the syllables, a number of fables, "Precepts concerning the Social Relations," and lessons of easy words designed to teach children to read. It made spelling a popular craze and gave it the dignity of a separate subject of instruction. About twenty-four million copies of the various editions of this book were sold before the death of the author in 1843. By this time its hold was weakening in the East, but it continued to be popular in the South until the Civil War and in the West to a much later date. Copies may still be obtained from the publisher.

The tremendous sales of this and similar books indicate not only the growing popularity of spelling as a subject of instruction, but also that many books must have been purchased for children not enrolled in schools and perhaps for adults as well. In this connection, a statement found in the preface of one of the most attractive of the spellers, Parsons' *Analytical Spelling Book*, published in 1836, may be noted: "Parents who have little skill in teaching can learn their children to read, where there are no schools, and adults with little assistance can learn by themselves."²

It may be noted also that spelling as a subject presented relatively few difficulties to the teacher with regard to both knowledge of the

² As quoted in Clifton Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School-Books*, p. 226. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904.

content and the accepted method of instruction, and therefore could be introduced relatively early, even in overcrowded and understaffed schools of the countryside.

Arithmetic also began to find its way into the elementary-school curriculum before the close of the colonial period. It was made a required subject by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1789. When introduced into the common schools, only the four fundamental processes and perhaps a little of common fractions were taught. Those who progressed as far as simple proportion (the rule of three) were rated as mathematicians. In 1788, Nicholas Pike brought out his massive, encyclopedic work which, endorsed by Washington and other notables, soon became a leader in the field, displacing the English works of Dilworth and Hodder. During the next half-century, a hundred or more texts, most of them better adapted to the schoolroom than Pike's book, were published. One of these, Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi*, published in 1821, helped decisively to place the subject, previously considered rather largely as belonging to the academy and the college, in the curriculum of the elementary school. The enthusiasm for this book, however, must have been more tempered than has often been reported. It was used in fewer towns in New York than Pike's book until 1835, and in 1838 was used in only 45 towns while Daboll's was used in 358 or 359 towns, Adam's in 170, and Smith's in 87. However, a number of the new books which appeared during the second quarter of the nineteenth century were influenced by Colburn's ideas with respect to the content and method of arithmetic. As in the case of spelling, arithmetic did not, in the presence of adequate texts, tax unduly the poorly educated elementary-school teacher.

Geography textbooks were introduced in the late eighteenth century. Morse's *American Universal Geography* (1784) and the *Elements of Geography* (1795), a shortened school edition of the earlier work, were almost entirely fact books. Dwight's competitive text, *A Short but Comprehensive System of the Geography of the World* (1795), was a question and answer treatment of world geography with emphasis upon the United States. The subject treated in this fashion could be taught almost entirely as a drill subject in much the same way that arithmetic and spelling were taught. These early geography texts were followed by others and beginning about 1830 the

number of texts multiplied rapidly. Among these, Woodbridge's *Rudiments of Geography* (1821), Goodrich's *Peter Parley's Method of Telling about Geography* (1830), Olney's *A Practical System of Modern Geography* (1831), and Goodrich's *Peter Parley's National Geography* (1845) developed considerable followings and helped make geography a valuable subject in those schools in which it was properly taught.

History was not accorded an important place in the elementary curriculum until well into the nineteenth century. Some little works giving dates of important events — e.g., the creation of the earth, the flood, the fall of the walls of Jericho, the accession of certain kings, the last great fall of snow, and similar happenings — had appeared and had, no doubt, been used in some of the more progressive schools. Goodrich's (Peter Parley) *A History of the United States*, published in 1822, was the first history text of note. It ran through many editions (forty-fourth in 1836) and sold some 150,000 copies during its first twelve years. Books by Webster, Hale, Taylor, Olney, and others, all very nationalistic in tone, came to be in great demand in the schools during the period and, perhaps to a considerable extent, became popular among older persons eager for reading materials.

Grammar, reduced largely to a study of rules, was early introduced into the schools. Webster's Second Part appeared in 1784 and Murray's and Bingham's grammars appeared some time later. It was not, however, until the second quarter of the nineteenth century that the subject was introduced on any large scale into the elementary schools.

The teaching and content of reading, the oldest elementary-school subject, were both much improved. Few primers or readers for beginners appeared before 1825, but after that date they became numerous. Most of them contained easier material than that found in the spellers, and although given to sticky moralizing over the adventures of Timothy Trusty, Charles Mindful, Caroline Modesty, and other characters intended to be less attractive, they were generally better adapted than the earlier primers and readers to the needs and interests of younger children. Older children were also provided with secular reading materials. Beginning with Webster's Third Part, these texts reflected efforts made by their authors to adjust the curriculum to the child instead of the centuries' old pro-

cedure of making the child adjust to the curriculum. These books, one of the best of which was Bingham's *Columbian Orator*, stressed public speaking and helped make oratory an important aspect of the reading program. The effectiveness of the instruction in speaking is attested by the fact that probably no period in American history produced as many skilled orators who could speak without the inhibitions which trained intelligence might have raised.³

Of all the readers, McGuffey's deservedly became by far the most popular. The first two readers of this remarkable graded set were published at Cincinnati in 1836. The third and fourth were published in 1837; the fifth in 1841. A few years later, they were made into six readers and were revised several times in the years that followed. Throughout the remainder of the century, these texts continued to be popular readers. It has been estimated that for more than a half-century fully one half of the children attending school learned to read from them.⁴ They were, in spite of shortcomings as measured by modern standards, remarkable for the nature of their content, for the excellence of their grading, and for the hold they had upon the public mind. Within the last few years, Henry Ford has financed the reprinting of an edition of these greatly venerated readers, and until quite recently there were throughout the country numerous McGuffey clubs, the principal bond among the members being the high esteem in which they held the texts from which they had learned to read.

MULTIPLICITY OF TEXTBOOKS

Keen competition for the increasingly profitable textbook market resulted in the publishing of a greater number of books, continually improving in content, organization, attractiveness, and suitability for children of different ages and academic accomplishments. The multiplicity of textbooks, however, in some ways constituted a serious evil. Uncritical selection of well-advertised books resulted in considerable use of some of the poorer ones. Also, children within the same school often were permitted to use different texts, and within a single state so many books on the same subject might be used that a reasonable measure of uniformity in the curricula of the

³ See Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-300.

⁴ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 294. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934 (revised and enlarged).

developing public schools was impossible. In 1837, the situation in Massachusetts had become almost impossible.

For the purpose of teaching reading and spelling, then, there are in use in the schools of Massachusetts no less than 100 different books; of Grammars, there are 28; of Histories, 24; of Arithmetics, 22; of Geographies, 20; of Dictionaries, 9; of Natural Philosophies, 4; of Astronomies, 4; of Chemistries, 3; of Geometries, 5; and of Composition, 2.⁵

In New York, the situation was little better. Table 3, compiled from data taken from the annual reports of the superintendent (*ex officio*) of common schools, reveals something of this diversity, as well as the persistence of specific textbooks.

The variety in textbooks appears to have been greater at the elementary than at the more advanced levels. Nearly all subjects which were to be taught during the remainder of the century were, by 1840, represented by several, sometimes many, textbooks. Some of these subjects were first introduced in the academies and later shifted to the expanding and developing elementary schools. By 1830, United States history, civil government, physiology, music, and drawing were being added to the curricula of the better schools which had already been expanded to include arithmetic and then geography, spelling, and grammar. These subjects, along with reading and writing, constituted in the main the elementary-school curriculum until the Civil War.

Although the new content was available by the beginning of the period, most schools were unable to expand their curricula rapidly. New studies were not always accepted without a struggle. Some of them were objected to on the ground that they would take attention from arithmetic and spelling. Some communities added the new subjects only when obliged to do so. Massachusetts made the offering of spelling, good behavior, arithmetic, English language, and grammar compulsory in 1789. Geography was added to this list more than a quarter century later, and United States history was added only shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War. Other New England states and the northern tier of Western states followed in a general way the lead of Massachusetts. It must be remembered,

⁵ "Schools in Massachusetts," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, VII (March, 1837), 101.

TABLE 3. TEXTBOOKS IN ARITHMETIC AND SPELLING IN USE IN THE TOWNS OF NEW YORK, 1827-1838*

Texts	Number of Towns Using Texts According to Annual Reports				
	1827	1830	1833	1836	1838
Arithmetic					
Daboll's	349	473	472	500	358
Adam's	91	96	91	119	170
Pike's	80	61	36	24	9
Ostrander's	16	45	48	48	41
Willet's	10	16	24	28	24
Colburn's	1	8	17	38	45
Root's	5	5	.	.	..
Starkweather's . . . . .	.	1	1	..	..
Dilworth's . . . . .	..	2	1	1	..
Alexander's . . . . .	..	2	.	..	..
Parker's . . . . .	..	1	2	1	..
Ruger's . . . . .	..	..	14	22	36
Thompson's . . . . .	..	1	3	4	5
Smith's . . . . .	..	..	3	23	87
Baldwin's . . . . .	..	.	1	1	1
Brandon's . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..
Babcock's . . . . .	.	..	..	..	1
Cobb's . . . . .	..	..	..	3	11
Steven's . . . . .	.	1	..	..	..
23 others used in these or intervening years . . . . .	..	..	..	24	30
Spelling (most important)					
Webster's	302	417	433	332	265
Cobb's	59	209	235	242	270
Marshall's	60	85	61	39	27
Crandall's	55	62	62	42	38
Bentley's	16	41	36	36	35
Sear's	10	14	12	8	3
Picket's	10	19	16	4	6

* Compiled from New York State, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, 1827-38.*

however, that during the entire period, a great majority of all of the nation's children attended rural, ungraded, one-room schools and that such schools were obliged to be content, as a rule, with much less ambitious programs than were found in the less numerous but rapidly developing schools of the urban communities. However, it may be said that the period was less remarkable for the development of new subjects than for the introduction of the new studies to a widening circle of schools.

GRADING INSTRUCTION AND CLASSIFYING PUPILS

The pressure of new subjects made arrangements desirable which would provide for economy of both the pupil's and the teacher's time. The new texts not only provided an enriched content but, as poorly graded as most of them were, they made possible some grouping of pupils of like attainments. "Classing" pupils was not without precedent. The Latin schools had followed the practice much earlier. Monitorial schools had stressed the idea of children being taught in groups, the members of which were more or less equally advanced. The *Code of Regulations* recommended in 1799 for the Middlesex County (Connecticut) Schools, after listing the subjects to be taught, recommended the classification of pupils of equal attainments.⁶ The course of study drawn up for the Providence schools of 1800 ordered that "Scholars shall be put into separate Classes, according to their several improvements, each Sex by themselves."⁷

The growth of population and increased democratization of elementary education led to greatly enlarged enrollments and a concentration of pupils which in turn led to the multiplication of elementary schools, most of which continued to be of the ungraded type. The effect of the great variety of better texts, the introduction of new subjects, the gradual lengthening of the school terms, and the extension of the years of schooling were to make feasible a new type of organization. The single elementary school, particularly in towns and cities, gave way to primary schools for the beginners and more advanced schools for older pupils. When high schools were introduced, they were organized merely as upward extensions of these common schools to receive pupils who had passed through the succession of lower schools. In some cities there were only two divisions below the high school; in others, there were as many as five. Those with the lesser number probably maintained independent infant schools or refused to admit children to the town schools until they had learned to read, while a city which had sub-primary, primary, intermediate-primary, secondary, and grammar schools — all below the high school — probably permitted beginners to enroll in the public schools. Nearly all large cities and towns organized schools known as primary schools, some of them, as in the case of the Boston primary schools until 1854, under separate boards.

⁶ "Forty Years Ago," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, VII (January, 1837), 18.

⁷ As quoted in Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 301.

The more advanced schools were given a bewildering variety of names. This differentiation into schools and divisions really amounted to grading the curriculum and classifying pupils into two to five grades. Children passed from one division to another — each with its curriculum, texts, and teachers.

As Cubberley has pointed out, another important step toward the reorganization of elementary education was taken when the work within each school, whether it was a common school offering the entire elementary program or an intermediate or grammar school offering only two, three, or four years of such a program, was graded and the pupils were sorted according to their advancement. Duplicate schools within the same building were eliminated as their wastefulness became apparent and large school buildings with smaller classrooms were constructed. The first fully graded school is said to have been the Quincy Grammar School of Boston reorganized in 1847 by Principal John D. Philbrick, who became superintendent of schools in that city in 1856 and served in that capacity for more than twenty years. By 1860, the grading of elementary schools in the larger cities was well under way, but it should be remembered that at this date less than one sixth of the population lived in cities. Most of the nation's children continued to be educated in primitive, ungraded one-room rural schools.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The three principal institutions that have provided secondary education to American youth were all present during the period from 1828 to 1860. The Latin school was declining in importance, the academy reached the peak of its development, and the high school was in the process of taking form.

THE LATIN SCHOOL

The Latin grammar school, the oldest establishment of secondary education, continued to emphasize Latin and mathematics, and apparently served well its limited purpose of preparing boys for college. Unable to adjust to the changing conditions of American life, it responded but feebly to the growing demands for a broader curriculum. It continued to be, in the main, the traditional classical school of the past, admitting boys as young as nine years, provided

they were able "to read correctly and with fluency," "to write running hand," knew "all the stops, marks, and abbreviations," and had "sufficient knowledge of English Grammar to parse common sentences in prose."⁸ There is some question as to the extent to which the pupils were held for the stated prerequisites. In Boston, in 1826 and perhaps much later, the boys were dismissed during the first two or three years of the five-year course for an hour each day in order that they might attend a writing school.⁹ The Latin school continued to have a place in secondary education but step by step, as America repudiated the class system of society and government by the élite, the Latin school lost ground to the more democratic secondary schools, the academy and the high school.

THE ACADEMY

The academies, originating about the middle of the eighteenth century, increased rapidly in number. Between 1828 and 1860 they were so numerous that there were few communities which did not have access to one or more of them. Although it would be a mistake to think, as many writers have done, that the 6085 "academies and other schools" reported in the Census of 1850 were secondary schools, institutions that could probably be regarded as academies were plentiful enough to afford opportunity for advanced study to most children whose parents were able or willing to pay the tuition charges.

The academies reflected the growing democracy, the undisciplined individualism, and the unstabilized culture of the period. A few attempts were made at state organization, but for the most part academies were independent and largely unsupervised institutions. The great majority were small, local, modest, and likely to be short-lived. Some, however, became firmly established and attained wide reputations and long-continued prestige. In 1838, Daniel Webster presided over the exercises which were held to honor the venerable Dr. Benjamin Abbott on the occasion of his completion of fifty years of service to Phillips Exeter.

These schools appealed largely to the great middle class and provided training which prepared for the counting room, the sea, and the classroom as well as for college. Although the offerings varied

⁸ "Public Latin School in Boston," *American Journal of Education*, I (May, 1826), 265.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

from institution to institution, taken together they presented rather widespread opportunity for any training whether cultural, practical, classical, or purely vocational.¹⁰ Although, as a group, they met the widely varying needs of their constituencies, allowed almost free choice of subjects, experimented with new methods, provided for girls, and gave other evidences of democratic tendencies, these institutions, variously known as academies, institutes, seminaries, and colleges were in one sense a denial of democracy. They were, in spite of the exemption from taxation which they generally enjoyed and the state grants and subsidies which they in some instances received, privately controlled tuition schools. For this reason, perhaps more than for any other, they were destined to be almost completely replaced during the second half of the nineteenth century by the publicly controlled and supported secondary school.

THE HIGH SCHOOL

The same factors which had led to the expansion and enrichment of public education at the lower levels operated to force its exten-

¹⁰ Examples of varied activities of these schools are numerous. The Hartford Grammar School, an old Latin school, but incorporated in 1798, advertised in 1839 that "a class of 20 gentlemen who design to engage the coming winter in common school instruction in this state will be taught free by the kindness of a friend." Applicants were advised to attend promptly and were promised a position by Henry Barnard. *Connecticut Courant*, September 7, 1839, as cited in Vera M. Butler, *Education as Revealed by New England Newspapers Prior to 1850*, p. 169. Doctor's thesis, Temple University, 1935.

A few months later it was reported that twenty-three men "nearly all of whom have had some experience as teachers, are now diligently attending the instruction and lectures." The courses offered by seven instructors were listed. Mr. Wright, among other activities, was explaining the "methods of School teaching and management"; the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet was explaining "the uses and best methods of teaching Composition" and promised to soon "take up the subjects of Spelling and School Government." It was further stated that Mr. Snow, Principal of the Centre District School, would "give every facility to the pupils to become acquainted with the methods of teaching and government pursued in his school." *Connecticut Courant*, October 19, 1839, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-70.

The prospectus of another variant of the academy, the Fellenberg School, which opened in Windsor, Connecticut, in 1824, noted that English, Latin, Greek, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, algebra, surveying, navigation, natural philosophy, history, rhetoric, logic, botany, chemistry, and mineralogy would be offered and went on to state:

"A farm is attached to the institution; and the students will have under their daily observation, the various operations of farming; and those, who are expecting to engage in agricultural pursuits, will receive a course of Lectures by which they will be made acquainted with the improvements which have been made, and are making, in the science and practice of Agriculture."

The facts that the tuition was \$150 per year and that the students were promised that anything "having the appearance of drudgery, will be carefully avoided" may explain, in part, the failure of such schools to make a significant educational contribution or to attract a following. *Connecticut Courant*, May 18, 1824 and May 17, 1825, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97.

sion upward. The completion of the lengthened and improved elementary-school program by a greater number of children gave rise to an immediate and insistent demand for training, free of tuition charges, for intelligent and effective participation in the increasingly complex activities of the life of the period. Only through the upward extension of the tax-supported public school could such opportunity be provided to the numerous sons and daughters of the emerging middle class.

There is no evidence that the founders of the Boston English Classical School (renamed the English High School in 1824), generally credited as being the first American high school, had any awareness of the historical significance of their action. They saw the need for a school which would afford boys, "intending to become merchants and mechanics, better means of instruction than were provided at any of the public schools."¹¹ To meet this need, they established a school which, with respect to its offerings, resembled rather closely the better academies except that, since the town maintained a Latin school to prepare boys for the university, the classical studies were omitted from its curriculum. In fact, the school committee which presented the plan for the English Classical School to the town meeting in January of 1821 thought of the school as an academy.¹² The members of the committee expressed concern that children in order to obtain an education for life outside the professions were under the necessity of attending a distant academy. The obvious step was to establish a publicly supported academy in Boston.¹³ Other cities established high schools so soon after 1821, the date of the opening of the Boston English Classical School, that there

¹¹ *The System of Education Pursued at the Free Schools in Boston, 1823*, as quoted in Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States*, pp. 232-33. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

¹² One of the proposals read: "To conduct this Academy there shall be one Principal Master at the salary of \$1500, a Sub-Master at \$1200, one Usher at \$700 and one at \$600." *Columbian Centinel*, January 17, 1821, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹³ The similarity of the curriculum of this school to those of English departments of the better academies is striking. Among the courses offered were "Intellectual and Written Arithmetic, Geography and the use of Globes, exercises in Grammar, General History, and History of the United States, Book-keeping by single entry, Elements of Some Arts and Sciences, Composition and Declamation. . . . Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry and its applications, Book-keeping by double entry, various branches of Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Chemistry, Moral Philosophy and Natural Theology, Rhetoric, Evidences of Christianity, Intellectual Philosophy, Political Economy, and Logic." *The System of Education Pursued at the Free Schools in Boston, 1823*, as quoted in Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education*, p. 233.

must be some doubt with respect to claims that they were patterned after the Boston school or that their establishment was in any large way influenced by it. The movement to establish high schools, however, really got underway with the enactment of a law by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1827 which required the establishment of a high school in all cities, towns, or districts of five hundred or more families.¹⁴ New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont followed the example of Massachusetts. By the outbreak of the Civil War, high schools had been established not only in New England where they were most numerous, but also in large cities elsewhere such as New York, Portland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Mobile, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Louisville. Some three hundred high schools were reported in the Census of 1860, but it is likely that not all of these were tax-supported public secondary schools. On the other hand, it is likely that many schools commonly referred to as public grammar schools provided instruction above the elementary level and should have been reported as high schools. For example, when the high school established for girls in Boston in 1826 was discontinued in 1828, it was ordered that girls be permitted to remain at the Girls' Grammar School an extra two years.¹⁵ Other evidences of the close connection between grammar and high schools are not lacking. In 1831, the school committee of Salem planned to abolish the English High School of that city. The committee learned, however, that if the high school was abolished, they would, in order to meet state requirements, be obliged to provide its equivalent in the Grammar School and the plan was abandoned.¹⁶ No doubt a number of cities met the state's requirements by adding the specified subjects which were not already taught to the courses of existing public schools.

Although established in response to a growing popular demand, high schools often were opposed by strong groups. For example, a group objected in 1831 to continuing the Salem English High School. They argued that it was proper to maintain grammar schools because "thus far all classes in the community must proceed together," but that beyond this level, schooling should not be public because it "could be of advantage only to a few but was paid for by

¹⁴ *Laws of Massachusetts, January Session, 1827*, chap. 143.

¹⁵ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, February 12, 1836, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

¹⁶ *Salem Gazette*, March 15, 29, April 5, May 20, 1831, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-96.

many." "That," stated the complaint, "is where public liberality should end and private expense begin."¹⁷ As long as a considerable part of the people held such a view, the development of high schools could progress only slowly.

High schools for girls had to overcome not only the opposition of those who objected to providing secondary education at public expense but also that of those persons who continued to think that education above the rudiments was only necessary or desirable in the case of boys — that overtaking the weaker female intellect led to the decay of the moral qualities. In 1826, there were fifteen public schools in Salem including a "Grammar School to qualify boys for the University" but there was not a single public school for girls in the town.¹⁸ The prosperity of numerous private academies for girls was evidence, however, that many parents desired instruction for their daughters which the public schools did not provide. Furthermore, it was often a matter of public concern that money was drawn out of the town by academics and that "not a dollar comes in from out of town." These considerations, together with the conviction on the part of many that the education of all the pupils, including future mothers and homemakers, was essential to the common welfare, led to the establishment of high schools for girls, although these schools were often inferior and not so highly regarded as those provided for boys. For example, the Lancasterian system was almost entirely rejected by Boston but its first high school for girls was organized on the monitorial plan. As with many half-hearted extensions of the educational program, the high school for girls was likely to be the first victim when retrenchment appeared desirable. The Boston school, opened in 1826, had been planned for 120 girls between the ages of eleven and fifteen. Nearly three hundred applied for admission and of these 133 of the age group, twelve to fifteen, were accepted. The following year none of the girls was ready to leave and 427 others were clamoring for admission. The enrollment was then limited to girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age. A few months later the committee temporarily solved its problem by discontinuing the school, but they were immediately confronted by new demands that later led to its re-establishment.

Separate high schools were not always provided for girls. Follow-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Salem Gazette*, July 18, 1826, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-95.

ing the lead of the academies, high schools were organized increasingly with "female departments." This practice, adopted extensively in the East and almost exclusively in the West, was a step toward the reorganization of education on a coeducational basis.

By the close of the period, the high school had taken form. Although in many respects it resembled the academies of the period, it was becoming increasingly differentiated from them. Of course, the fundamental difference between the two types of secondary schools related to their control and support. Both prepared for the varied life of the time and both prepared for college. In this connection it would be a mistake to think that the exclusion of the college-preparatory function by the English Classical School of Boston established a precedent for the same practice elsewhere. The classical studies were not included in the curriculum of this school, but, most likely, this should be attributed to the fact that a highly regarded Latin school in that city had been preparing boys, over a period of several generations, for the university. From the beginning the dual function of the high school was commonly recognized. The Massachusetts law of 1827 which established high schools in the larger towns and districts provided that when these towns or districts contained four thousand inhabitants, Latin and Greek were to be offered. In some cities, the standard classical course was made a part of the high school curriculum. Although high schools were distributed throughout all sections of the country and fitted well into the political and social philosophy of the time, few persons in 1860 would have predicted that this type of school would eventually almost entirely supplant the academy.

DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

At the beginning of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, higher education was on the verge of a most remarkable expansion. During the long colonial period only ten colleges had been founded; between 1780 and 1830 only fifty were added, while in the thirty years which followed, approximately 170 colleges, or nearly three times as many as had been founded previously, were established.¹⁹

¹⁹ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 270.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE COLLEGES

All of the colonial colleges except one had grown out of religious and sectarian motives and, although denominational influences weakened perceptibly under the impact of changing social, economic, and political forces, the new colleges generally reflected the religious motives and aspirations of the groups able and willing to promote their foundation and stand as sponsors for them. Complaints that a particular college was sectarian were met with the argument that colleges should be sectarian. For example, Harvard was attacked in 1831, not so much because it was sectarian but because, according to complaints, it had fallen into the hands of the Unitarians, who, it was said, claimed to have no creed and therefore could lay claim to no beliefs. Harvard, it was argued, had been established by the Puritan fathers. If there must be a college for "no beliefs" the persons interested should establish one but Harvard should be rescued from them by a state law which would restore it to the faith of its founders.²⁰

ATTEMPTS OF THE STATE TO CONTROL HIGHER EDUCATION

A growing realization that the old educational foundations did not serve the varied interests and needs of the rapidly changing society led to the establishment of new institutions as well as attempts to change the character of those already established. As pointed out previously, many states sought to establish institutions whose policies would be subject to the control of the legislatures rather than of ecclesiastical bodies. The colleges generally were jealous of the rights which they claimed under their charters. They wanted grants and endowments from the state, but they resented any attempt on the part of the legislature to exercise a measure of control over them or to influence the nature of their curricula. These attempts to control chartered institutions precipitated a number of struggles. When the decision in the Dartmouth College case settled the issue in favor of the colleges, religious denominations, having become numerous and strong, turned without fear of state interference to the founding of colleges. Every denomination wanted a college — in fact, it would be nearer the truth to state that every denomination wished to establish

²⁰ *Salem Gazette*, February 11, 15, 22, 1831; March 4, 11, 18, 1831, as cited in Butler, *op cit.*, p. 32.

a college in each of the several states. The period has been described as one of great denominational effort.²¹

The desire of denominations to be widely represented and the pride that communities felt in having colleges located in them led to the rapid multiplication of these institutions. The increase in number, however, was far more remarkable than the growth of any single college. These colleges were largely supported by fees received from students, by gifts from the communities in which they were located, and by funds raised by the conferences of the various denominations.

THE RISE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY

State legislatures, thwarted in their attempts to seize control of chartered institutions, in some instances gained their ends by judicious use of grants. Harvard was urged on more than one occasion to free itself from such control as the state exercised over it.²² Several states which had established colleges or universities earlier effected fundamental reorganizations. The University of North Carolina, opened in 1795, and the University of Georgia, opened in 1801, were subjected to a greater measure of state control. Virginia established her university in 1825 and, in the Western states, each of which had received grants of two townships for the endowment of a university, state schools were generally mandated by the constitutions. The fact remains, however, that at the outbreak of the Civil War there were only seventeen state institutions, although three or four private colleges had rather hazy state connections. The state institutions were supported by tuition, appropriations by legislatures, and land endowments.

MODEST BEGINNINGS

Most colleges and universities, state and private, were modest establishments with small faculties. They were generally poor and always in need of funds. The endowments of some appear today to have been absurdly inadequate; many colleges that have proved permanent began with less than ten thousand dollars in subscriptions.²³ Many institutions chartered as colleges were little more

²¹ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 269.

²² *Springfield Republican*, June 1, 1850, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²³ Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*, p. 214. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

than secondary schools. This fact is partly responsible, no doubt, for exaggerated contemporary reports with respect to the number and wide distribution of colleges, particularly in the South. One of the chief purposes of most of these colleges was the preservation of a learned ministry and the training of youth who would be kept true to the faith, and it is in this light that the curricula of many of them should be viewed. Harvard, Yale, and other larger and more firmly established schools early fostered the development of a new curriculum by adding one untraditional subject and then another but neither they nor any of the other colleges attempted to organize the whole into any new educational scheme. The curriculum was slowly expanded; law, theology, and medicine were being taken from the regular curriculum and organized into professional departments and schools, but a great majority of the institutions continued to stress Latin and Greek. Instruction, whether in the newer sciences or the classics, was still based on the old disciplinary idea.²⁴

Perhaps the small denominational college which accepted as its first responsibility the training of a learned ministry should not be criticized for retaining a program that had successfully trained ministers for generations. The pattern of work in the small denominational college was set by the presence of students preparing for the ministry although they formed a decreasing percentage of the student body. In 1826, the statement was made in a Connecticut newspaper: "In the ten colleges of New England there are 1400 students. Five hundred of these are hopefully pious and two hundred are preparing for the ministry in Massachusetts alone."²⁵

The fact that most of the students not preparing for the ministry were looking forward to law, medicine, and other professions indicates that colleges and universities, even from their early days, have by no means been free of the professional aim.

EXPANDING THE CONTENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Although in the main, college "courses remained grounded on Latin, Greek, and mathematics," the sciences, history, political economy, modern languages, particularly French, and other subjects were slowly added to the college offerings. New inventions and

²⁴ For an account of Emerson's attack on the existing collegiate curriculum see *Salem Gazette*, February 9, 1844, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²⁵ *Connecticut Journal*, September 26, 1826, as quoted in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

scientific advances in industry, in the utilization of natural resources, in methods and means of communication, in medicine, and other fields fired the minds of many youth of the period who were coming to believe in increasing numbers that in science, rather than in the culture of Greece and Rome, they would find the guide to the necessary business of earning a livelihood in a rapidly changing world. Colleges increased their scientific and technological offerings as the demand for scientific training increased.²⁶ The founding of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1824 was followed by the establishment of other technical schools. The Sheffield Scientific School was established at Yale in 1846 and a year later the Lawrence Scientific School was founded at Harvard. Four years later (1851) the Chandler School of Science was founded at Dartmouth. Before the close of the period, Michigan established an agricultural and industrial college, and mining, engineering, and other branches of technology were taught in an increasing number of technical institutions. A number of colleges now awarded the degree of bachelor of science and already a resolution had been presented in Congress urging "a system of Industrial Universities liberally endowed, in each state in the Union, coöperating with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institution of Washington."²⁷

Further reaction against the narrowness of traditional institutions led to the founding of additional schools of law and medicine and to the expansion of some of those already established. Several universities, with their enriched curricula, their newly established scientific schools, and their older schools of theology, law, and medicine began to take on a modern aspect.

The administration of the expanded curricula necessitated fundamental reorganizations in the colleges. On its opening in 1825, the University of Virginia offered a course of study divided into ten sections from which students were permitted to elect subjects.²⁸ Other institutions attempted in various ways to introduce a measure of election. For example, in 1841, Harvard instituted what was called

²⁶ Elbert Vaughan Wills, *The Growth of American Higher Education*, chap. IV. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1936.

²⁷ Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 398. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934 (revised edition).

²⁸ For a time, law and medicine were two of these divisions but later separate schools were organized for them.

a voluntary and elective system, which is explained in the following statement:

A change in the course of study in the Institution has been proposed by the Corporation, consisting of the President and Fellows, and submitted to the Overseers for their consideration. This proposed change consists in the introduction of what is termed the Voluntary or Elective System; i.e. allowing the students, after the close of Freshman year, to take their choice of studies to be pursued for the remainder of their College courses. It is intended, — and to be made a condition, on which the elective privilege depends — that the student shall, in his preparatory studies and by the close of his first Collegiate year, become acquainted, to a certain extent, with Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural and Civil History, and the French language. From this point as a foundation, he may pursue, at his option, any one or more of the branches taught in the College, till the close of his courses, according as he shall judge most useful in his future occupation in life. A committee of the Board of Overseers have had the subject under advisement, and in their report, recommended that the change proposed by the Corporation be approved by the Board, and that the Corporation be authorized to carry the same into effect.²⁰

Faced with the fact that the greatly augmented curriculum, as it was administered, entailed the superficial study of a large number of subjects, other colleges attempted to find means other than the elective system by which they might better provide for the different needs of various groups. But the elective system as it is known today is a development of the second half of the nineteenth century.

THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

From the testimony of men who seemed to have received fairly adequate training in the institutions of the period, it would appear that instruction was generally laborious and uninspired. Although it is probably true that the "instructional staffs were in many cases inferior in intellectual caliber to the average of their students, and not far above them in training," it is important to note that great teachers and administrators were beginning to appear. Jared Sparks, Harvard's great historian, succeeded Edward Everett as president in 1849. Benjamin Silliman of Yale was gaining a national reputation

²⁰ *Salem Gazette*, February 23, 1841, as quoted in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

for his work in chemistry and geology. Mark Hopkins became president of Williams in 1826 and, a year later, Francis Wayland became president of Brown, a position which he held until 1855. Joseph Caldwell ended a long and useful career as president of the University of North Carolina in 1835. Francis Lieber was doing distinguished work in political science and law at the South Carolina College from which he was later called to Columbia University. J. D. Dana, Asa Gray, Louis Agassiz, and others, mostly in the field of science, made notable contributions which added to the prestige of their institutions. Before the end of the period, colleges generally were becoming mindful of the value of men of wide reputation for scholarship and teaching.

Many individual instructors made attempts to vitalize instruction and occasionally a college would institute an ambitious program directed toward this end. As early as 1829, Rensselaer introduced a summer term which Knight has likened to the much more recent "university afloat." The students were taken up the Hudson, through the Erie Canal, and on to Niagara Falls, being given "lectures and examinations in mineralogy, geology, botany, zoology, chemistry, philosophy, and practical mathematics" en route. They were to give their afternoons to collecting geological and botanical specimens.³⁰ At Rensselaer and elsewhere, some opportunities were afforded for independent work in close association with noted scholars. Activities outside the curriculum provided additional opportunities for learning and expression.

Fish thinks that it "was the development of extracurricular activities by the students themselves, assisted by the more alert of the professors and tutors," that "saved the colleges from dry-rot," and "caused them still to appeal to the ambitious and train them for the work they had to do."³¹ As in the preceding period, literary societies flourished and "the Greek-letter fraternity system" developed. Phi Beta Kappa, founded in 1776 at William and Mary, had been introduced into several colleges, but had no imitators until the third decade of the nineteenth century when three were founded at Union College, giving the institution the repute of "mother of fraternities." These fraternities spread and others were established. In spite of "the Greek-letter designation, the activities of the fraternities did not, in this period, differ essentially from those of the preexisting

³⁰ Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 396.

³¹ Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

literary societies. In both cases, their substance was debates and orations on the current problems of the day, the declaiming of literary selections, and the production of plays, classic or original. It was, however, in the older literary societies that the men of the generation were trained."³² Washington Gladden in looking back upon his college days at Williams in the late fifties states:

A large place in the life of the college was taken by the two rival literary societies—the Philologist and the Philotechnian—to the one or the other of which every student belonged. These societies had well-furnished rooms in one of the dormitories, with libraries of three or four thousand volumes each. Their weekly meetings were events of no little interest to the college community; the program generally included one or two original orations, a debate, sometimes a poem, an essay or two, and the report of the censor upon the performance of the previous meeting. The two societies were united in the Adelpic Union which gave three or four debates or exhibitions annually, in the chapel or the village church.³³

The libraries of these societies were sometimes superior to the college library, the use of which, one author states, had not yet been discovered. It is stated that the college library at Dartmouth in 1817 "consisted of about four thousand volumes, chiefly antiquarian." It was open for an hour each week and a fee was charged for each book withdrawn. In 1825, the volumes in the libraries of the Dartmouth societies had numbered some six thousand. The libraries were open daily and circulated books freely, even for use during vacation.³⁴

LIGHTER ASPECTS OF COLLEGE LIFE

From numerous existing accounts of college life during the period, it appears that students did not spend all of their time studying Latin, Greek, and the new subjects, nor did they find sufficient outlet for their surplus energy in debating and declaiming. Colleges reflected, perhaps in a mild sort of way, the individualism and impatience of restraint which characterized the period from 1828 to 1860. Nearly every college had its share of riots and other serious breaches of discipline. Some accounts leave the modern reader with the impression that student life was a continual "hell week" with

³² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³³ Washington Gladden, *Recollections*, as quoted in Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States*, pp. 261-62.

³⁴ Fish, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-08.

the faculty occupying the position later taken over by freshmen and fraternity pledges.

A student riot at Harvard in 1834 was subdued by prosecution for damages. Serious fighting broke out between the freshmen and medical students at Dartmouth in 1846. In 1828, Yale students refused to eat the food provided; four ringleaders were expelled and a local paper applauded, "The Faculty have the right to rule."³⁵ In 1838, Bowdoin juniors and seniors refused to perform the public exhibitions. In 1837, a serious disturbance resulting in the suspension of several Amherst students was precipitated by the refusal, on the part of a large number of them, to accept degrees. On some occasions, as one writer has mildly put it, "exuberance bordered closely on license." At Harvard, a bomb was exploded in 1842 under the chair of Professor Pierce, knocking the partitions out of three rooms. "A meeting was called but no ill feeling was apparent and no issue [was] made of it."³⁶ In 1843, a tutor at Yale died from three stab wounds received when he attempted to prevent the hazing of a freshman. The students drew up a resolution repudiating the murderer who was punished. The resolution expressed no feeling with respect to the victim.³⁷ At Bowdoin, an outbreak occurred in 1827.

A group of students burned a tar barrel. A chain of powder was set under a Tutor's chair which went off during the class. The college bell valued at \$200 was thrown into the river. A general good time seems to have been enjoyed by all except the three who were sent home.³⁸

Rioting broke out again in 1842 and Professor Godwin was injured by someone who threw sulphuric acid. The guilty sophomore confessed and was expelled.³⁹ In 1840, a professor was shot by a student at William and Mary in a political argument.⁴⁰ There was probably no connection between this episode and the fact that the college advertised the following year for three professors at salaries ranging from \$3000 to \$3900, a house to be included in each instance —

³⁵ *Connecticut Courant*, August 19, 1839, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁶ *Springfield Republican*, July 9, 1842, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁷ *Connecticut Courant*, October 28, 1843, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁸ Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1842, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁴⁰ *Connecticut Courant*, November 28, 1840, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

salaries which, the *Connecticut Courant* stated, could not be had elsewhere.⁴¹

These are not isolated instances. The press was full of accounts of riots, disturbances, suspensions, and expulsions. Some were no doubt minor affairs, but others were extremely serious.

As time went on, the situation began to improve. At least, no student riot appeared to be as serious as one reported earlier at William and Mary where, when two duelists were expelled, students rebelled and "completely wrecked the place, destroying books and equipment, and mobbing Judge Tucker, the Professor of Law. He resigned and the college was closed." The *Connecticut Courant* reported, perhaps with some feeling of satisfaction: "We hear the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg is completely broken up and the System of Education there discontinued. . . . This is all the foul effects of Jeffersonianism."⁴² Although it is obviously unfair to characterize college students on the basis of reports of brawls in which some of them engaged, perhaps at rather wide intervals, such accounts may dispel some notions that are current concerning the nature of college youth during the period. Obviously the presence of many candidates for the ministry was not a particularly restraining influence.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Before the establishment of academies, women were afforded few advantages outside the home for education beyond the rudiments. Many of the academies developed to provide a finishing education for girls. By the end of the period a large number of seminaries and colleges for women had been established although only one or two of these institutions were comparable to the better colleges for men. Emma Willard founded Troy Seminary in 1821. Mary Lyon established Mount Holyoke at South Hadley in 1837 and headed it until her death in 1849. Rockford College (Illinois) was opened as a seminary in 1849. Before 1860, sixty or more so-called women's colleges had been established. Thirty-two were founded in the South alone between 1850 and 1860. Some of these institutions for women, but not many, rose to full collegiate rank. For example,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1841, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

Mount Holyoke was chartered as a college in 1888, and Rockford became a college in 1892.

Authorization to grant degrees did not in itself make an institution into a college. In March, 1838, it was reported that a female college in Mississippi giving instruction to sixty women had been given power to grant degrees. No one was misled as to the nature of the instruction given. Wesleyan Female Academy at Macon, Georgia, received favorable comment in the newspapers because it was authorized to grant degrees. The *Springfield Republican*, however, spoke with the voice of the age when it commented as follows:

The Kentucky Legislative [*sic*] has conferred upon Messrs. Van Doren's Institution for Young Ladies in Lexington, the charter rights and standing of a College by the name of Van Doren's College for Young Ladies. A Diploma and honorary degrees of M.P.L. (Mistress of Polite Literature), M.M. (Mistress of Music), and M.I. (Mistress of Instruction) may be given.

The editor then suggested other possible degrees.

M.P.M. (Mistress of Pudding Making), M.D.N. (Mistress of the Darning Needle), M.S.B. (Mistress of the Scrubbing Brush), M.C.S. (Mistress of Common Sense). The Professors should be chosen from farmer's wives and the Laboratory should be a kitchen. Honorary degrees might include H.W. (Happy Wife), H.H. (Happy Husband) and M.W.R.F. (Mother of a Well Regulated Family).⁴³

Such displays of editorial wit were directed against better conceived attempts to provide opportunities for women. A convention to promote women's rights which convened in 1848 was ridiculed and condemned by press and pulpit. Higher education would make dissatisfied housewives.

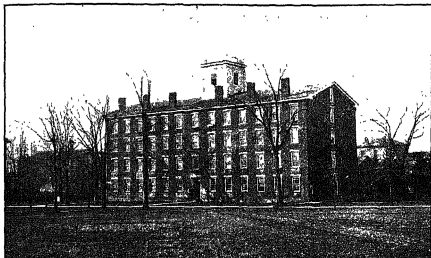
Some time earlier (1833), however, Oberlin had opened its doors to men and women alike,⁴⁴ and in 1853, Antioch, under Horace Mann, began its great coeducational experiment.⁴⁵ Genesee College, later Syracuse University, was coeducational from its beginning in 1850 and, in 1856, the University of Iowa opened as a coeducational institution. Michigan, opened in 1837, became coeducational in 1870; Indiana University admitted women in 1868;

⁴³ *Springfield [Mass.] Republican*, March 14, 1835, as quoted in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁴⁴ Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 402.

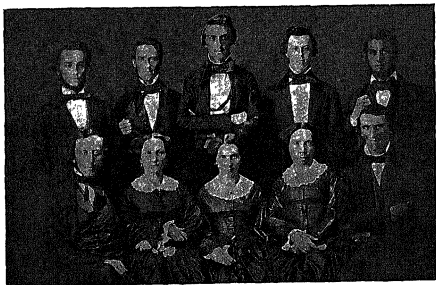
⁴⁵ Edwin Grant Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*, p. 446. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904.

CO-EDUCATION IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS



*Tappan Hall, Oberlin College, built in 1836, as it appeared
in the seventies*

From History of Oberlin College, by Robert Samuel Fletcher



Candidates for the Bachelor's Degree, 1855. Oberlin

From History of Oberlin College, by Robert Samuel Fletcher

Mississippi yielded in 1882; North Carolina in 1896; and some of the other state universities at later dates.⁴⁶ Nearly all state universities established since 1850 have been coeducational from their beginning or became so within a decade or two after their opening. The older and better established private institutions, however, were able to maintain themselves against the forces which were operating to make higher education for women socially desirable and respectable in quality, or at least equal to that provided for men.

The considerable activity of the period, the addition of new courses, and the innovations in method did not always improve the work of the college. More subjects were taught. Here and there some were well taught, but generally teaching was less thorough than during earlier periods. The disciplinary concept of education continued to prevail throughout the period, although it must be acknowledged that new aims were emerging. Summarizing the condition of higher education before 1860, Fish wrote:

The changes which the people . . . desired to make for the benefit of their children were more of extension than of content. It was part of the democratic movement of the time to provide for the education of the children of the common man, but the general satisfaction with things American and the absence of any effective critique of life prevented any systematic and general change in the character and aim of the education afforded. It was part of the condition that people were best satisfied with education at the top and changes in the colleges were less important than those in the schools — nor did universities really develop in the period under review [1830-1850].⁴⁷

It is perhaps the perspective which an understanding of much later developments provides that makes many of these activities appear more important to the student of education than they seemed to contemporaries or to later historians of the period.

TRAINING TEACHERS FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Agitation for an adequate supply of better trained teachers which eventuated in the normal-school movement was a part of the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 446-47.

⁴⁷ Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

larger campaign to provide educational facilities for the children of all the people.⁴⁸

INCREASED DEMANDS FOR TRAINED TEACHERS

Both the extension of schooling to greater numbers and the expansion of the curriculum made the problem of staffing the elementary schools acute. Recognition by the reformers of the importance of teacher training to the success of the public schools led them early to advocate teachers' seminaries as an integral part of the public-school system.

The increased demands for teachers had resulted in the lowering of standards which had never been high so far as elementary-school teachers were concerned.⁴⁹ At the beginning of the period, the only qualifications generally required of a teacher were that he professed Christianity, had some knowledge of the subject matter to be

⁴⁸ The necessity of providing adequately trained teachers was recognized and stressed by numerous advocates of the public school. The establishment of teacher-training institutions was regarded by them as a necessary part of the establishment of public-school systems. Denison Olmsted stated before the American Institute of Instruction in 1839 that he "would have ten thousand dollars out of the one hundred thousand dollars, now distributed annually among the schools, set apart for the establishing and supporting a seminary for schoolmasters." — Denison Olmsted, "Observations on the School System of Connecticut," p. 108. *The Lectures Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Lowell, (Mass.) August, 1838.*

In an address before the same body a year earlier (1837), Charles Brooks quoted Cousin at length concerning the teachers' seminary as a part of the state school system. "The best plans of instruction cannot be executed except by the instrumentality of good teachers; and the state has done nothing for popular education, if it does not watch that those who devote themselves to teaching be well prepared. . . . In order to provide schools with masters, competent and conscientious, the care of their training must not be left to chance. The foundation of Teachers' Seminaries must be continued." — Quoted by Charles Brooks, "School Reform, or Teachers' Seminaries," p. 175. *The Introductory Discourse and the Lectures Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Worcester, (Mass.) August, 1837.*

Four years earlier (1833), Samuel R. Hall in addressing this same organization questioned the right of the government to lavish wealth upon high schools and academies and at the same time neglect to provide teachers' seminaries upon which the success of the schools for seven-eighths of the population depended. — Samuel R. Hall, "On the Necessity of Educating Teachers," pp. 241-59. *The Introductory Discourse and the Lectures Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, in Boston, August, 1833.*

⁴⁹ Speakers and writers painted a disheartening picture of the teaching profession. Instances were cited of teachers who carried a whisky jug in one hand and a subscription list in the other; the teachers of entire communities were characterized as an ignorant, drunken, tobacco-chewing lot; half the teachers of Georgia would not be trusted, it was stated, with a pecuniary responsibility amounting to twenty dollars. The governor of South Carolina stated that, as a class, teachers in the free schools were "grossly incompetent, very ignorant," and possessed of an "easy morality," and that to be a teacher was regarded as "prima facie evidence of a want of qualification." See Samuel R. Hall, *op. cit.*; and see also Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, p. 295; and Paul Monroe, *Founding of the*

taught, and possessed the ability to keep order. Since almost everyone could profess to be a Christian and since most communities were without the effective criteria for evaluating the teacher's knowledge, the chief requirement was most likely to be the strength to discipline unruly children whose behavior reflected not only the crudeness and unbridled individualism of the time but also the tedium of the schools which they attended. This continued to be the qualification over which parents and school committees showed most concern as long as teaching was largely a matter of supervising drill and hearing the memorized responses of children, many of whom were bound to seek release from an almost stupefying boredom in activities not provided in the course of study.⁶⁰

As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, some few persons showed concern over the lack of qualified teachers. The trustees of the academy promoted by Franklin stated one of the purposes as follows:

That a number of the poorer Sort will be hereby qualified to act as Schoolmasters in the Country, to teach Children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Grammar of their Mother Tongue, and being of good morals and known character, may be recommended from the Academy to Country Schools for that purpose; The Country suffering at present very much for want of good Schoolmasters, and obliged frequently to employ in their Schools, vicious imported Servants, or concealed Papists, who by their bad Examples and Instructions often deprave the Morals or corrupt the Principles of the Children under their Care.⁶¹

It was not until the period beginning a half century later, however, that educational thinkers began to draw plans for institutions which would prepare young men for teaching, and it was even later before demands for better trained teachers became insistent.

THE NORMAL-SCHOOL MOVEMENT

In 1820, James G. Carter published a pamphlet in which he urged the establishment of "an institution to train teachers." Later papers by Carter, Gallaudet, William Russell, James Caldwell, James L. Kingsley, and others pointed to the need for such schools

⁶⁰ For an excellent account of early teachers and teaching, see Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940.

⁶¹ As quoted in Elmer Ellsworth Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, p. 185. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902.

and outlined plans for them.⁸³ By 1825, educational leaders had become acquainted with the Prussian system of teachers' seminaries. From about 1830 on, articles appeared in many parts of the country setting forth the advantages to be derived from such institutions and their establishment was urged by prominent persons and important organizations such as the North Carolina Literary Society, the American Institute of Instruction,⁸⁴ and the numerous lyceums.

Except for the Lancasterian model schools, the first teacher-training school in America was established in 1823 by the Reverend Samuel R. Hall at Concord, Vermont. At this place and later at Andover, Massachusetts, and Plymouth, New Hampshire, he engaged until 1840 in the preparation of teachers for the common schools. In Hall's school, the elementary branches were reviewed and some secondary-school subjects were taught. Opportunity was provided for the observation of teaching and during the third year, which was the final one, he introduced a subject called the Art of Teaching, the nature of which may be judged from his book, *Lectures on School-Keeping* (1829), the first professional book for teachers published in America. Like many of the early teacher-training institutions, his school was no further advanced than the typical academy which it resembled, except for the little professional instruction which was offered.⁸⁴

Carter began what was probably the second school for the preparation of teachers at Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1827. He tried to obtain financial support from the legislature but failed. His efforts to interest the state in providing facilities for the training of teachers were continued, however, until the state assumed responsi-

⁸³ James G. Carter, "Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers," pp. 227-45. *The First State Normal School in America*. — Norton, the editor of this volume, states that the essays by Gallaudet, Carter, and Johnson were so strikingly similar in their recommendations as to suggest a common origin. All three plans were sufficiently like the Prussian "Teachers' Seminaries," as reorganized by the Prussian School Law of 1819 to suggest that these institutions were known to the three writers. Johnson alone referred to them.

⁸⁴ See "Memorial of the American Institute of Instruction to the Legislature of Massachusetts on Normal Schools," *The First State Normal School in America*, pp. 246-52. Also in Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers*, Part I, pp. 85-91. Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Co., 1851.

⁸⁵ See Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education*, pp. 323-24, and Henry Barnard, editor, "Samuel Read Hall," *American Journal of Education*, V (1858), 371-88. The entire chapter, "The Beginnings of Teacher Training," *Readings in Public Education*, is excellent supplementary reading for this section.

bility for the work. The labors of Carter, the reports by Cousin⁵⁵ (published in America in 1835), Stowe⁵⁶ (1837), and others, the work of Charles Brooks, and the recommendations and petitions of organizations such as the American Institute of Instruction,⁵⁷ bore fruit in Massachusetts in 1838. The state legislature accepted ten thousand dollars, donated by Edmund Dwight on the condition that the state provide a sum equally large, and authorized the new State Board of Education to spend the money to qualify teachers for the common schools of Massachusetts.⁵⁸

In making provision for the training of teachers, Massachusetts followed the pattern set by Germany and France of providing special and separate institutions. A movement was underway in the United States, especially in the state of New York, to provide for the education of teachers in existing institutions, either public or private.⁵⁹ New England leaders, however, chose to adopt European models and in time special institutions for the education of teachers were widely established. Moreover, American visitors to Prussia had been favorably impressed with the teachers' seminaries, but they had failed to see that separate institutions for the training of teachers in that country reflected the class structure of society. Teachers in the *Volksschulen* in Prussia were recruited from the common people and the way was not open to them to attend either the regular secondary schools or the universities. Special institutions for the training of elementary teachers in Prussia were essential to the maintenance of the class social structure. The influence of Prussia was a fundamental factor in the development in this country of teacher-education institutions separate and apart from the existing academies and colleges. These institutions, however, came to be known by the French name, normal schools.

⁵⁵ Victor Cousin, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*. London, England: Effingham Wilson, 1834.

⁵⁶ Calvin E. Stowe, *Common Schools and Teachers' Seminaries*. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb, 1839.

⁵⁷ For speeches before the Institute favoring the establishment of teachers' seminaries by Olmsted, Hall, Brooks, and others see the early annual publications of the organization.

⁵⁸ For series of documents relating to the action of the state see Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education*, pp. 335-37.

⁵⁹ There is no way of knowing how many of the academies offered training courses for teachers. Academies were prone to offer whatever was demanded. Notices and advertisements of academies indicate that many made some, if meager provisions for prospective teachers, e.g., a "School for Teachers" at Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1832. The term was for eleven weeks. "The tuition in the School Teaching Department for all English Studies is \$4." *Massachusetts Spy*, June 13, 1832, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

The first state normal school in America was opened in July, 1839, at Lexington, Massachusetts; a second was opened in the autumn of that year at Barre; and a third was opened in 1840 at Bridgewater. New York established a short-lived normal school in 1844; Connecticut followed in 1849, Henry Barnard serving as the first principal; Michigan enacted a law providing for such schools in 1849; and by 1860 twelve normal schools had been established in nine states. In addition, six private normals had been founded and St. Louis had organized the first city normal school.

These schools were generally modest affairs. More often than not they were little better than secondary in level,⁶⁰ poorly attended, and never attained popularity before the Civil War. The school at Lexington, restricted to girls, opened with one instructor and three students.⁶¹ At the close of the first quarter the enrollment was only twelve,⁶² and at the end of the first year the students numbered only twenty-five,⁶³ and more than fifteen years later the enrollment was only thirty-five. The academies opposed the normal schools, teachers were suspicious of them or considered their establishment an unwarranted reflection upon the persons engaged in teaching, the opponents of public schools feared them for the contribution which they made to the success of the public-school movement, and at least a strong minority in the legislatures were, for the foregoing or other reasons, unfriendly to them. In New York, the opposition of selfish forces and the apathy of the people resulted in the abandonment of the normal school within four or five years of its founding, but attempts to abolish the normal schools in Massachusetts failed.⁶⁴ Although generally administered by able men and sponsored by the leading educational statesmen of the period, little was observable in the early normal schools to suggest that they were later to occupy an important place in the American public-school systems. If the basis for their later success in almost monopolizing teacher training were to be sought in the his-

⁶⁰ One criticism leveled at the normal schools was that they taught only elementary subjects. Their proponents replied that these studies "were taught only as a method," and that "the art of teaching cannot be taught abstractly but only through a review of studies to be taught." As quoted in Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-01.

⁶¹ *The First State Normal School in America*, p. 3.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁴ For an account of the attack and defense of the normal schools in Massachusetts, see "Attack on Normal Schools in the Legislature of 1840." *The First State Normal School in America*, pp. 264-77.

tory of their early development, it would in all likelihood be found in their attempts at professional instruction and in the model schools which most of them maintained.

TEACHER TRAINING IN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS

Classes to train teachers for monitorial schools developed by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century; private teachers' seminaries were introduced in the twenties; and state normal schools were established in 1839 and afterwards. Most teachers whose education extended beyond the elementary schools, however, received their training in the academies which trained not only the greatest number of teachers during the period but also some of the best. Many graduates of Eastern academies followed the tide of immigrants to the West to find employment in the newly established and primitive schools of that region. Teaching was sometimes regarded as missionary effort.⁶⁵ Friends of public education subsidized the instruction of youth who promised to teach in the schools.⁶⁶ Private academies turned more and more to training teachers to meet the almost unlimited demands, and here and there states began to show an interest in the subsidization of the efforts of the private schools.

In New York the Board of Regents declared, as early as 1821, that the academies must be looked to for teachers for the common schools. The legislature in the years that followed aided academies on the basis of work done in training teachers. In 1834, state aid was given to one academy in each of the eight judicial districts of the state to be used in qualifying teachers for the common schools under the regulation of the Board of Regents.⁶⁷ In 1844, New York established a normal school on the plan of Massachusetts, but when this institution closed, the state reverted in 1849 to its former practice of aiding academies engaged in teacher training. In other states, financial assistance to academies or seminaries which prepared teachers was urged and in some instances the endowment of such institutions was advocated by governors and others. In spite of all this activity and the remarkable progress made, the fact remains that

⁶⁵ In 1848, a six weeks' course was offered in the Hartford Female Seminary to prepare "such as desired to go West to teach." Fifteen or twenty of Hartford's young ladies applied for the course. *Connecticut Courant*, February 26, 1848, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-96.

⁶⁶ *Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 7, 1839, as cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁶⁷ For series of documents relating to the activity in New York, see Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States*, pp. 328-32.

most teachers of the period entered upon their duties without professional training of any kind or without having advanced themselves beyond the schools in which they taught.

Whether in normal schools or academies, the training was almost entirely academic in nature. It sometimes included elementary courses in school management and the principles of teaching. The course varied in length. The normal-school program was commonly three years but generally students with a meager common-school education were admitted for much shorter terms, some for only a few weeks. Teacher training on a scale adequate to keep pace with the rapidly expanding public schools failed to develop during the period. The foundations had been laid, however, for systems of teacher education, which, although never equal to the demands of public elementary education, were to become firmly established during the half-century which followed the close of the Civil War.

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, 1830-1860

The period 1830 to 1860 was one of marked educational advancement. As we have seen, it embraced what has been known as the Common School Revival, a movement to extend and improve facilities for popular education. In New England, under the leadership of Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and others, the public-school systems were revitalized and given an effectiveness they had not known before. Other sections registered material progress in establishing new schools and in maintaining old ones. Everywhere there was a definite tendency to shift from private to public support of education. Several normal schools were established to provide better trained teachers for the common schools, the curriculum was expanded and enriched, steps were taken to improve administrative control, facilities for secondary and higher education were expanding, and educational institutions at all levels were receiving more liberal financial support. Exuberant democracies, urged on by educational leaders, publicists, and statesmen, were making legislative provisions for systems of education.

Great as the gains of this period were, they have commonly been exaggerated and in some respects misinterpreted. Laws were by no means always carried into effect and the recommendations of the reformers were, in most instances, accepted with great hesitancy.

Early historians, overimpressed by what were fairly substantial gains, set a pattern of interpretation that has tended to persist to this day. Writers, particularly those in the field of education, have almost always exaggerated the development of certain aspects of the state school systems and generally have overemphasized the differences between states and sections. With respect to the South, unsupported generalizations have been made concerning the blighting influence of slavery and of an ideology inimical to the development of popular education. A statement that has been quoted, cited, and misinterpreted in works on education reads:

By the close of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, certainly by 1860, we find the American public school system fully established, in principle at least, in all our Northern States. Much yet remained to be done to carry into full effect what had been established in principle, but everywhere democracy had won its fight, and the American public school, supported by general taxation, freed from the pauper-school taint, free and equally open to all, under the direction of representatives of the people, free from sectarian control, and complete from the primary school through the high school, and in the Western States through the university as well, may be considered as established permanently in American public policy.⁶⁸

This statement, given the proper interpretation, may be true, but proper interpretation requires an understanding of the period obviously not possessed by many who have drawn upon the work of the author. The enactment of laws and the adoption of forward-looking programs may have served to establish educational systems in principle, but one must always keep in mind the difference between establishment in principle and accomplishment in fact. An entirely satisfactory index of the status of education must be based, in part, on measures of what was actually being accomplished in providing educational opportunity for children, not on what was being enacted in legislative halls or being said in educational conventions. An analysis of census data, not adequately used by most historians in their study of education, leads to the following generalizations:⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 281.

⁶⁹ Herman G. Richey, "The Persistence of Educational Progress During the Decade of the Civil War. I," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (January, 1942), 358-66; "The Persistence of Educational Progress During the Decade of the Civil War. II," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (February, 1942), 456-63; and "Reappraisal of the State School Systems of the Pre-Civil-War Period," *Elementary School Journal*, XLI (October, 1940), 118-29.

(1) Practically all the states were making substantial progress in the development of systems of public education. (2) At the close of the period no single state can be said to have been providing any large percentage of its children and youth with schools well-supported and well-taught. (3) The facilities for secondary education were by no means as extensive as has commonly been reported. (4) Regional differences in educational development have been exaggerated; and (5) where sectional differences in school support and attendance did exist they appear to have been due more to differentials in urban and rural development than to differences in social attitudes and philosophies.⁷⁰ In view of the fact that educational development during the period has often been overemphasized and sometimes misinterpreted, a somewhat detailed presentation of statistical data in the pages that follow seems warranted.

ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS

Data pertaining to educational enrollment and income for 1850 and 1860 are presented in Tables 4 and 5.

Percentage of the population enrolled. It is not possible to ascertain the percentage of the children and youth of each age group attending school or college before 1860, but one can discover the percentage of the total population enrolled in some kind of educational institution. For the United States as a whole, 13.9 per cent, 18.2 per cent, and 19.9 per cent of the free population were enrolled in some type of school in 1840, 1850, and 1860 respectively. In 1840, Michigan and Ohio were the only states other than the New England and Middle Atlantic states to enroll as many as 8 per cent of their total population in schools.⁷¹ Twenty years later, only three states enrolled less than 8 per cent of their total free population. For the states of the South the range was from 6.9 to 18.9 and for Northern states from 12.5 to 31.1 per cent. Only five of the Northern states (Pacific states excepted) enrolled less than 19.9 per cent of the total free population. The differences between the states decreased during the twenty-year period from 1840 to 1860. According to census returns, all the New England states and the state of New York en-

⁷⁰ These generalizations and the facts which will be presented to support them are based upon data taken from the United States Census and checked against available reports of state school officers.

⁷¹ Note that the term "schools" as used here includes colleges, public schools, academies and other schools.

rolled a smaller percentage of the population in 1860 than in 1840. This decrease in percentage of the population enrolled may have been due to the increasing number of children employed in industry. It is more probable that it is to be attributed to poor statistics.⁷²

There were remarkable gains in the states of the Northwest and smaller but substantial gains in the South. In the rural states of the Northwest and the South, with two or three exceptions, the percentage of the population enrolled in school doubled or tripled during the twenty-year period. The differences at the close of the period, however, were still large. The statements of writers concerning the backwardness of the South in establishing public schools free and open to all are fully warranted, but it should also be noted that on the basis of this one criterion—percentage of population enrolled in the schools—their statements should be broadened to include several northern states.⁷³

If the percentage that the children enrolled was of the total population is used as an index of the enrollment of children of school age, the same general trends may be observed in all parts of the nation.⁷⁴ The South, with relatively larger numbers of children, was failing to provide for a large share of them. In the North, by 1860, the number of enrollments in all schools was about nine tenths as large as the number of the population between the ages of five and fifteen. Many enrollments, particularly in the Western states, were for very short terms; attendance was poor; and facilities were extremely primitive.

Relatively more of the school children of the North were enrolled in public schools. In 1860, the states of the North (Oregon excepted) enrolled from 85.1 per cent to 96.4 per cent of their school children in public schools, and the Southern states (Florida excepted) enrolled from 68.2 per cent to 88.6 per cent of their total enrollments in public schools. These facts taken with those already

⁷² Many children in New England were obviously counted as enrolled in winter schools and again as enrolled in summer schools. Probably there were fewer duplicate enrollments, or at least fewer duplicate enrollments were counted, in 1860 than in 1840.

⁷³ Herman G. Richey, "Reappraisal of the State School Systems of the Pre-Civil-War Period," *Elementary School Journal*, XLI (October, 1940), 122-23.

⁷⁴ The higher percentages enrolled in Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, and perhaps in two or three other Northern states are probably due not only to the large enrollments in those states but also to the failure of the census to eliminate duplicate enrollments. Many children of New England were counted as enrolled in winter schools and again as enrolled in summer schools. This statement is borne out by comparisons of the census figures with those reported by chief state school officers.

presented, indicate that a number of states were far on their way toward the establishment of systems of public schools. The statistics must be interpreted, however, in the light of the meaning which the term "public school" conveyed during the period. It was used in the census and in reports of state school officers to denote some schools almost entirely supported by tuition. Many of the so-called "public schools" were public only because they were not privately owned and some measure of public control must have operated. In the North as well as in the South, these schools were not necessarily "free and open to all" nor were they all without the "pauper-school taint."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

A study of the income for educational purposes reveals even more clearly than the statistics of enrollment the failure of the period to make adequate educational facilities available. If the statistics for the urban population of Northern states are omitted from the compilations, the abject poverty and almost impossible conditions of the rural schools stand out even more clearly. School systems were developing, but outside of a few Eastern states and the towns and cities of the remainder of the United States, schools were sorely inadequate to meet the requirements of an emerging democracy. They had little public money, and a large part of that little was derived from land sales, rents, or other sources not involving taxation. In the South, thousands of children — a large percentage of the whole — were denied schooling of any kind, although more money was being spent for education per free person, or per pupil enrolled, than in a majority of Northern states. Public systems of education were developing. It may be said, perhaps, that by the close of the period they had been established in principle, at least in the North. The facts with respect to school enrollments, school attendance, and educational income present an important aspect of the educational situation, however, that may be obscured if the history of the period is written in terms of only such factors as (1) the men who labored tirelessly and enthusiastically for the cause of education, (2) the theories developed, (3) the reforms demanded, and (4) the statutes enacted.

TABLE 4. EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENT AND INCOME IN 1850, BY STATES*

State	Percentage of Free Population Enrolled		Percentage that Enrollment in All Schools Was of Total Free Population 5-15 Years of Age†	Percentage of Total Enrollment Enrolled in Public Schools	Income of All Types of Schools		Public-School Income Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Schools	Percentage that Public-School Income Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Schools Was of Total Educational Income
	All Types of Schools†	Public Schools‡			Per Free Person	Per Pupil Enrolled		
Alabama.....	8.7	6.6	29.2	76.2	\$1.22	\$13.99	\$11.12	11.0
Arkansas.....	6.8	5.2	22.3	76.9	.46	6.77	5.15	12.3
California.....	.2	.1	5.4	22.4	.19	81.60	73.47	0.0
Connecticut.....	21.3	19.2	101.4	90.2	1.16	5.45	3.24	45.1
Delaware.....	12.5	10.1	46.4	80.6	1.22	9.79	4.89	38.7
Florida.....	6.5	3.9	23.0	60.0	.74	11.34	11.92	.7
Georgia.....	8.3	6.2	27.5	75.5	.76	9.16	5.57	9.7
Illinois.....	15.3	14.8	53.4	96.5	.47	3.09	2.78	57.1
Indiana.....	17.1	16.3	58.4	95.7	.43	2.50	1.95	49.4
Iowa.....	16.0	15.4	54.6	96.3	.32	2.00	1.74	58.0
Kentucky.....	11.2	9.3	39.0	83.0	.77	6.93	2.97	14.7
Louisiana.....	11.3	9.2	47.0	81.2	2.27	20.07	13.96	46.6
Maine.....	34.3	33.1	136.6	96.5	.65	1.91	1.64	79.0
Maryland.....	9.1	6.8	36.3	74.0	1.14	12.56	6.62	27.3
Massachusetts.....	19.1	17.7	94.8	92.7	1.43	7.49	5.71	67.5

* From Herman G. Richey, "Reappraisal of the State School Systems of the Pre-Civil-War Period," *Elementary School Journal*, XLI (October, 1940), 120.

† Includes colleges, public schools, academies, and other schools.

‡ The term "public schools" used as in the Census reports.

§ Not the percentage of children 5-15 years of age enrolled, but the number enrolled divided by the number of children 5-15 years of age. Percentages of more than 100 are caused by the enrollment of children over 15 and under 5 and, in some instances, by the fact that, in some states, children were counted as enrolled twice, once in summer school and again in winter school.

TABLE 4 (continued)

State	Percentage of Free Population Enrolled		Percentage that Enrollment in All Schools Was Free Population 5-15 Years of Age	Percentage of Total Enrollment in Public Schools	Income of All Types of Schools		Public-School Income Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Schools	Percentage that Public-School Income from Taxes and Public Sources Was of Total Educational Income
	All Types of Schools	Public Schools			Per Free Person	Per Pupil Enrolled		
Michigan.....	28.3	27.8	102.8	98.3	\$.52	\$1.84	\$1.52	69.2
Minnesota.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	8.9	6.3	29.4	71.5	1.25	14.11	13.56	17.9
Missouri.....	10.4	8.7	36.1	84.0	.64	6.23	3.11	20.3
New Hampshire.....	25.6	23.8	118.5	93.1	.70	2.72	2.21	70.5
New Jersey.....	18.0	16.0	72.4	88.6	1.07	5.93	2.77	27.0
New York.....	23.5	21.8	101.0	92.9	.78	3.34	2.18	54.3
North Carolina.....	19.4	17.9	69.6	92.6	.67	3.44	1.52	36.3
Ohio.....	25.4	24.4	92.1	96.3	.51	2.03	1.53	60.4
Oregon.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	19.1	17.9	73.9	93.9	.94	4.91	3.42	63.0
Rhode Island.....	16.9	15.7	81.1	93.0	.93	5.50	4.54	68.6
South Carolina.....	9.2	6.3	32.4	68.5	1.80	19.63	11.25	7.3
Tennessee.....	15.0	13.6	50.6	90.3	.54	3.62	1.89	24.6
Texas.....	7.4	5.1	26.4	69.1	.55	7.37	5.55	0.0
Vermont.....	32.1	29.8	135.6	92.7	.79	2.45	1.88	60.3
Virginia.....	8.2	7.1	29.6	86.7	.75	9.11	4.67	14.7
Wisconsin.....	20.2	19.3	80.8	95.5	.45	2.21	1.92	79.6
United States including territories.....	18.2	16.8	69.8	92.1	\$0.81	\$4.44	\$2.86	44.9

TABLE 5. EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENT AND INCOME IN 1860, BY STATES*

State	Percentage of Free Population Enrolled		Percentage that Enrollment in All Schools Was of Total Free Population 5-15 Years of Age [§]	Percentage of Total Enrollment Enrolled in Public Schools	Income of All Types of Schools		Public-School Income Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Schools	Percentage that Public-School Income from Taxes and Public Sources Was of Total Educational Income
	All Types of Schools [†]	Public Schools [‡]			Per Free Person	Per Pupil Enrolled		
Alabama.....	14.1	11.7	48.6	82.7	\$1.58	\$11.20	\$7.93	31.5
Arkansas.....	7.4	5.9	24.4	80.6	.60	8.14	6.27	7.4
California.....	7.5	6.6	69.0	87.2	1.47	19.54	14.14	48.4
Connecticut....	20.0	17.9	101.1	89.5	1.63	8.12	4.54	41.2
Delaware.....	12.5	10.6	49.3	85.1	1.13	9.01	5.78	49.2
Florida.....	8.3	2.6	29.3	31.2	1.21	14.65	9.89	3.3
Georgia.....	11.8	9.4	41.6	79.6	1.44	12.14	8.02	19.9
Illinois.....	26.2	25.3	104.1	96.4	1.47	5.61	5.05	81.5
Indiana.....	23.6	21.7	87.2	92.0	.65	2.77	2.34	72.8
Iowa.....	25.5	24.5	96.8	96.4	1.04	4.08	3.71	83.4
Kentucky.....	18.9	16.8	69.4	88.6	1.16	6.13	3.20	34.5
Louisiana.....	11.9	8.5	48.5	71.3	2.71	22.86	14.75	39.7
Maine.....	31.1	29.7	135.2	95.6	.88	2.84	2.43	76.0
Maryland.....	6.9	6.0	28.2	87.1	.85	12.28	6.71	37.2
Massachusetts..	18.1	16.8	91.7	92.9	1.81	10.02	7.47	65.6

* From Herman G. Richey, "Reappraisal of the State School Systems of the Pre-Civil-War Period," *Elementary School Journal*, XL1 (October, 1940), 121.

† Includes colleges, public schools, academies, and other schools.

‡ The term "public schools" used as in the Census reports.

§ Not the percentage of children 5-15 years of age enrolled, but the number enrolled divided by the number of children 5-15 years of age. Percentages of more than 100 are caused by the enrollment of children over 15 and under 5 and, in some instances, by the fact that, in some states, children were counted as enrolled twice, once in summer school and again in winter school.

TABLE 5 (continued)

State	Percentage of Free Population Enrolled		Percentage that Enrollment in All Schools Was Free Population 5-15 Years of Age	Percentage of Total Enrollment in Public Schools	Income of All Types of Schools		Public-School Income Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Schools	Percentage that Public-School Income from Taxes and Public Sources Was of Total Educational Income
	All Types of Schools	Public Schools			Per Free Person	Per Pupil Enrolled		
Michigan.....	28.4	26.9	118.8	94.7	\$1.09	\$3.84	\$3.24	70.6
Minnesota.....	19.2	18.1	85.8	94.0	.68	3.53	2.76	68.0
Mississippi.....	11.2	8.7	39.2	77.8	2.07	18.43	12.45	18.8
Missouri.....	18.8	16.5	70.9	87.8	1.18	6.29	4.57	44.7
New Hampshire.....	25.3	21.6	127.1	85.6	1.13	4.49	3.09	54.8
New Jersey.....	18.4	16.4	80.4	89.0	1.28	6.92	4.86	51.7
New York.....	20.3	18.0	91.4	88.6	1.30	6.43	4.79	61.6
North Carolina.....	18.1	15.9	67.1	87.7	1.15	6.33	2.56	31.6
Ohio.....	27.9	25.2	108.7	90.6	1.30	4.65	4.32	78.7
Oregon.....	19.6	15.5	81.8	79.5	1.39	7.12	6.04	39.7
Pennsylvania.....	20.7	19.5	83.2	93.9	1.16	5.61	4.41	71.9
Rhode Island.....	16.6	14.6	81.5	88.4	1.35	8.16	6.22	59.9
South Carolina.....	10.1	6.9	37.5	68.2	2.29	22.73	9.88	10.0
Tennessee.....	18.9	16.6	67.8	88.1	1.29	6.83	2.90	20.3
Texas.....	10.2	8.2	37.1	80.6	1.54	15.17	11.97	11.4
Vermont.....	28.2	25.7	128.6	91.0	.95	3.36	2.73	72.2
Virginia.....	9.2	7.7	34.4	84.2	1.17	12.71	5.84	13.7
Wisconsin.....	27.1	25.6	106.1	94.6	.98	3.62	3.00	75.4
United States including territories.....	19.9	18.0	81.0	90.5	\$1.26	\$6.34	\$4.55	54.6

EDUCATION AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL

The decades from 1830 to 1860 were characterized by the very rapid development of academies. The Latin grammar schools had almost disappeared, while outside of cities the public high schools had not made a great deal of headway. In ever increasing numbers youth, especially from the rising middle class, turned to the private and semi-public academies for a more advanced type of education than was afforded in the common schools. The academy has been properly called the people's college. For most it was a terminal school, offering instruction in a great many cultural and vocational subjects. At the same time, in most of the better academies, the pupil could, if he desired, prepare for entrance into college.

It is next to impossible to ascertain the exact number of academies in existence at any time before 1860 and it is equally difficult to determine how many of the institutions listed as academies were really of secondary grade and how many were in fact elementary schools masquerading under the more ambitious title. In 1840 the census returns show that there were in the United States 3242 academies and grammar schools enrolling 164,159 pupils. The census data of 1850 relating to academies are difficult to interpret. The misrepresentation commonly given them is of enough importance to call for special comment.

Cubberley cites Inglis to the effect that by 1850 "when the wave of interest in their establishment reached its crest, there were, of all kinds [incorporated and unincorporated], 1007 academies in New England, 1636 in the Middle Atlantic States, 2640 in the Southern States, 753 in the Upper Mississippi Valley States, and a total reported for the entire United States of 6085, with 12,260 teachers employed and 263,096 pupils enrolled."⁷⁵ This statement is obviously based on data found in the Census of 1850, but the statement, which is followed by a clear inference that the schools enumerated were secondary schools, fails to take into account the fact that in the census educational institutions were classified in only three categories, (1) colleges and universities, (2) public schools, and (3) academies and other schools. More than six thousand "academies and other schools" were reported in the returns, but not all institutions included in this category pretended to be academies and many

⁷⁵ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 247.

were probably elementary rather than secondary schools. Under the head of "academies and other schools" returns were included for special schools for deaf mutes, the blind, juvenile criminals, and orphans as well as any private schools which were not classified as "public schools." The fact that many private elementary schools must have been included in the number may explain why the South according to the figures cited by Cubberley had more than 40 per cent of all the academies of the nation. In those areas where public education had not advanced very far, the census taker would find many "academies and other schools" to report. On the other hand, the relatively liberal support afforded "academies and other schools" leads one to suppose that perhaps a great majority of these institutions should have been classified as academies. The total income for the support of "academies and other schools" was somewhat more than \$4,500,000 as compared with approximately \$2,000,000 for colleges and something less than \$10,000,000 for "public schools." The average income per pupil enrolled was about eighteen dollars, only 9 per cent of which was derived from endowments, public funds, and taxation. Other sources, largely tuition, accounted for more than 90 per cent of the total income of the "academies and other schools."

The development of public high schools, after the establishment of the first school of this type in Boston in 1821, was not very marked. Most of the larger cities in time followed the example of Boston, but the number of high schools before 1860 was never large. The census reports did not record data on high schools as separate institutions and it is, therefore, difficult to get precise information with respect to their number. In 1904, the United States Commissioner of Education compiled a table showing the number and distribution of high schools in 1860. His list includes 321 such schools, more than half of which (167) were located in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio.⁷⁶ Since high schools in the early days were primarily urban institutions, they were established in comparatively small numbers in the West and South.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The number of institutions bearing the name of college or university and authorized to grant degrees multiplied rapidly during

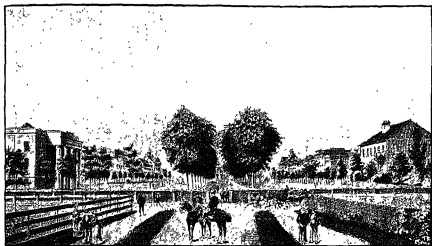
⁷⁶ Cubberley, *The History of Education*, p. 701.

the three decades from 1830 to 1860. The Census of 1840 reported 173 colleges in which were enrolled 16,233 students. Twenty years later, the number of colleges was 467 with an enrollment of 56,120 students. The number of colleges about doubled between 1850 and 1860, and the number of students increased by slightly more than 100 per cent. The great majority of the colleges were the result of denominational effort, although state institutions existed in considerable numbers, especially in the South and West. But even where state colleges or universities had been established they received little support from taxation. Only six states employed this source of revenue and the total amount of taxes going to the support of higher education was \$25,882. Of the three million dollars income which colleges received, about \$134,000 was derived from public funds other than taxation.

College enrollments in relation to the total free population were materially higher in the South than in other regions and the same was true of the total revenue made available for higher education. With a free population constituting less than a third of that of the whole nation, the South provided in its own institutions nearly one half of the total college enrollments and sent a considerable number of students to study in Northern colleges. The slave states were spending on their colleges a sum almost exactly equal to that being spent for higher education in New England, the Middle Atlantic states, the West, and the Pacific states combined. South Carolina, with a free population only one fourth that of Massachusetts, enrolled in her colleges 1384 students as compared with 1733 in Massachusetts. The total income for higher education in South Carolina was \$192,675 as compared with \$195,110 in Massachusetts. Illinois, with a free population greater than that of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia combined, enrolled less than one half as many students in college as these three Southern states and spent less than a fourth as much in support of colleges.⁷⁷ It is no doubt true that many colleges in the South, as elsewhere, were little better than academies or seminaries, but it is also true that a considerable number of Southern institutions, such as the universities of Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia, ranked relatively high

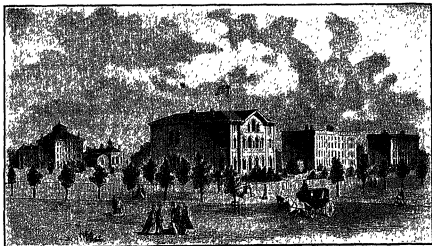
⁷⁷ The enrollment in Illinois was 2901 and the total income for colleges \$97,412; the enrollment in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia was 6226 and the total income for colleges was \$462,366.

STATE UNIVERSITIES NEAR
THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY



South Carolina College about 1850

From History of Higher Education in South Carolina



University of Michigan as it appeared in 1865

Courtesy of the University of Michigan

among the institutions of the day. At South Carolina College, the scholarly Francis Lieber was offering the most advanced work in political science to be found anywhere in the country and Joseph Le Conte was carrying forward pioneer investigations in science. "Even if in some respects the standards of Southern colleges in 1860 can be criticized," says Professor Dodd, "it remains true that they had made greater progress than similar institutions in other parts of the country."⁷⁸ It must be kept in mind, however, that progress in the development of higher education was not confined to the South. In New England and the Middle Atlantic states enrollments were increasing and the quality of instruction improving. In the West the number of denominational colleges was being multiplied and the foundations were being laid for the development of great state universities.

Viewing the period as a whole, marked progress was made in every section and at every level of education. In New England and New York the main problem was to improve educational systems that had already been established and to secure additional support of public as over against private schools. In the other Middle Atlantic states the major problem was to establish systems of public schools to provide more effective popular education than the parochial and private schools had been able to afford. Definite progress was made toward this end. In the West, the most democratic section of the nation, the prevailing political and social philosophy required that at least some degree of education be provided to as large an element of the population as possible. This attitude no doubt accounts for the fact that expenditure per pupil enrolled in the public schools, in the academies, and in the colleges was usually less in the West than in other sections. In the South, educational policy reflected definitely the prevailing social philosophy — the ideal of a Greek democracy. Colleges and academies were more numerous in relation to the free population and were more liberally supported than elsewhere. Even public schools, though less numerous than in other sections, were usually provided with a per pupil income in excess of the national average. The great problem of the South was to improve its common schools, a goal which it had accepted as wholly compatible with its ideal of a white aristocracy. In the matter of maintaining public schools the South was more advanced

⁷⁸ Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, pp. 113-14.

than has commonly been supposed and in the rate of progress it was perhaps abreast with either the Northeast or the Northwest. It is clear, however, that despite the great educational advance in all sections, the battle for effective school systems had by no means been won.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 10

1. In the emerging democratic state before 1860, at which level of education was it more important that educational progress be made: (a) elementary, (b) secondary, or (c) higher? At which level was the greatest progress made?
2. To what extent had secondary education become democratic by 1860?
3. Do you think we have succeeded in making secondary education democratic? If not, what needs to be done to make it democratic?
4. How do you explain the emphasis on higher education in the South prior to the Civil War?
5. Account for the rise of separate institutions, such as normal schools, for the education of teachers. Do you think it would have been a better policy to incorporate the teacher-education function in the regularly established colleges and universities?
6. Show how educational progress as reflected by school and college attendance and by financial support was affected by the existence of democratic or aristocratic ideals during the period 1830-1860.

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PART THREE

The School in an Industrial Society,

1860-1945

PREVIEW



THE CIVIL WAR marked the end of a long struggle between the planter South and the rising capitalistic East to dominate the national state. The surrender of Lee at Appomattox symbolized the triumph of industrial capitalism. The new occupants of the seats of power were not slow in putting into effect measures designed to promote the interests of business enterprise. With unbelievable swiftness America was transformed from a comparatively simple rural society into the most highly advanced industrial nation of the world; the farmer strove valiantly to maintain the economic and social dignity he had enjoyed during the earlier periods of our national life, but each passing decade saw him beat a dogged retreat in the face of an ever-advancing industrialism. Scientific advance and inventive genius were giving rise to a technological revolution that was to transform society to its very foundations. The impact of technology on the economy changed its essential structure and the effectiveness of its operation. From the new economic order that now emerged stemmed much of the promise of American life; from it, too, stemmed many problems of grave importance. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the technological revolution of the present century is bringing about economic and social changes comparable to the transfer of society from a feudal to a capitalistic basis at an earlier day, or to the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While science and invention, translated into technology, were modifying the foundations of American life, another change, quiet and unheralded but of revolutionary importance, was taking place. As each decade registered a further decline in the birth rate, it became apparent that a demographic revolution was under way. The slowing down of

the rate of population growth; the changing age structure of the population; regional, rural-urban, and class differentials in fertility; and internal migration — all these were creating problems of the first magnitude. Scarcely any aspect of public or social policy was left unaffected by population change.

The educational developments that have occurred in the United States during the past three quarters of a century can scarcely be understood unless viewed against this broad background of economic and social change. More important still, educational statesmanship today requires an understanding of the forces that have transformed and are still transforming our traditional pattern of institutional arrangements. For these reasons considerable attention is devoted in Part Three to an analysis of social and economic developments before examining in detail the educational history of the period.

Chapter 11 portrays the change of the United States from an agrarian to an industrial civilization and appraises some of the more important consequences of the impact of technology on American life. The two following chapters present an over-all view of the changes that were occurring in the structure and operation of the American economy. The problem of the relation of government to the economy is discussed in Chapter 14. Chapter 15 presents an analysis of the problems of a changing population in their relation to educational policy and practice. The remaining chapters of Part Three chronicle the educational adjustments that have been worked out to meet the demands of a changing social order and suggest the lines along which future adaptations may take place.

Chapter 11 ~ Social and Technological Revolution, 1860-1945

THE CHANGES IN AMERICAN LIFE during the eighty-five years following 1860 were truly revolutionary. Many of these changes stemmed from the Civil War and the technological revolution that soon followed it. The Civil War has been called the second American Revolution for an appraisal of its effect on the economic, social, and political life of the nation justifies the conclusion that it was no less important than the first Revolution which severed the political ties with England. Not many years were to pass after the war was over before America was caught in the grip of a technological revolution which was to bring social changes fully as significant as those produced in Europe at an earlier date by the shift from a feudal to a capitalistic economy or by the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The change from a relatively simple rural economy to a complex industrial economy was amazingly swift. To those who looked upon the United States as still largely an agricultural country, it was perhaps a surprise to discover that in the early nineteen-thirties the farmers of the nation were the recipients of only about eight or nine per cent of the total national income and that families living in four large cities — New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago — were receiving as much of the national income as all the farm families combined.

The present chapter will be devoted to a consideration of some of the consequences of the Civil War and of the technological advances registered in the closing decades of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth century.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE TRIUMPH OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

The Civil War has been interpreted by some as a war over slavery and by others as a struggle over state rights. A contemporary his-

torian has recently stressed the importance of sectional hatreds and emotional tensions in driving North and South into a clash of arms.¹ These and other factors need to be taken into consideration in explaining the conflict, but basically it was a struggle between industrial capitalism and a landed aristocracy for control of the national state — a struggle dating from the days of Hamilton and Jefferson. As Charles and Mary Beard point out, had Southern plantation owners been scattered throughout the nation, there would have been no war between sections, but there might have been a revolution, much like the French Revolution, to liquidate a landed aristocracy. One misses the real significance of the Civil War unless one views it as a bourgeois revolution, the liquidation of the landed aristocracy, the capture of the national government by financial and industrial interests. The surrender of Lee at Appomattox symbolized the triumph of Eastern capitalists and their Western farmer allies over the planter interests of the South and set the stage for the most spectacular industrial development the world had ever seen.

It is not necessary here to point out how a policy of Southern reconstruction and a political strategy in dealing with the West were designed to keep the new masters of the national government in the seats of power. We might, however, examine the adoption of certain policies which greatly stimulated industrial development. During the Civil War tariff rates were materially advanced and in later years they were raised still higher. The American market, the greatest in the world, was amply protected against foreign competition. A new banking system and monetary policy favorable to the financial and manufacturing interests was put into operation and maintained against the opposition of Western farmers. The income tax which had been in operation during the war was repealed. The policy adopted for the disposition of the vast national domain made it easy for large financial and business interests to get possession of rich mineral, forest, and grazing lands. The Homestead Act made it possible for persons twenty-one years of age and above to acquire one hundred and sixty acres of land by living on it five years and erecting an improvement. At the same time immense grants of land were made to railroads — 158,000,000 acres between 1850 and 1873.²

¹ Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942.

² Louis M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, p. 371. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

Grants of 30,000 acres for each representative in Congress were made to the states for the promotion of agricultural colleges, and these lands could be purchased on fairly easy terms, even though they were mineral or timber lands of great value. The main point is that the program of disposing of the national domain — and it embraced an area nearly as large as all the states in 1860³ — made it possible for men of enterprise to acquire rapidly and on easy terms a large fraction of the natural resources of the nation.⁴ Finally, the Fourteenth Amendment served to protect the business community from attacks on the part of state legislatures. Henceforth no state could deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and the terms "liberty," "property," and "due process of law" were left to the Supreme Court of the United States to define. In effect the Court was in a position to declare unconstitutional practically any state police legislation which it disapproved.⁵

The capitalistic interests in America entertained a very different conception of the role of the political state from that which had been entertained by the planter South. Southern slaveholders had asked little of government; in fact they had wished to control it in order to keep it inactive. The new possessors of political power were now making use of it to further the interests of business enterprise.

OTHER FORCES MAKING FOR RAPID INDUSTRIALIZATION

The conquest of the national state by Eastern capitalistic interests was only one of the factors making for the rapid industrialization of the United States. The abundance of natural resources, prevailing attitudes toward individualism and *laissez faire*, an abundance of cheap labor from Europe, the progress of invention and technology — all these combined to make possible the extension of the industrial domain, the rise of cities, and the triumph of business enterprise.

THE ABUNDANCE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Fortunately, nature had been prodigal in bestowing on the territory embraced in the United States a large fraction of the natural

³ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, 122. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

⁴ For a more detailed discussion, see Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, chap. XX, and Hacker, *op. cit.*, chaps. XXIV and XXV.

⁵ Newton Edwards, *The Courts and the Public Schools*, p. 25. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.

resources essential for industrial development. Here were to be found in abundance iron, copper, lead, sulphur, and other minerals. The United States possessed about forty per cent of the world's mineral resources. Millions of acres of virgin forests were still untouched. In her energy resources — coal, oil, and water — America stood unrivaled.⁶ Never before had business enterprise had such a golden opportunity.

THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF INDIVIDUALISM AND LAISSEZ FAIRE

The great natural resources of the American continent were to be developed within the framework of individualism and *laissez faire*. Most men firmly believed that the individual had the right to regulate his own economic affairs without governmental interference. To be sure, the principle of *laissez faire* was departed from when the government was asked to supply favors in the form of protective tariffs or other subsidies, but, in general, government must not impose regulatory measures. The prevailing economic theory was that the law of supply and demand operating through the market mechanism would automatically regulate the myriad relationships involved in the processes of production and consumption. Governmental interference with the "natural laws of economics" would be to court disaster. Freedom from social control was an important factor in influencing the course of industrial development.

CHEAP LABOR FROM EUROPE

American industry was able to draw heavily on Europe as a source of manpower. Millions of European laborers stood ready to migrate to the United States and to help build railroads and man mines and factories at relatively low wages. In 1890, the foreign-born population in Chicago was about as large as the total population had been ten years earlier.⁷ Other Mid-Western industrial centers were also drawing a flood of European emigrants; throughout the Middle West about one person in six was of foreign birth.⁸ In 1890, persons born in other lands constituted a third of the population of Boston and a

⁶ See C. K. Leith, *World Minerals and World Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931; George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education*, chap. II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

⁷ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, p. 65. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

fourth of Philadelphia. In Greater New York, four out of every five persons were of foreign birth or foreign parentage.⁹ By 1900, immigrants were coming at the rate of about a million a year. This seemingly exhaustless supply of labor tended to keep wages low and to make it difficult for workingmen to organize. Laborers were told to vote for high tariffs to protect themselves from their less fortunate brethren in Europe, but no move was made to close the floodgates of immigration. At any rate, industrial leadership was able to profit as it could from a bountiful supply of relatively cheap labor.

THE PROGRESS OF INVENTION AND TECHNOLOGY

In the meantime, science and invention, translated into technology, were incredibly improving methods of production and increasing the output of industry. The number of patents issued is indicative of technological advance, although it is not to be supposed that every patent resulted in some new mechanical device or industrial process. For the decade ending in 1870 there were 80,000 patents issued in the United States. The number for succeeding decades was 126,000, 208,000, 221,000, 314,000, 384,000, and for the decade ending in 1930, 421,000.¹⁰

It is clear that with each passing year the United States was caught more firmly in the grip of a technological revolution. In a thousand ways and in every aspect of industrial life, technological innovations were making their influence felt. No matter where one turned — to the production of minerals, to transportation, to communication, to the generation of power, to the construction of buildings, or to office management — one found that industry had brought science and invention into its service.

THE LARGE CORPORATION AND THE SUPPLY OF CAPITAL

As industry expanded in the post-Civil War period, it became increasingly necessary to have large aggregations of capital. It took money and a great deal of it to build huge factories, equip them with machines, buy raw materials, and employ a labor force. Individual capitalists or even partnerships were unable to supply the necessary funds. The modern corporation as a form of business organization

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, pp. 125-26 (one-volume edition). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

was the answer to this problem. The corporation was not a new invention, but it came more and more into use. It could sell its stocks and bonds to any number of purchasers and it was an instrument for raising funds sufficient to finance billion-dollar enterprises. Moreover, the charter of the corporation could be and often was so drawn as to confer on the board of directors very large managerial powers. In time, as we shall see later, the large corporation came to dominate American economic life and it was influential in changing the very structure and operation of the economy. The point to be stressed here is that the corporate form of business organization made it possible for industrial leaders to gather up the savings of a great number of people and thereby to finance business ventures of almost any proportions.

THE FAVORABLE ATTITUDE OF EDUCATION TOWARD BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

It is often the case that educational leaders, growing up in a particular social order, consciously or unconsciously come to accept its main features as desirable and good. Such is especially likely to be the case in a society that accepts *laissez faire* as a social theory and pins its faith on individualism. If the economic system can be trusted to right itself through the automatic operation of economic laws, there is little need for the cultivation of critical social analysis in school or out. Where the policy of social drift is widely accepted, few men are likely to concern themselves with the deeper forces that may be transforming the whole pattern of economic, social, and political arrangements. Minor ills may be diagnosed and corrected, but in general men float with the current of the stream in the expectation that it will flow through still greener valleys; their faith in the social order in which they have grown up and their ignorance of the moving forces of their day may silence the thundering sounds of the cataracts of economic collapse, depression, and war that lie ahead. Under such circumstances, education becomes a conservative and preservative force; it provides a sound emotional underpinning for the existing order.

An examination of the record discloses that from Lincoln to Wilson American educators, with few outstanding exceptions, in so far as they had any social theory at all, accepted the tenets of industrial capitalism. Most of them expressed loyalty to the democratic dogma; they labored valiantly to extend a richer educational oppor-

tunity to youth; they improved the processes of education by arduous scientific research; but they exhibited no great sensitivity to the forces that were transforming American life, and they failed to appraise correctly the social conflicts of their day. In the struggle between farmers and industrialists, they espoused the cause of the latter. When labor undertook to better its condition and to share more equitably in the national income, they took the side of capital. Even the social sciences were often so taught as to buttress the *status quo*. The planters of the South had found educators willing to give support to their particular social system; the industrialists of the North at a later day found educators little less willing to do the same. If Southern educators had seen nothing ethically wrong with slavery and if they had regarded aristocratic slaveholders as the highest fruit of civilization, Northern educators, with some notable exceptions, saw nothing wrong in the exploitation of natural and human resources in the interest of profits, and they held business leaders in no less regard than Southern educators had held the masters of slaves.

Of the social philosophy and influence of W. T. Harris — Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis (1867-1880), United States Commissioner of Education (1889-1906), and outstanding educational philosopher and leader — Professor Curti says:

Harris not only defended capitalism against its critics, but explicitly pointed out how education might serve more effectively the established order. In greeting the National Education Association in 1894, when the country was in the throes of labor "disorders," he observed that the school provided the people with training in those habits of regularity, silence, and industry which would "preserve and save our civil order." In the public school, the center of discipline, the pupil learned "first of all to respect the rights of organized industry." In the kindergarten the child of the slum, the weakling of society, learned self-respect, moral ideals, industry, and perseverance. . . .

Who can say how far the reluctance of Americans to experiment seriously with social control, to abandon traditional *laissez-faire* individualism in spite of its patent contradiction by harsh facts, was related to the skill and plausibility with which Harris told two generations of Americans what they already believed, and what they wanted to believe? Who can estimate the influence of Harris in standardizing the school system, enveloping it with spiritual purposes, housing it in ivory towers, and excluding from its curriculum

and its methods everything that did not confirm the existing economic and social structure?¹¹

After a careful examination of the social ideas of American educators in this period, Curti concludes:

In furthering a more realistic analysis John Dewey was not altogether alone. But it was very unusual for educators to be thus in the vanguard. With few exceptions, they not only advanced social ideas thoroughly in keeping with the existing system of profit-making industrialism; they also aided it in its struggles with farmers and workers. Even within the framework of the capitalistic system, educators in this period between Lincoln and Wilson failed to lead in reforms for the remedying of obvious social disorders.¹²

THE SWEEP OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

During the post-Civil War years conditions could have scarcely been more favorable for industrial development. As already pointed out, through Civil War and Reconstruction the forces of business enterprise had secured their hold on the political state. A virgin continent unbelievably rich in natural resources was at hand for development and exploitation. The widespread acceptance of individualism and *laissez faire* insured little social control or governmental interference. A constant stream of European immigrants provided an adequate supply of cheap labor. Science and invention made possible a tempo of technological advance hitherto undreamed of. The corporate form of business organization made possible the raising of capital sufficient for almost any enterprise. And organized education lent its support to the existing order and undertook to cultivate in youth the attitudes, values, and skills which that order demanded of them.

Nor did business enterprise fail to take advantage of the opportunities afforded it. Soon there appeared on the scene a group of industrial-capitalists — many of them of petty bourgeoisie origin — who were capable, shrewd, hard-driving, and determined to build industrial empires and create fortunes hitherto unrivaled. The Civil War was scarcely over before a new era of railroad-building was under way. In 1868, approximately 3000 miles of new lines were

¹¹ Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 330-31, 347. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

completed and three years later new constructions amounted to 7379 miles.¹³ Depression in the seventies temporarily halted construction, but by 1883 no less than 11,569 miles of new track were laid down.¹⁴ By the close of the century, the United States had been tied together by a network of roads. The great railroad-builders, such as Jay Gould, William H. Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, and Edward H. Harriman, had accumulated fortunes beside which the fortunes of old New England merchant princes or Southern slaveholders paled into insignificance.

Nor was progress any less striking in manufacturing, the extractive industries, or finance. In the following brief but vivid passage, the Beards recount the epic of industrial growth:

In four great provinces bound together by ever-constricting ties of federation — manufacturing, extractive industries, transportation, and finance — the leaders of business enterprise, sustained and assisted by a host of liegemen, marched from victory to victory in the decades that followed the triumph of Grant at Appomattox. Statistics but dimly shadow their progress. In 1860, just a little more than a billion dollars was invested in manufacturing and only 1,500,000 industrial wage earners were employed in the United States. In less than fifty years the capital had risen to more than twelve billions and the number of wage earners to 5,500,000. During the same period, the value of manufactured products had leaped to fourteen billion dollars a year, fifteen times the total at the beginning of the epoch. The output of American iron and steel — that measure of modern power — was, in 1870, far below the tonnage of England or France; within twenty years the United States had outstripped them and was pouring from its forges more than one-third of the world's total annual supply. The iron crown, as Andrew Carnegie said, had been placed on the brow of Pennsylvania.

With a stride that astounded statisticians, the conquering hosts of business enterprise swept over the continent; twenty-five years after the death of Lincoln, America had become, in the quantity and value of her products, the first manufacturing nation of the world. What England had once accomplished in a hundred years, the United States had achieved in half the time.¹⁵

And the broad sweep of industrial progress was still to advance.

¹³ Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

¹⁵ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

Science and technology were to provide bigger and more efficient machines and great new industries were to be built on new inventions. Each year the productivity of labor increased and the total output of industry mounted. Between 1899 and 1914, the total volume of manufactured goods in an extensive sample of industries increased 76 per cent and between 1922 and 1929 the "aggregate output of movable goods . . . increased 34 per cent."¹⁶

As time passed, "big business" tended to pre-empt the field. By 1940, there were no less than thirty billion-dollar corporations, most of which had assets greater than the total assessed valuation of many American states. In the early thirties, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company controlled more wealth than was "contained within the borders of twenty-one of the states in the country."¹⁷ Clearly, the policies of Hamilton had triumphed over those of Jefferson. The old Northwest which had helped to send Jackson to the White House to protect the interests of pioneers and small farmers had become, along with the Northeast, the heart of an industrial empire. And the old planter South and the Pacific Coast were being drawn into the vortex of industry. No one could doubt that America had made the shift from a rural to an industrial society. By 1930, less than a fourth of the population made their living tilling the land and received less than a tenth of the total national income.

THE DECLINING IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

The Civil War, as we have seen, marked the transfer of the political allegiance of Western farmers from the planter South to the industrial East. According to the terms of the agreement, the East was to have its protective tariff and the West its free homesteads from the public domain. As population pushed westward and new farms were opened up, it may have appeared that agriculture was advancing about as much as industry. As a matter of fact, however, rural America was constantly in retreat in face of the ever-advancing city. In the East, in the Middle West, and to a lesser extent in the South and Far West, the city was a magnet, drawing youth from the

¹⁶ Frederick C. Mills, *Economic Tendencies in the United States*, p. 244. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1932.

¹⁷ Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, p. 19. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932.

farms by the millions. The closing of the frontier about 1890 made the triumph of the city all the more easy. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, it was clear that what Jefferson had feared had come to pass: people were becoming concentrated in cities, a new social order was in the making, the old culture of rural America was giving place to an urban industrial order. The sons of farmers who had joined partnership on equal terms with Eastern industrialists in 1860 now found themselves distinctly junior partners in the concern; each passing decade they struggled with decreasing success to hold their own in the economic life of the nation. Again quoting the Beards:

An epoch had come to an end and the iron gates were locked. Industrial capitalists were organized to make their own prices; industrial workers were organized to fix wages; whereas farmers, with the exception of a few powerful groups, were still incorrigible individualists at the mercy of the market. Throughout wide areas, the independent, self-sufficient farm unit of Lincoln's era had become a specialized concern producing for profit, forced to employ large capital in the form of machinery and fertilizers, compelled to compete with European agriculture on more equal terms, and obliged to carry the weight of an increment in land values which had mounted with the years. With energetic members of the younger generation escaping to the cities to share in capitalistic enterprise, with new racial stocks occupying ancestral homesteads, with a remorseless competition determining the prices of produce, with industrial capitalists and industrial workers compactly united to dictate terms on manufactured commodities, the economy and culture of historic American farming were crumbling into ruins.¹⁸

Since the Beards penned the foregoing passage, measures have been taken to improve the status of the farmer, but these measures have the effect of price-fixing, and, like the price-fixing of industry and labor, tend to inject rigidities into the economic structure which prevent the operation of free enterprise. Certainly the reorientation of agriculture in American life is fundamental; it is a problem that has not yet been solved, and it is a matter with which educational statesmanship must necessarily concern itself.

¹⁸ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

THE GROWTH OF CITIES AND THE CONCENTRATION OF JOB
OPPORTUNITY

The growth of industry meant, of course, the urbanization of America. American culture had in large measure been the product of the frontier. Value patterns, traditions, habits of thought and action, emotional overtones—all these had been conditioned by forest and field. But now the city had become a new social force and its cultural pattern, its values, its modes of life, its problems, and its solutions of them, were often different from what the rural folk had known. By the closing years of the nineteenth century, the forces of urbanism had already triumphed in the North Atlantic states, and to borrow a phrase from Professor Schlesinger, in the Middle West "rural America, like a stag at bay, was making its last stand."¹⁹ By 1890, about three fifths of the population in the North Atlantic states lived in towns and cities. The census of that year shows that "about two out of every three persons in New York and Connecticut were townsfolk, four out of every five in Massachusetts and nine out of every ten in Rhode Island."²⁰ So great was the exodus of farm youth to the city that many agricultural communities of the Middle Atlantic states and New England lost population and fell into decay. Between 1880 and 1890 there was a loss of population in about two fifths of Pennsylvania, five sixths of New York state, and in 932 of the 1502 towns of New England.²¹ "Cellar holes choked with lilac and woodbine, tumble-down buildings, scrubby orchards, pastures bristling with new forest growths, perhaps a lone rosebush—these mute, pathetic memorials of once busy farming communities attested the reversal of a familiar historic process, with civilization retreating before the advancing wilderness."²² In the Middle West agriculture was also in retreat, but in 1890 only a third of the population lived in communities numbering as many as four thousand persons.²³

The twentieth century witnessed a still more rapid urbanization (see Tables 6 and 7). In 1930, 56.2 per cent of the population was living in urban communities, 44.6 per cent in places of 100,000 or more, and 25 per cent in places of 1,000,000 or over. No less than 45 per cent of the population was concentrated in a zone extending fifty miles inland from the seaboard and the Great Lakes.²⁴ In 1940,

¹⁹ Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 53.²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.²² *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.²³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.²⁴ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 446.

TABLE 6.* PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN DIFFERENT TERRITORIAL CLASSIFICATIONS, 1900-1930†

Territory	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total urban territory.	40.0	45.8	51.4	56.2
Cities of 8000 or more.	32.9	38.7	43.8	49.1
Metropolitan zones.	36.9	40.5	44.0	48.2

* From *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 448. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933 (one-volume edition).

† United States Census reports.

TABLE 7.* URBANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES: NUMBER OF PLACES OF 8000 OR MORE, 100,000 OR MORE, 1,000,000 OR MORE; PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH GROUP, 1790-1930†

Year	Places of 8000 and Over		Places of 100,000 and Over		Places of 1,000,000 and Over	
	Number of Places	Percentage of Total Population	Number of Places	Percentage of Total Population	Number of Places	Percentage of Total Population
1930 (metropolitan districts)			96	44.6	10	25.0
1930 (separate cities)	1208	49.1	93	23.6	5	12.3
1920	924	43.8	68	26.0	3	9.6
1910	768	38.7	50	22.1	3	9.2
1900	547	32.9	36	18.8	3	8.4
1890	445	29.0	26	15.4	3	5.8
1880	285	22.7	19	12.8	1	3.8
1870	226	20.9	14	11.6	1	3.8
1860	141	16.1	8	8.6	1	3.7
1850	85	12.6	6	5.8		
1840	44	8.5	3	3.5		
1830	26	6.7	1	1.8		
1820	13	4.9	1	1.5		
1810	11	4.9	1	1.6		
1800	6	4.0				
1790	6	3.0				

* From Stuart Alfred Queen and Lewis Francis Thomas, *The City: A Study of Urbanism in the United States*, p. 38. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939.

† Fifteenth Census, *Population*, I, pp. 9-21, and *Metropolitan Districts*, pp. 7-13.

the percentage of the population that was urban was approximately the same as in 1930.

The culture of the city had set its stamp on many aspects of American life; it was only in the most remote and isolated areas that one escaped the pervading influence of urban institutions and folkways. The city had not only transformed many of the physical aspects of living, it had done much to change old institutions and attitudes as well. The functions of the family were no longer the same. New attitudes developed toward marriage and divorce, the bearing of children, religion and morality, and the place of women in the economy. The city gave rise to new problems of housing, health, sanitation, recreation, education, and government. The typical city presented a picture of vivid contrasts: of riches and poverty; of palatial residential districts and of slums where crime and vice flourished; of high ideals and of graft and racketeering; of places for high cultural advance and of human degradation. But it was in the city, with all its lights and shadows, that much of what men called progress was taking place — in education, in art and literature, in science and invention, in social betterment.

It was one of the most striking and significant facts in American life that the time had come when youth must turn increasingly to the city and not the farm in their attempt to pry open the doors of economic and cultural opportunity. Many youth, to be sure, would still find it possible to build their security on the land, but, for reasons we shall point out later, agriculture faced a long-time decline in employment opportunity. The time had come when only a fraction of the youth born on farms could be expected to find occupational opportunity in the cultivation of the soil. In some way the city must provide employment, not only for its own youth, but for the redundant farm population as well. With the doors of opportunity for many youth opening, if they were to open at all, along the streets of the city rather than through the vistas of the forests or the sweep of the prairies, we had come to a reversal of a long-time historic trend.

For youth wishing employment in manufacturing establishments, employment opportunity had come to be highly concentrated in a comparatively few great industrial centers. In 1940, approximately seventy-five per cent of all manufacturing activity was carried on in two hundred great industrial counties, most of which were located

in the Northeast and the Middle West.²⁶ A great manufacturing belt, "extending from southern New England through the Middle Atlantic States and westward beyond the Great Lakes," provided, in 1933, seventy per cent of all wage jobs in manufacturing. The Southeast provided fifteen per cent of the jobs and the Far West five (Table 8). Manufacturing, it will be noted, had not crossed the

TABLE 8. REGIONAL PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL WAGE JOBS IN MANUFACTURING, 1899-1933*

Region	Wage Jobs			
	1899	1919	1929	1933
Northeast.....	55.65	49.33	44.24	45.18
Middle States.....	27.76	30.65	33.15	30.78
Northwest.....	2.08	2.20	1.94	1.83
Southeast.....	10.76	11.34	13.26	15.22
Southwest.....	1.06	1.66	2.05	2.00
Far West.....	2.69	4.82	5.36	4.99

* Adapted from United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 68. Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, May, 1938. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

Mississippi in any great volume, important industrial development being confined to the Kansas City, the Los Angeles, the San Francisco-Oakland, and the Seattle-Tacoma areas.²⁶ This high concentration of job opportunity in manufacturing took on importance in connection with the migration of rural youth. It was clear that many farm youth who might wish employment in industrial pursuits would have to seek it in some distant city. And the prospect was that this condition would prevail for many years to come.

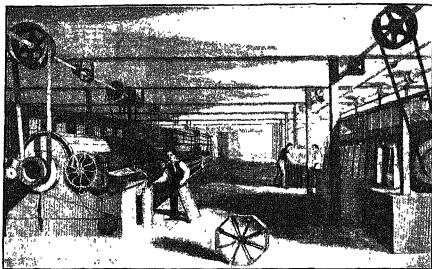
THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON AMERICAN LIFE

As the body of scientific knowledge enlarges, as new discoveries and inventions are made, it is possible to build machines which are increasingly effective in the production of goods. One must not, however, think of technology as limited to mechanical inventions; it includes as well non-mechanical processes which can be made to con-

²⁶ United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, p. 36. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

²⁶ United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 68. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

TECHNOLOGY COMES TO INDUSTRY



*Pawtucket Factory Scene about 1840
(carding, drawing, roving, spinning)*

From Memoir of Samuel Slater



A Modern Assembly Line

Courtesy of Ford News Bureau

tribute to more efficient production. The assembly line, the standardization of parts, the selection of employees in terms of their capacity to do a particular job, the timing of work so as to prevent undue fatigue — all these are as much a part of technology as the invention of new machines for the rolling of steel, the milking of cows, or the picking of cotton.

No one attempting to appraise American society during the past half-century can fail to take into account the revolutionary effects of technological change. Invention is the great disturber of the ways of men. The influence of technology is all-pervasive; directly or indirectly it affects every strand that goes to make up the warp and woof of the life of a people. Technology must be regarded as a revolutionary force which may be channeled in the direction of human welfare far beyond that dreamed of in the wildest Utopias; on the other hand, if improperly guided and controlled, it may be a force dangerously disruptive of economic and social arrangements. Already the impact of technology on American life has brought changes of the first magnitude. It has increased the productivity of labor and made possible a vast increase in the production of goods and services; it has wrought fundamental changes in the pattern of life of the industrial worker; it has been an important factor in the rise of farm tenancy; it has contributed to the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few large corporations; it has affected the pattern of income distribution; it has rendered obsolete, in large measure, the structure of local government and the system of taxation; it has modified the functions of the family and changed the status of women in society; it has influenced the birth rate and the growth of population; it has to a considerable degree erased the line which separated government from the economy; and it has been a force in bringing about a unified culture. Nor is the end of technological change in sight; man, having discovered invention, is little likely to abandon his discovery. As the National Resources Committee puts it:

The large number of inventions made every year shows no tendency to diminish. On the contrary, the trend is toward further increases. No cessation of social changes due to invention is to be expected. It is customary to speak of the present age as one of great change, as though it were a turbulent transition period between two plateaus of calm, but such a conclusion is illusory. Though the

rate of change may vary in the future, there is no evidence whatever of a changeless peace ahead.²⁷

Men are quick to adopt and use mechanical inventions once they are made; they are slow to change their social institutions and their modes of thought and feeling to make them conform to the changes in the physical environment. This cultural lag may be so great as to prove disastrous. Certain it is that social technology is no less important than technology in the area of production; it is just as essential that men cultivate the spirit of invention and contrivance in the world of social relations as it is that they build new machines or discover new processes of production. The requirements of social inventiveness lay a new and enlarged obligation on American education. To define the proper functions of government, to direct the economy in ways that will make it operate effectively and equitably, to meet the problems of a changing population, to give direction to community and family life — in short, to formulate and put into operation a sound public and social policy requires knowledge, broad and exact. Schools and colleges alike will need to cultivate in youth, and in their elders as well, the knowledge, the attitudes, and the sensitivities required to adjust social institutions to the changes wrought in the physical environment by science and invention — by the ever-broadening sweep of technology.

It will not be possible, of course, within the compass of this volume to deal at all adequately with many of the technological changes affecting American life. It seems desirable, however, to direct attention to those aspects of technological development which affect most crucially the operation of the economy and impinge most directly on the pattern of the worker's life.

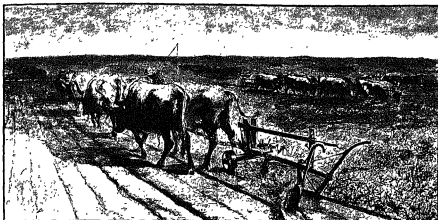
THE EFFECTS OF TECHNOLOGY ON THE ECONOMY

We may now examine the four aspects of technology which are of special importance: (1) the relation of technology to the concentration of economic power; (2) technology and increased productivity of labor; (3) technology and unemployment, and (4) technology and the effective operation of the economy.

The relation of technology to the concentration of economic power. As will be pointed out later in greater detail, one of the most

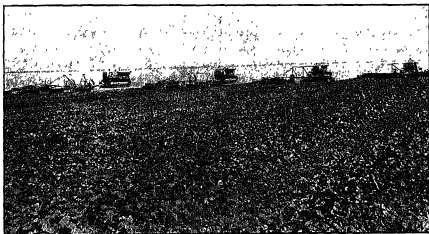
²⁷ United States National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*, p. vii. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937.

TECHNOLOGY COMES TO AGRICULTURE



Breaking the Prairie, 1870

From Harper's Weekly, September, 1871



Preparing Seed-Beds in 1940

Courtesy of Caterpillar Tractor Company

striking features of American industry is the very great concentration of economic power. On this point, the President of the United States said in a message to Congress on April 20, 1938:

Statistics of the Bureau of Internal Revenue reveal the following amazing figures for 1935:

Ownership of corporate assets: Of all corporations reporting from every part of the Nation, one tenth of 1 per cent of them owned 52 per cent of the assets of all of them.

And to clinch the point: Of all corporations reporting, less than 5 per cent of them owned 87 per cent of all the assets of all of them.

Income and profits of corporations: Of all the corporations reporting from every part of the country, one tenth of 1 per cent of them earned 50 per cent of all the net income of all of them.

And to clinch the point: Of all the manufacturing corporations reporting, less than 4 per cent of them earned 84 per cent of all the net profits of all of them.²⁸

Technology is clearly one of the factors that has made possible this concentration of economic power in the hands of a comparatively few large corporations. A close relationship exists between technological advance and the development of large units of production. It is not always true that large enterprises are characterized by greater operating efficiency than small ones, but the facts indicate that this is usually the case.²⁹ The use of large-scale equipment tends to result in maximum efficiency because, among other things, it makes possible (1) "smaller capital outlay per unit of capacity," (2) "greater mechanical efficiency," (3) "the use of a considerably smaller amount of fuel and also of labor per unit of capacity or of output," and (4) "the use of refinements and of auxiliary devices which result in improved efficiency of operation."³⁰ It is also true that large enterprises are generally able to employ a larger amount

²⁸ Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session, Senate Document 173, *Strengthening and Enforcement of Antitrust Laws*, p. 2, as quoted in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 195. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 22, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

²⁹ See Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, Part II, chap. IV; William L. Crum, *Corporate Size and Earning Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology and Concentration of Economic Power*, Hearings, Part 30. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

³⁰ David Weintraub, "Effects of Current and Prospective Technological Developments upon Capital Formation," p. 5. *Effects of Technological Developments upon Capital Formation*. Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, 1939.

of electrical energy per man-hour. In this connection, it may be said that "regardless of whether the establishment of a high degree of concentration has increased the power differential or whether an increase in the power differential has resulted in a greater concentration, it is evident that a primary causal factor of concentration is the existence of an advantage in operating efficiency of large plants over small plants."³¹

Large-scale enterprise is also at an advantage because of its greater ability to employ industrial research and to control patents. Industrial research is of itself a large enterprise, employing in 1937 as many persons as were engaged "in the dyeing and finishing of cotton fabrics." If regarded as an industry, it would have ranked among the forty-five providing the largest number of jobs.³² But invention, by and large, has passed out of the realm of the individual inventor into organized groups working in the laboratories of large corporations. The General Motors Corporation, for example, in the nineteen-thirties was spending ten or twelve millions annually on research and engineering projects. The Temporary National Economic Committee reports:

Industrial research is highly concentrated; there is probably no other basic function of general economic activity so dominated by a few enormous concerns. The National Research Project found that "thirteen companies with the largest research staffs, representing less than 1 per cent of all companies reporting in the National Research Council survey, employed in 1938 one third of all research workers, or as many as the 1583 companies with the smallest research staffs." Half of the country's industrial laboratory personnel was employed by only 45 large research laboratories, "all but nine of which are owned or controlled by companies which are among the Nation's 200 leading nonfinancial corporations."

In individual industry groups the concentration was just as pronounced. In 1938 that quarter of the companies having the largest research staffs employed 59.3 per cent of all research workers in blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills; 82.2 per cent of all research workers employed in electrical machinery, apparatus and supplies; 88.3 per cent in industrial chemicals; 89.0 per cent in motor vehicles, bodies and parts; 85.0 per cent in petroleum; 82.8 per cent in radio apparatus and phonographs; 90.0 per cent in rubber products; 56.9

³¹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 208.

³² *Ibid.*

per cent in textiles and their products; and 78.5 per cent in utilities (gas, light, and power).³³

It is unnecessary to comment at length on the control of patents as a means of establishing dominance over an industry. The evidence, however, indicates clearly that "technological improvements protected by patents have been the means not only of securing a high degree of economic concentration but also the control of prices and marketing policies."³⁴

When all the facts are brought into focus, it appears that in our society technology operates to the advantage of large-scale enterprise. Corporate earnings tend to increase with the size of the corporation. "The larger the corporation," says Professor Crum, "the higher is the rate of return, on the average; and this relation holds, with surprising constancy, in each of the six years 1931-36."³⁵ It is not possible to ascertain exactly the influence of technology on the concentration of economic power, but that it is an important factor seems unquestionable. Moreover, it appears that concentration of economic power operates to prevent our making full use of the technological knowledge which we already possess or might acquire.

Technology and the increased productivity of labor. Whatever else may be said of technology, one thing is clear: the productivity of labor, as measured by the output per man-hour, has increased over a long period of years and it has registered a particularly rapid increase since 1929. Ezekiel reports that the annual output per worker in agriculture increased about 140 per cent between 1870 and 1930.³⁶ For four major segments of the economy the per cent of increase in the output per man-hour between 1909 and 1939 was as follows: manufacturing, 108.3; steam railroads, 76.7 (1914-1939); bituminous-coal mining, 72.0; anthracite mining, 90.7 (Table 9).³⁷ In 1936, the output per man-hour in the making of rubber tires and tubes was 204.7 per cent greater than in 1923; in petroleum refining, it was 159.9 per cent greater in 1939 than in 1923; in the manufacturing of cigarettes, it was 148.7 per cent greater in 1936 than in 1923; and in pulp manufacturing between 1923 and 1939 the per cent of increase was 129.7. In all of forty manufacturing in-

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³⁵ Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁶ Mordecai Ezekiel, "Population and Unemployment," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXXCVIII (November, 1936), 238-39.

³⁷ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 90.

TABLE 9.* INDEXES OF PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY, 1909-39†

(1923 = 100)

Year	Manufacturing		Steam Railroads		Bituminous-Coal Mining		Anthracite Mining	
	Production	Output per Man-Hour	Production	Output per Man-Hour	Production	Output per Man-Hour	Production	Output per Man-Hour
1909.....	56.5	66.2	....	....	67.2	70.1	86.9	81.9
1914	66.5	76.4	69.8	78.2	74.9	77.8	97.3	86.8
1919 ...	79.3	76.4	94.8	88.6	82.5	85.8	94.4	96.6
1923 ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1924. ...	94.3	105.8	94.3	103.0	85.6	101.7	94.2	94.4
1925	106.5	113.2	99.2	108.5	92.1	101.0	66.2	94.9
1926. ...	112.5	116.9	104.8	111.1	101.6	100.3	90.5	95.4
1927.....	113.3	120.8	101.0	110.8	91.7	101.6	85.9	98.3
1928. ...	121.2	129.5	100.8	116.3	88.7	105.3	80.7	98.1
1929.....	130.1	131.9	103.3	118.2	94.7	108.1	79.1	96.4
1930.....	107.6	131.6	88.7	118.0	82.8	112.8	74.3	94.0
1931.....	93.7	141.3	71.6	118.8	67.7	118.0	63.9	100.2
1932 ...	71.1	137.7	54.4	116.1	54.8	115.9	53.4	115.0
1933..	81.7	144.8	57.0	129.3	59.1	110.0	53.0	126.4
1934....	89.1	147.9	61.7	130.1	63.6	111.9	61.3	118.5
1935..	107.7	158.8	64.6	135.9	65.9	115.4	55.9	121.3
1936....	127.6	161.8	77.8	145.7	77.8	121.5	58.5	135.1
1937.....	134.4	157.5	83.1	148.5	78.9	124.8	55.6	142.8
1938. ...	103.6	159.8	67.7	146.8	60.6	130.4	49.4	166.1
1939..	129.5	174.5	76.7	154.9	69.1	142.1	54.4	172.6

* Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 90. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 22, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

† Source: Witt Bowden, "Wages, Hours and Productivity of Industrial Labor, 1909-39," United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1940. Production figures computed by Witt Bowden for derivation of output per man-hour indexes. Original data for manufacturing from the National Bureau of Economic Research, Federal Reserve Board, and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; for Steam Railroads from the Interstate Commerce Commission; and for Bituminous and Anthracite Mining from the United States Bureau of Mines and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

dustries, productivity of labor was higher in 1936 than 1923 and in thirty-four of them it was higher in 1936 than in 1929. And for all but one of the fifteen industries for which comparable data are available for 1939, labor productivity was higher than in 1936.³⁸

Technology and unemployment. The rapid increase in the productivity of labor raises the question whether technology, in the course of years, results in less employment opportunity. Students of

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

the operation of our economy are not agreed about the matter of technological unemployment. On the one hand, there are those who deny the existence of technological unemployment or else regard it as of minor importance. According to those who belong to this school of thought, improved methods of production create as many new jobs as they displace. The argument runs that increased productivity per worker results in lower prices and lower prices result in greater consumption. To produce the larger volume of goods demanded, additional labor is required. Moreover, lower prices make it possible for people to save money for the purchase of new types of goods or for investment in new capital goods. Thus, new industries absorb displaced labor.

Not only are new opportunities for employment built up . . . but they are built up to an equal degree to that by which the older opportunities decay. For every man laid off a new job has been created somewhere, and the ratio between monetary purchases and employment is still the same as before.³⁹

Writing in 1933, Wilfred I. King said:

The present situation may be summed up by saying that no facts or figures thus far discovered cast any doubt upon the approximate validity of the orthodox economic theory that the forces giving rise to technological unemployment tend, at the same time, to create a demand for new goods, and that the production of these new goods normally calls for a volume of labor roughly equaling the quantity displaced. From this premise it follows that since labor-saving devices increase production without materially decreasing the ability of workers to find jobs, such devices are decidedly beneficial rather than injurious to society as a whole.⁴⁰

Professor Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago, reaches substantially the same conclusion:

In any event, however, employment opportunities are being built up elsewhere which will ultimately be adequate to provide for an added number of workers equal to those who under such conditions may have been eliminated from any given industry. . . . In the long run, therefore, the improved machinery and greater

³⁹ *American Federationist*, XXXVII (August, 1930), 930.

⁴⁰ W. I. King, "The Relative Volume of Technological Unemployment," *Proceedings of American Statistical Association*, 1933, as quoted in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 47.

efficiency of management do not throw workers permanently out of employment nor create permanent technological unemployment. Instead, they raise the national income and enable the level of earnings and the individual incomes to rise.⁴¹

Many persons, however, have dissented vigorously from the orthodox economic theory with respect to the effect of technology on employment opportunity. Thus, the president of the National Organization for Taxation of Labor-Displacing Devices has said: "The use of mechanical power is the main factor in the increase of production, and decrease in employment opportunities. Therefore, labor-displacing devices must be recognized as the principal cause of the existing unemployment situation."⁴² Some spokesmen for organized labor have expressed similar views.⁴³ Moreover, studies completed in recent years, although inconclusive, do present facts which may well lead one to question the correctness of the older point of view with respect to the long-run effect of technology on employment opportunity. It is clear that unemployment will result unless the increase in the total volume of production keeps pace with the increase in productivity of labor. Between 1923 and 1929, change in production in four major segments of the economy — manufacturing, steam railroads, bituminous-coal mining, and anthracite mining — kept a fairly even pace with changes in labor productivity, but following 1929, productivity increased markedly while the total volume of production, except in manufacturing, decreased sharply (Table 10). Labor productivity in manufacturing increased 32.3 per cent while production decreased 0.5 per cent. In anthracite mining, production decreased 31.2 per cent, but the output per man-hour increased 79 per cent.

It is clear that for a full decade before our entrance into World War II, we had been unable to bring into play those forces in our economy which made for an increase in the total volume of production comparable with the increase in the productivity of labor. And unless this can be done in the future, we may expect technological

⁴¹ Paul H. Douglas, "Technological Unemployment," *American Federationist*, XXXVII (August, 1930), 938.

⁴² *Investigation of Unemployment Caused by Labor-Saving Devices in Industry*. Hearings before a sub-committee of the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, Seventy-Fourth Congress, Second Session, on House Resolution 49, pp. 79-82, as quoted in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 50.

⁴³ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 50.

TABLE 10. PER CENT CHANGE IN PRODUCTION AND LABOR
PRODUCTIVITY, 1923-29 AND 1929-39*

Period	Production	Man-Hour Output	Period	Production	Man-Hour Output
MANUFACTURING					
1923-29	+30.1	+31.9	1929-39	-0.5	+32.3
STEAM RAILROADS					
1923-29	+3.3	+18.2	1929-39	-25.8	+31.0
BITUMINOUS-COAL MINING					
1923-29	-5.3	+8.1	1929-39	-27.0	+31.5
ANTHRACITE MINING					
1923-29	-20.9	-3.6	1929-39	-31.2	+79.0

* Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 90. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 22, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

progress to create a substantial volume of sustained unemployment with all the attendant problems of social and economic readjustment.

The effect of technological changes on employment opportunity for the younger worker is of special concern to the educator. During the depression years of the thirties, much was said and written about the problems of youth, especially about the inability of youth to obtain employment. Certain it is that the burden of unemployment bore heaviest on youth sixteen to twenty-four years of age. The American Youth Commission estimated that in 1935 more than four million youth in this age group were out of school and unemployed.⁴⁴ It was, however, out-of-school youth under twenty who found it most difficult to find work. To what extent the inability of youth to find work was due to technological changes no one can say. It is true, however, that the problems of youth during this decade are to be explained

⁴⁴ American Youth Commission, *Youth and the Future*, p. 11. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942.

very largely in terms of a defective economic order and not in terms of the personal qualities of youth. Some educators seemed to think that the problems of young people were discrete; that they could be segregated and solved by special treatment. No doubt more effective means can be discovered of inducing youth into our culture, especially into occupational life. But even so, the employment problems of youth in the future will not be solved by any measures short of those required to bring the whole economy into effective operation. In this connection, it is not amiss to point out that young people are especially dependent upon the development of new industries to provide them with jobs — the well-established industries tend to employ a disproportionately large percentage of older workers. Unless those forces in our economic life which make for mass consumption and large-scale production can be brought into play, unless the total volume of production can be made to keep pace with the increased productivity of labor, it is difficult to see how youth will find the work essential to their personal development and to the general welfare. It may become necessary to adopt the policy of providing youth with work quite regardless of the demands of the labor market.

Technology and the effective operation of the economy. Although technology may at times work a hardship on the individual worker, it does, nevertheless, result in greater productivity, and it may result in a very positive social advance. If, as is widely believed, certain forces operate in the economy to offset or to compensate for the increased productivity of labor, technology has no inherent dangers in it, but becomes a means of human betterment on a very wide front. The compensatory forces most effective in keeping a balance between increased productivity and employment "are the reduction of hours (without an accompanying decline in wages), the development of new industries, and the reduction of prices."⁴⁵ If these or other forces are in fact "compensatory," technological advance will result in a larger national income, in higher real wages — in mass gains all along the line. If, on the other hand, these or other forces should not operate substantially to offset the unemployment created by technological advance, "the scale would tip toward greater unemployment, less use of our economic resources and increased social distress."⁴⁶ In such a case, the economy would be thrown out of

⁴⁵ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 87.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

balance, and political and social problems of the first magnitude would likely emerge. It is extremely important, therefore, to know whether these "compensatory forces" are in times of peace actually operating in our economy.

We have, as yet, no positive answer to this question. The authors of one of the monographs of the Temporary National Economic Committee reviewed much of the available evidence bearing on the whole problem of technology and economic balance before the outbreak of World War II and came to the following conclusion:

In this study the labor-displacing effects of technology were weighed against the compensatory forces presumably inherent in our economic system. However, there exists no measure by which the balance between the labor-saving effects and the compensatory forces can be quantitatively determined. If such a measure were available, it would still be exceedingly difficult to allocate to each compensatory force its share of responsibility.

Certain indirect methods can be used to determine whether balance exists. For example, the existence of a large amount of long-term unemployment would indicate lack of balance.

For over a decade this condition has been an all too conspicuous characteristic of our economy. At the beginning of 1940, for example, the estimates of the total amount of unemployment ranged from 8,500,000 (by the National Industrial Conference Board) to nearly 12,000,000 (by the Congress of Industrial Organizations).

If it is assumed that under normal conditions the present economic system would provide full employment, then the very existence of large-scale unemployment denotes a state of unbalance. The question of greatest importance is whether this unbalance may be expected to continue.

It seems apparent that technology will continue to increase labor productivity, to displace skilled occupations, and to reduce unit labor costs. In the absence of effective offsetting forces, economic and social distress may be expected to accumulate.

Any reduction of hours corresponding with the declines that took place during the World War [I] and immediately after the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act must be regarded as distinctly remote because of legislation establishing the 40-hour week and a widespread acceptance of it as the norm of employment.

The development of great, new industries likewise holds slight promise of creating sufficient employment to offset the labor-dis-

placing effects of technology, especially since the eight general fields examined seem unlikely to create much employment. The limitations on the new industry stimulus involved in the substitution of products requiring less labor for those employing more labor per unit, the capital-saving characteristics of modern technology, and the pattern of present income distribution make it impossible to rely heavily upon their development as an immediate compensatory force.

The third force which might offset labor-displacement is the reduction of prices. In economic theory, price reductions are regarded as a primary stimulus to the expansion of economic activity. However, concentrated industries tend to make relatively little use of this technique to expand output. If concentration continues to characterize a large segment of the economy, there is little basis for assuming that extensive use will be made of price reductions in the future. Actually it appears probable that much of the economy will continue to be marked by concentration, since technology through the greater efficiency of large-scale operation, through industrial research and through patents, contributes materially to the growth of concentration. Thus there is presented this fundamental contradiction: *while technology on the one hand creates tremendous economic problems through the displacement of labor, on the other it induces concentration, thereby impeding the operation of the compensatory force of price reductions.*

Higher wages are regarded by some as a possible stimulus. But in analyzing the trend of unit labor costs, it was found that even during periods of the greatest increase in wages, the advances in average hourly earnings were generally exceeded by still greater increases in output per man-hour, with the result that unit labor costs decline. This tendency for increases in labor productivity to exceed those in wages limits greatly the possibility of a material stimulus emanating from this source.

From where else can the stimulus be expected to come? From war? If the preparation for and the conduct of war constitute the only adequate compensatory force to the labor-displacing effects of technology, the proposition would then be established that only through war can the present economic system be operated in such a way as to approximate full employment.⁴⁷

THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON THE PATTERN OF THE WORKER'S LIFE

Technological progress, as we have seen, has affected the over-all economy in many ways; its impact on the pattern of the worker's life

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

has been no less significant. Technology has been an important factor in creating new occupations and industries; it often renders old skills useless and forces the worker into the ranks of the temporarily unemployed; it changes the quality and the quantity of the skills the worker must bring to his job; it has reduced the hours of labor and increased leisure; and apparently it has contributed to a decrease in social mobility.

The changing pattern of work opportunity. Within the past generation or two, amazing changes have taken place in the number and variety of occupations. Often within the span of a few years, old occupations decline in importance or disappear altogether and new ones rise to take their place. The bookkeeper, the wheelwright, and the glassblower give place to the automobile mechanic, the factory operative, and the airplane pilot. The division of labor may create a score of jobs where one existed before. While science and invention may produce new industries, each opening wide the door to a hundred-odd new types of work. Today, as youth turn from school to work, they face the choice of many thousand different occupations. Moreover, during their lifetime they will surely see employment opportunity greatly expand in some industries and contract equally sharply in others. Technological improvement, contraction and expansion of purchasing power, changes in the consumption habits of the people, and fluctuations in prices and wages — all these affect both the range and quality of employment opportunity.

The three basic industries of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing are declining in relative importance — they provide work opportunity for a decreasing percentage of the gainfully employed (Table 11). As late as 1880, one half of all gainful workers were engaged in agriculture, and as late as 1910, those employed in farming comprised the largest single group of the gainfully employed. Each decade since 1870, however, has registered a decline in the relative importance of agriculture as an occupation. In 1910, there began a decrease in the absolute number engaged in farming. The 1940 Census reveals that of the employed workers fourteen years of age and over, only 18.5 per cent reported agriculture as their occupation.⁴⁸ The rapid mechanization of agriculture in recent years, to-

⁴⁸ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population: vol. II, Characteristics of the Population. Part I: United States Summary and Alabama — District of Columbia*, p. 49.

TABLE 11. SHIFTING OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1870*

Occupational Group	Percentage Distribution for Each Census Year							
	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Agriculture.....	53.0	49.4	42.6	37.5	31.0	27.0	21.4	18.5
Forestry and Fishing.....	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.2
Extraction of Minerals.....	1.4	1.7	1.9	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.0	2.0
Manufacturing and Mechanical.....	20.5	22.1	23.7	24.8	28.5	30.3	28.9	23.4
Transportation and Communication.....	4.2	4.8	6.0	6.7	7.1	7.3	7.9	6.9
Trade.....	6.8	7.9	8.8	10.6	9.7	10.0	12.5	16.7
Professional Service.....	2.6	3.2	3.8	4.1	4.6	5.1	6.7	7.3
Domestic and Personal Service.....	9.7	8.8	9.6	9.7	10.1	8.0	10.1	8.9
Clerical Service.....	0.6	0.9	2.0	2.5	4.6	7.3	8.2	16.6
Public Service (n.e.c.).....	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.7	1.8	3.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, press release for October 23, 1938. Gainful workers, 1870-1930, are ten years of age and over. Figures for 1940 are from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population: vol. II, Characteristics of the Population. Part I: United States Summary and Alabama—District of Columbia*, p. 49. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944. The 1940 data are not exactly comparable with the statistics for 1930 and earlier years because of differences in the definition of "gainfully employed" and, less important perhaps, the dropping of the 10-13 age group from the total group of gainfully employed.

gether with other factors, makes it clear that farming faces a long-time decline in employment opportunity.

It also appears that the percentage of the nation's labor force engaged in manufacturing will decrease in the future. For the fifty-year period ending in 1920, there was a steady increase in the percentage of gainful workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, but during the following decade this tendency was reversed. It appears, too, that between 1930 and 1940 a decline of some proportion took place in the percentage of the gainfully employed engaged in manufacturing.⁴⁹ Manufacturing will, of course,

⁴⁹ The Census of 1930 reported 28.6 per cent of gainfully occupied persons sixteen years of age and over as employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 284. The 1940 Census reported 23.4 per cent of employed workers fourteen years of age and over as engaged in manufacturing. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population: vol. II, Characteristics of the Population. Part I: United States Summary and Alabama—District of Columbia*, p. 49. Data for 1930 and 1940 are not strictly comparable, however, because of differences in occupational classification and in definition of employed workers. Even so, it appears that a smaller percentage of the gainfully employed were engaged in manufacturing in 1940 than in 1930.

continue to require a large labor force, and as new industries develop from time to time, this force will no doubt increase at least temporarily in relative importance. Nevertheless, increased productivity per worker resulting from technological progress, together with other factors, makes it questionable whether manufacturing industries as a whole will be able to absorb in the future their present proportion of the nation's labor supply. For some time now, the percentage of the gainfully employed in physical production — in agriculture, mining, and manufacturing — has registered a decline; science and technology have brought about the release of a large fraction of the labor force of the nation from physical production and made it available for other work. This tendency will probably prevail in the future.⁵⁰

Employment opportunity, on the other hand, has been markedly expanding in the distributive and service occupations. In recent years a larger percentage of our population have earned their living in jobs connected with the movement and distribution of goods from the factory to the consumer. A striking increase has also occurred in the percentage of the gainfully employed whose work falls in the service occupations. The professions, the public service, and the clerical occupations have all absorbed a larger share of the gainfully employed. Those engaged in professional service comprised 6.7 per cent of the gainfully employed, ten years of age and above, in 1930 as compared with 3.2 per cent in 1880. The 1940 Census reported 7.3 per cent of workers fourteen years of age and over as engaged in the professions.⁵¹ The proportion of the nation's working force engaged in some form of public service has also registered a marked increase. The percentage of gainful workers engaged in clerical service increased more than threefold between 1900 and 1930.

It is clear that for the past half-century and more our economy has been characterized by a rapidly shifting occupational pattern, by instability in job opportunity. These changes in the distribution of workers among the occupations "are a striking reflection of the transformation of our economic system from one organized around the exploitation of natural resources to one in which the chief stress

⁵⁰ Ralph G. Hurlin and Meredith B. Givens, "Shifting Occupational Patterns," chap. VI. *Recent Social Trends in the United States*.

⁵¹ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population: vol. II, Characteristics of the Population. Part I: United States Summary and Alabama — District of Columbia*, p. 49.

is on mechanical, managerial, professional, and service functions." ⁵² Conditions in the future are so uncertain as to render prediction hazardous. One may be reasonably sure, however, that technological development will continue and that the distribution of workers among the various occupations will exhibit constant change. It is, moreover, enormously important from both the individual and social point of view that the right persons with the requisite training be appropriately distributed among the various occupations. Herein lies one of the major social obligations of our educational system. '

Technology and the displacement of labor. Whatever may be the truth with respect to the long-time effect of technological progress on employment, it is clear that the use of new types of machines, new materials and processes, and different forms of management and organization do force workers to shift from job to job and from industry to industry. The mechanization of agriculture is a factor in the increase of farm tenancy and share-cropping, and it is also having the effect of forcing a considerable percentage of the farm population off the land. In industry, a new machine or process may render useless the skill which a worker has acquired and force him to seek a livelihood in a new line of work. Some workers who are separated from their jobs as a result of technological advance are able to re-adjust to new employment with no great difficulty, but others may have to wait for months or years before they are able to find work that is at all satisfactory. Not a few, broken in spirit, remain unemployed for life. At any given time, then, there is likely to be a considerable "pool" of the unemployed — a considerable number of people separated from their jobs as a consequence of technology. It was estimated by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, for example, that in 1940 between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 persons were unemployed as a result of technological changes. According to estimates by David Weintraub the net decline in employment in "manufacturing industries, class I railroads, bituminous-coal mining and anthracite-coal mining" during the period 1920 to 1930 was 2,882,000.⁵³ Frederick C. Mills found that for the period 1923 to 1929, nearly five per cent of the workers in manufacturing industries were

⁵² United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 44.

⁵³ David Weintraub, "The Displacement of Workers Through Increase in Efficiency and Their Absorption by Industry, 1920-31," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (December, 1932), 396-97.

forced to withdraw from the industry in which they had been working.⁵⁴

A number of studies have been made of what happens to displaced workers. The following statement summarizes the findings of some of these investigations:

In 1930, Ewan Clague and Walter J. Couper studied the experiences of 1190 rubber workers in New Haven and Hartford who had been displaced by shutdowns in 1929 occasioned by the shift of production to more efficient plants. This study revealed that, at the close of 11 months, 13 per cent of the workers were still unemployed. Of those finding work, about 61 per cent were reemployed at the end of 2 months. The average time lost was about 4.3 months. Only 19 per cent of those placed succeeded in finding jobs that paid as well as their former jobs. Fully two thirds were earning less than before. In some cases losses were as high as 50 and 60 per cent of previous weekly earnings. Annual earnings, when expressed as percentages of the incomes in 1928 (the year before dismissal), were found to have fallen almost 50 per cent.

In a study conducted by Isador Lubin in three industrial cities in 1928, it was found that, out of a group of 754 men who had lost their jobs within the preceding year, 45 per cent were still unemployed. These workers had been displaced for a variety of reasons. Some were displaced as a result of the introduction of technological improvements, others as a result of curtailed production, and still others because the plants moved to other parts of the country.

Almost one half of those still unemployed had been out for 6 months or more, 18 per cent for 9 months or more, and 8 per cent for 1 year or more. Of those who succeeded in getting jobs, the majority had been out for more than 3 months. Almost one half of the reemployed workers had incurred losses in earnings. Fewer than one fifth found better-paying jobs.⁵⁵

A more recent study of unemployment in Philadelphia was made by the National Research Project of the Works Progress Administration. A house-to-house canvass was made of some 46,000 householders or about 9 per cent of what was regarded as the employable population. The duration of unemployment is indicated in Table 12. Nearly one half the men (48 per cent) and 34.9 per cent of the women spent two years or more in finding other jobs. Approxi-

⁵⁴ Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

⁵⁵ United States National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*, p. 83.

TABLE 12. DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT SINCE LAST NON-RELIEF JOB, PHILADELPHIA, MAY, 1937, ALL UNEMPLOYED*

Duration of Unemployment in Months, Total	Cumulative Percentages	
	Men	Women
0 to 11.....	100.0	100.0
12 to 23.....	61.7	48.8
24 to 35.....	48.0	34.9
36 to 47.....	37.7	26.1
48 to 59.....	29.4	19.6
60 and over.....	21.6	14.2

* Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, *Employment and Unemployment in Philadelphia in 1930 and 1937*, Part II: May, 1937, 1938, p. 26, as cited in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 134.

mately 30 per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women were still without work at the end of four years.⁵⁶ It is clear that in the life of the individual worker, technological displacement of labor may be a very serious matter; it may result in long-time unemployment and force the displaced worker to acquire a new skill.

The older worker in the economy. Technological changes have affected adversely the employment opportunity of middle-aged and older workers, those between forty-five and sixty-five years of age.⁵⁷ Old and declining industries tend to retain the older workers, but new expanding industries have recruited their labor force very largely from the ranks of the young. In 1930, for example, in wagon and carriage factories 46.6 per cent of the male workers were forty-five years of age and over; in radio broadcasting, only 5.5 per cent were forty-five or over. "Skilled occupations tend to have high and increasing proportions of workers over forty-five, but, as a group, these occupations are declining in relative importance."⁵⁸ In the

⁵⁶ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 134.

⁵⁷ See United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, pp. 32-34; T. L. Norton, *Public Education and Economic Trends*, pp. 124-26. Cambridge: Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, 1939; Solomon Barkin, *The Older Worker in Industry*. Albany: New York State Commission on Old Age Security, 1933; W. S. Woytinsky, *Labor in the United States*. Washington: Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council, 1938; Lucile Eaves, "Discrimination in the Employment of Older Workers in Massachusetts," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLIV (June, 1937), 1359-86; Mapheus Smith, "Trends in the Ages of Gainful Workers by Occupation, 1910-1930," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXX (December, 1935), 678-87.

⁵⁸ United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 33.

mass-production industries, where skilled employees are in no great demand, the older worker, once displaced, has usually found it extremely difficult to pry open again the doors of employment opportunity.⁵⁹ This difficulty of the older worker to find employment in new and expanding industries is especially significant because "the industries which bear down heavily on the older person and cause an unusually large proportion of occupational displacements are growing in importance."⁶⁰

The older worker, separated from his job because of technological advance or for some other reason, often finds that he is discriminated against in the employment policy of manufacturing and business concerns. Barkin, in his study of manufacturing industries in New York State, found that "of 911 concerns which reported, 6 per cent had formal and 15 per cent had informal maximum age hiring policies covering the entire concerns, 39 per cent had an informal maximum age hiring policy for selected jobs, and 12 per cent had a 'special case age hiring policy.'"⁶¹

This discrimination against the older worker is no doubt due in part to the belief that under methods of modern mass production older workers are inefficient. This belief appears to have little basis in fact.⁶² As a matter of fact, older workers have been able to hold their own in industries employing mass-production methods as well as in those requiring special skills. Amidon reports the findings of a number of studies of the relative efficiency of workers in different age groups.

Automobile Facts reports that in the motor industry, where wages are largely on a piece-work basis, and high-speed production is the rule, earnings reach their peak in the group between 50 and 55 years of age. The average annual earnings of that age group in a 1938 period of full production were \$1680. Men over 60 showed average annual earnings of \$1595, which was approximately the figure for those 40 to 45 years of age.

A study made in 1938 by the industrial relations section of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found in a group of New England plants "no tendency for output and earnings to diminish

⁵⁹ Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁶⁰ Barkin, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁶¹ United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 34.

⁶² See Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, pp. 163-65.

materially with age except possibly over 60." Thus among a group of cotton textile weavers, age had little effect on earnings between 25 and 55. "They were slightly higher for men aged 45 to 49, and 50 to 54, than for either older or younger workers. . . ." Similarly, among cotton spinners, "variations in average earnings by age groups were so small as to be unimportant."

Drs. Henderson, Dill, and MacFarland, of the Harvard Fatigue Laboratory, find that the assumption that there is a rapid decline after 40 years of age in the quality and quantity of work is "a social myth which, though in some respects not misleading, is in general grossly inconsistent with the evidence." Summarizing several studies, these scientists state: "First, the rate of decline in the capacities of the industrial worker after 45 years of age has been greatly exaggerated. Secondly, the evidence relative to the changes in abilities of the older worker must be considered in terms of a particular set of circumstances. In some instances, the decline is quite large; in others it is of small magnitude, while there are many conditions of work which indicate that the older man is a distinct asset. Thirdly, the problem is so complicated, with so many ramifications in human physiology and psychology, that at the present time there is little reason for taking the position as a ground for action that *in general* men over 45 years of age are less effective than others in industrial occupations."⁴³

The older worker makes even a better showing in industries requiring skill. The Works Progress Administration reported a study of the productivity of skilled workers as follows:

There was, as a rule, a direct correlation between grades given for quality of work performed and age; the older workers were given the higher grades and the younger workers the lower grades. An exception to this rule was found among the brick and stone masons, where the workers graded as inferior were, as a group, older than those graded as excellent or passable. For all workers combined, however, the average age of workers graded as excellent was 47.5 years, that of workers graded as passable, 44 years, and that of workers graded as inferior, 40.7 years.

There was a direct relationship between the grades given for quantity of work performed and the ages of the workers. The workers who were given inferior grades tended to be the youngest men, those given passable grades, somewhat older, and those given

⁴³ Beulah Amidon, *Jobs After Forty*, pp. 19-20. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1939.

excellent grades, oldest. The average age of all workers graded as excellent was 46.6 years; the average of all those graded as passable was 44.6 years; and the average of all those graded as inferior was 41.6 years.⁶⁴

It is extremely important that measures be taken in the future to provide work opportunity for the middle-aged and older workers in our economy. The changing age structure of the population makes such a policy imperative. During the next forty years, we may expect the age group 45 to 64 to increase as a population element. At present this age group comprises about 20 per cent of the total population, but by 1980 we may expect it to constitute as much as 26 per cent of the total.⁶⁵ In one way or another, this large element in the population must find it possible to carry its own economic weight. The productive capacity of middle-aged and older workers must be geared into industry; otherwise they become an economic burden of staggering proportions. Obviously, education has an important role to play in the occupational adjustment of those in the middle and later years of life.

Trends in the skill required of workers. Fundamental changes have taken place in the quality and quantity of the skills which the worker must bring to his job. Each year unskilled workers constitute a smaller proportion of the nation's labor force. In many industries, semi-skilled workers are becoming relatively more numerous and this appears to be the case with respect to the mechanical aspects of production in manufacturing considered as a whole. On the basis of available data, it cannot be ascertained absolutely whether skilled workers constitute an increasing or decreasing percentage of all workers.⁶⁶ Neither is it clear whether skilled workers are increasing faster than the semi-skilled.⁶⁷ Apparently, skilled and

⁶⁴ Works Progress Administration, *The Skill of Brick and Stone Masons, Carpenters, and Painters Employed on Works Progress Administration Projects in Seven Cities in January 1937*, p. 6, by W. R. Curtis, W. G. Keim, and Edward Berman, as quoted in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 164.

⁶⁵ Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Estimates of Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000*, p. 109. Prepared for the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Planning Board, 1943. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944.

⁶⁶ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 142.

⁶⁷ See Woytinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Newton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, chap. X. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939; Alba M. Edwards, *A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

semi-skilled workers are increasing at the expense of the unskilled. Of course, no general statement can be made that will cover each of the several industries. In some the relative number of skilled workers, such as tool-makers, die-makers, machinists, and repair-men, has probably increased. In others, the demand for semi-skilled workers has certainly been on the increase. "Perhaps the most general bearing of current trends in technological changes on the work requirements of industry is discernible as a tendency toward the leveling of skills required. This tendency is most apparent where the increasing role of mass production methods requires a larger force of semi-skilled operatives."⁶⁸

Two studies of the manufacturing plants of Minnesota throw a good deal of light on the amount of skill and training required of modern factory workers. The first study,⁶⁹ made in 1931, grouped workers into five classes on the basis of the skills required in the operations performed. Skilled workers were grouped in classes A and B; semi-skilled operators were placed in classes C and D; and unskilled workers were regarded as belonging to class E. The per cent distribution of workers among the five classes was as follows: class A, 2 per cent; class B, 8 per cent; class C, 34 per cent; class D, 45 per cent; and class E, 11 per cent. Semi-skilled workers included in classes C and D comprised 79 per cent of the total. The machine operators included in class C performed tasks that were highly repetitive, while those in class D performed operations that were extremely simple. It was also found in this study that most of the workers could acquire the skills required of them in a comparatively short time. Of all the operations surveyed, "22 per cent required a training time of less than half a month for their satisfactory performance; 33 per cent required from half a month to two months; 17 per cent from three to nine months; 16 per cent from ten months to two years; 8 per cent from two to four years; and 4 per cent more than four years."⁷⁰ Fifty-five per cent of the operations could be learned in two months or less.

A similar analysis of manufacturing plants in Minnesota was made

⁶⁸ Works Progress Administration, *Summary of Findings to Date, March, 1938*, pp. 149-50. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

⁶⁹ Charles A. Koepke, *A Job Analysis of Manufacturing Plants in Minnesota*. Bulletins of the Employment Stabilization Research Institute, University of Minnesota, Vol. II, No. 8. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

in 1936.⁷¹ This study revealed that the proportion of semi-skilled workers had increased at the expense of both the highly skilled and the unskilled. "Few of the plants resurveyed had many class A [the most skilled] jobs, whereas in every industry the plants had a substantial proportion of jobs in classes C and D [the semi-skilled]; these had increased at the expense of occupations in classes A or E [the least skilled] in most cases."⁷² It was also true that the period of training necessary to acquire the skill demanded in most operations had been materially reduced (Table 13).

The authors of this study are of the opinion that technology is still displacing skilled operators in the manufacturing plants of Minnesota. They say:

The data presented here tend to support the contention put forward in the 1931 study that advances in production technique have not only drastically cut down the time necessary for training but have also given rise to significant changes in the qualifications demanded of the worker. There is a strong indication, moreover, that the process of increasing division of labor through increased mechanization is still running its course. That course may not be so rapid or so revolutionary as before, but it is still causing important developments in industry and is showing a tendency to continue in that direction.⁷³

Other evidence supports the same general conclusion.⁷⁴ In the hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, it was stated that in the plant of one large automobile company "43 percent of the workers require 1 day to learn their jobs, 36 percent up to 8 days, 6 percent up to 2 weeks, 14 percent from a month to a year, and only 1 percent more than a year."⁷⁵ An analysis of the job specifications for the automobile industry, worked out by the United States Employment Service in the nineteen-thirties, revealed, at least indirectly, that in the manufacture of automobiles, the skilled worker had given place to the semi-skilled worker who performed highly repetitive operations. Educational requirements for workers in the

⁷¹ Charles A. Koepke, with the assistance of S. Theodore Woal, *Changes in Machinery and Job Requirements in Minnesota Manufacturing, 1931-36*. Works Projects Administration, National Research Project . . . University of Minnesota, Report L-6. Washington: Works Projects Administration, 1939.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁴ Barkin, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁷⁵ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology and Concentration of Economic Power*, Hearings, Part 30, p. 16372.

automobile industry were very low; for two thirds of the jobs there was no educational stipulation other than ability to speak, read, and write English.⁷⁶ Less than five per cent of the job specifications required more than a grammar-school education. It is also true that most of the jobs in the manufacture of automobiles required relatively little experience. A fourth of the jobs required no experience at all and 57.3 per cent required experience of six months or less.⁷⁷ After starting a job, the average worker reached normal production in rather short order. No job required more than three months to reach normal production and twenty-five per cent of the jobs required less than one day.⁷⁸ (See Tables 13-16.)

New social adjustments for the worker. The modern worker, whether engaged in production, trade and transportation, or a service occupation, lives in a world of complex social relationships. He works for and with people, supervises them, is supervised by them, and serves their needs. Unlike the old tradesman, he does not own the tools with which he works and his freedom of action, while on the job, is often strictly limited. In many occupations, it is fully as

TABLE 13.* TIME REQUIRED FOR WORKERS TO REACH NORMAL PRODUCTION IN 286 JOB SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY†

Time Required	Number of Jobs	Per Cent
None.....	65	22.9
½ Hour.....	1	.35
1 Hour.....	3	1.05
2 Hours.....	1	.35
1 Day.....	14	4.86
2 Days.....	10	3.5
3 Days.....	137	47.7
4 Days.....	1	.35
1 Week.....	25	8.88
2 Weeks.....	13	4.62
3 Weeks.....	3	1.05
1 Month.....	8	2.81
1½ Months.....	2	.7
2 Months.....	2	.7
3 Months.....	1	.35
Total.....	286	100.1

* Geraldine Johnston, "The Educational Implications of Occupational Change," p. 70. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1939.

† Compiled from job specifications of the United States Employment Service.

⁷⁶ Geraldine Johnston, "The Educational Implications of Occupational Change," p. 62. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1939.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

TABLE 14.* EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS CONTAINED IN 286 JOB SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY†

Educational Requirement	Number of Job Specifications	Per Cent	Cumulative Per Cent
Ability to speak, read, and write English . .	194	67.7	67.7
Grammar school graduation	81	28.5	96.2
High school graduation	9	3.1	99.3
Some high school education	1	.35	99.65
College graduation	1	.35	100.0
Total	286	100.0	

* Geraldine Johnston, "The Educational Implications of Occupational Change," p. 62. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1939.

† Compiled from job specifications of the United States Employment Service.

TABLE 15.* EXPERIENCE NECESSARY IN 286 JOB SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY†

Experience Necessary	Number of Job Specifications	Per Cent	Cumulative Percentage
None	72	25.2	25.2
2 weeks	2	.7	25.9
1 month	11	3.8	29.7
2 months	6	2.1	31.8
3 months	23	8.0	39.8
6 months	50	17.5	57.3
1 year	101	35.3	92.6
2 years	14	4.9	97.5
3 years	4	1.4	98.9
4 years	3	1.1	100.0
Total	286	100.0	

* Geraldine Johnston, "The Educational Implications of Occupational Change," p. 64. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1939.

† Compiled from job specifications of the United States Employment Service.

TABLE 16.* AMOUNT OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE REQUIRED IN
286 JOB SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURING
INDUSTRY†

Education	Experience					
	None	2 weeks to 6 months	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years or more
Ability to speak, read, and write English.....	55	71	57	8	3	..
Grammar school graduate. .	15	20	39	4	..	3
High school graduate.....	2	.	5	2	.	..
Some high school work	..	1	.	.	..	.
College graduate.....	..	..	..	.	1	..

* Geraldine Johnston, "The Educational Implications of Occupational Change," p. 69. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1939.

† Compiled from job specifications of the United States Employment Service.

important that the worker have a healthy and balanced personality as it is that he possess the required skill. A study of the causes of discharge of office and clerical workers found that ninety per cent of the discharges were due to personality and character traits.⁷⁹ The quality of living for the modern worker, moreover, is conditioned in large measure by broad industrial and social policies which often affect the economy as a whole. If, as worker and citizen, he is to participate wisely in the determination of these policies, he must possess at least a general understanding of many current social and economic problems. If less demand is made on him for skill, a much greater demand is being made for social adjustment and societal understanding.

For many modern workers, the machine has tended to fractionalize experience. The performance of simple and highly repetitive operations hour after hour calls into play only a part of one's intellectual and physical powers and dulls one's imagination and sense of creativeness. The advent of the machine has given leisure a new meaning. Leisure properly conceived is not merely cessation from work; it comprises a program of activities which aims to restore the unity

⁷⁹ Norton, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

of personality which the machine tends to destroy. Such a program will make provision for intellectual stimulation, for varied physical activities, for emotional expression, and for effective ways of satisfying creative impulses. Fortunately, improved methods of production have made possible a marked increase in leisure time. "From 1890 to 1937 the average work week of factory employees in the United States fell from about 60 to 42 hours, in the building trades from 55 to 39, in steam railroads from 60 to 48, in anthracite and bituminous coal mining from 60 to 35."⁸⁰ The increased leisure that has come with technological advance raises important educational problems.

EXTENDING THE GAINS OF TECHNOLOGY

New machines and materials, together with improved processes, have, as we have seen, increased the productivity of labor and made possible a vastly larger volume of production. The greater the volume of goods and services made available and consumed, the greater will be the national income and the higher the standard of living. It is not necessarily true, however, that the gains that accrue from an advancing technology are shared equally by all the elements of the population. Owing to one factor or another, special groups in the economy, or for that matter, the great mass of consumers, may not be able to reap their proportionate share of the gains that accrue from increased productivity. When output per man-hour is increased as a result of technological improvement the gains may be extended to the masses of consumers through higher wages or, better still, by lower prices. For at least two decades before 1940, the output per man-hour in many industries was greater than the income in the hourly earnings of labor in these industries (Tables 17 and 18). The result, of course, was a decrease in unit labor costs which made it both possible and desirable to reduce prices. During the nineteen-thirties, however, there was a remarkable rigidity of prices, especially in those segments of the economy characterized by monopolistic or semi-monopolistic control.

Much evidence could be marshaled to indicate that the gains that accrue from technological change have not been proportionately distributed among the masses. The pattern of income distribution that

⁸⁰ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 167.

TABLE 17. PER CENT CHANGE IN HOURLY EARNINGS, OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR, AND UNIT LABOR COST IN 11 MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1923 TO 1935*

Industry	Per Cent Change from 1923 to 1935 in —		
	Average Hourly Earnings	Output per Man-Hour	Unit Labor Cost
Iron and steel.....	+9.9	+48.2	-20.0
Chemicals.....	+19.8	+74.2	-29.5
Rubber products.....	+28.0	+79.6	-32.2
Paper and pulp.....	+5.8	+46.5	-30.0
Paints and varnishes.....	+7.7	+31.7	-15.5
Boots and shoes.....	+15.2	+54.1	-38.8
Leather.....	+14.2	+38.9	-20.6
Cotton goods.....	+7	+28.5	-22.4
Woolen and worsted goods.....	+2.2	+43.7	-26.3
Knit goods.....	+36.1	+66.2	-21.9
Newspapers and periodicals.....	+24.4	+45.8	-20.1

* Temporary National Economic Committee, *Technology in Our Economy*, p. 148. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 22. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

TABLE 18. PER CENT CHANGE IN HOURLY EARNINGS, OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR, AND UNIT LABOR COST IN 13 MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1935 TO 1939*

Industry	Per Cent Change from 1935 to 1939 in —		
	Average Hourly Earnings	Output per Man-Hour	Unit Labor Cost
Blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills	+27.0	+27.5	-0.4
Petroleum refining.....	+21.6	+26.0	-3.5
Chemicals.....	+23.1	+11.5	+10.4
Paints and varnishes.....	+20.1	+10.5	+8.8
Rayon.....	+25.7	+58.1	-20.5
Cement.....	+22.2	+25.2	-2.4
Cotton goods.....	+3.5	+20.9	-14.4
Boots and shoes.....	-1.8	+6.9	-8.1
Paper and pulp.....	+17.2	+17.3	-1
Newspapers and periodicals.....	+12.6	+3.9	+8.4
Bread and other bakery products.....	+16.3	+13.9	+2.1
Flour.....	+10.4	+7.2	+3.0
Cane-sugar refining.....	+12.0	-3.8	+16.4

* United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, LX (July, 1940), 36

has prevailed for many years would seem to afford important if indirect evidence. By way of illustration, in 1929, the 21 per cent of the nation's families in the lower income brackets received only 4.5 per cent of the total national income. The 36,000 families with incomes of \$75,000 and above received a total income of \$10,000,000,000; the 11,653,000 families with an income of less than \$1500 received a total of about \$10,000,000,000. "Thus it appears that 0.1 per cent of the families at the top received practically as much as 42 per cent of the families at the bottom of the scale."⁸¹ In 1935-36, the 42 per cent of the families with an income of less than \$1000 received less than 16 per cent of the national total; the 3 per cent of the families with the highest incomes received 21 per cent of the aggregate income. The 1 per cent of the families at the top were recipients of 13 per cent of the total.⁸² In 1940, one half of the nation's children were being born into homes in which the parents were on relief or were the recipients of incomes of less than \$1000. "In 1940," says Stuart Chase, "80 million Americans lived in families where the income was less than \$1,500 a year. Forty-five millions were living below the diet danger line. Twenty millions were living on an average of five cents a meal."⁸³

Few greater problems confront the democracies of the world today than that of so reconstructing their economic systems as to make the gains of technology mass gains. Technology has made it possible to solve, in large measure, the problem of production. A problem facing democracies everywhere is the problem of distribution, both within and among nations. If the goals of democracy are to be realized, the gains of civilization must be mass gains; the benefits of increased productivity cannot be retained in the hands of a few who have a genius for industrial organization and financial management or who by inheritance have come into large fortunes. Moreover, the efficient as well as the equitable operation of the economy depends upon extending the gains of technology. Mass production requires mass consumption. Purchasing power is the flywheel of the economic machine; unless there is adequate purchasing power

⁸¹ Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume*, p. 56. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1934.

⁸² United States National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, pp. 2-3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

⁸³ Stuart Chase, *The Road We Are Traveling, 1914-1942*, pp. 87-88. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1942.

in the hands of the mass of consumers, unemployment develops, the national income contracts, and technological progress itself is held in check. Technology is making it possible to raise materially standards of living, but this goal cannot be achieved fully unless the benefits that accrue from science and invention are widely distributed among the people.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 11

1. Before 1860 the United States was predominately rural. Today less than one-fifth of the people are engaged in agriculture. What educational problems and adjustments do you think have been and are involved in this change from a rural to an urban industrial economy?
2. In what ways do you consider rural and urban America to be interdependent? How should this interdependence affect our educational policies?
3. How have social and technological changes during the past few decades affected the status of youth in American society? What educational readjustments does this changed status of youth seem to require?
4. Analyze carefully the various aspects of the impact of technology on the pattern of the worker's life and indicate the educational changes you think should be made to meet the conditions resulting from this impact.
5. Evaluate the following statement: "It is a mistake for the schools to teach the separate trades to any large number of pupils or to insist upon a narrow specialization. Factory workers today need fundamentally not so much a training in the handling of a particular machine as a knowledge of the skills and operations basic to industry as a whole. Instead of training for specific jobs or even for specific occupations or industries, emphasis should be placed on those operations and processes common to a number of occupations and industries."
6. Do you agree that leisure is taking on a new meaning in our society and that education for leisure poses a real problem? Discuss the issues involved.

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Chapter 12 ~ The Shifting Pattern of Economic Life:

THE DOMINANCE OF THE LARGE CORPORATION

THE IMPORTANCE OF RELATING EDUCATION TO THE CHANGES IN THE MODERN ECONOMY

THE SOCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS discussed in the preceding chapter were accompanied by, if they did not actually produce, a profound change in the structure and operation of the American economic system. These fundamental changes in the economic life of the nation affected the whole pattern of institutional arrangements; the changes were especially important to education and its institutions at all levels. Conditions now required a vast expansion of the entire educational enterprise, extending from nursery schools through the universities and into the area of adult education. The shifting pattern of economic life was, moreover, the most important single force making it necessary to work out an educational program richer in content and extending over a longer period of years. It was no longer enough for the schools and colleges to concern themselves primarily with passing on the cultural heritage as it had been traditionally thought of; they now had the additional responsibility of preparing youth for and guiding them into vocational life with its constantly increasing number of new occupations, its vast accumulations of new skills, and its instability of job opportunity. But education for efficient production was not the only new demand society was making on the schools: education had to prepare citizens for intelligent consumption and for a wholesome use of leisure time. More important still, because the new economy was giving rise to many and varied problems of social policy in community, state, and nation, education for effective citizenship now took on proportions unknown in the simple rural econ-

omy of former times. An expanded and enriched program of education, extended to include youth with the most varied backgrounds, capacities, and expectations, made it essential that provision be made for a more effective teaching personnel. New institutional arrangements were developed for the education of teachers and the educational process in all its varied aspects was subjected to rigorous scientific study. As the functions of education changed to meet new conditions, it became necessary to reshape the structural organization of education — to develop new types of schools and to work out a closer articulation between them.

Changes in the structure and operational aspects of the American economy have still other important implications for educational policy and practice. When the economy fails to work efficiently and equitably, new problems arise in education and old problems take on added importance. Widespread unemployment among both young and older workers, a sharp reduction in the total national income, depression in agriculture, the development of geographical areas with large populations and meager economic resources, the movement of youth in large numbers from region to region in search of economic and social opportunity, a high concentration of income among the few with low income among the many — all these consequences of a defective economy are reflected in nearly every aspect of the educational program.

Finally, and most important of all, it appears that the overall policy system with respect to the economy, inherited from the nineteenth century, is no longer workable in the kind of economic order that has developed. Decisions of the utmost importance have to be made with respect to the kind of economic organization we propose for the future. To prepare youth for intelligent participation in these decisions in the years ahead has come to be one of the major responsibilities of institutionalized education.

An understanding of the development of American education during the past three quarters of a century and of the problems of educational statesmanship in the future is so closely tied in with the changing pattern of economic life that the student of education stands in need of a clear picture of the structure and operational aspects of the modern economy. For this reason, the present and the two following chapters are devoted to an account of the changes that have occurred as we have moved steadily from a highly com-

petitive and more or less self-regulating economy toward an economic order characterized by a high concentration of power and increasing dependence upon human decisions for its control and operation.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF A LAISSEZ-FAIRE ECONOMY

In the simplest terms, the economic system of a people may be thought of as the ways and means, the principles and practices, employed to produce and exchange the goods and services required and desired. During most of the colonial period and indeed well into the nineteenth century, most American families produced a large part of what they consumed and they consumed the greater part of what they produced. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, an advancing technology made possible an increased division of labor and the steady transfer of production from the family to the factory. In both England and America, where the economy was being transformed by the Industrial Revolution, the interrelationships involved in production, transportation, and exchange were becoming ever more complex. The Industrial Revolution had not developed very far in England before it appeared to be both desirable and necessary to formulate a theory which would explain how the new economic order could best operate to meet the needs of all concerned. Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, gave classic expression to this theory, which came to be known as *laissez faire*. Smith's theoretical formulation of the principles and practices which he held should be operative in a free-enterprise economy found ready and widespread acceptance in America. The doctrine of *laissez faire* appealed to the political instincts of the builders of the new nation and it appeared to fit reasonably well the conditions of their economic life. They had an abiding fear of governmental regulation, born of long experience, and by and large they entertained a negative conception of the state. Individual initiative, free enterprise, private property, and profits were cornerstones on which they were already erecting their economic structure. The conditions of economic life have perhaps nowhere ever conformed precisely to the theoretical formulations of *laissez faire*, but in this country during the first half of the nineteenth century the divergence

between practice and theory was far less marked than it was to become in later years.

The theory of economy and government formulated by Adam Smith and his followers and incorporated in the American tradition was based upon a few fundamental principles or assumptions. The free-enterprise economy which they envisioned, and the theoretical operation of which they were trying to explain, was characterized by private property, the profit motive, free competition, flexible prices, and little or no governmental interference with business. The owners of numerous small business enterprises — farms, factories, and shops — would compete freely with one another to produce and exchange the goods and services required by people to meet their daily needs. The profit motive provided the driving force, the dynamics of the economy, and the open market served as the mechanism which ordered and co-ordinated the myriad of relationships involved in production and distribution. If numerous independent, small producers competed with one another in the open market, the market mechanism would operate automatically to regulate prices. Under such a situation prices would be flexible; they would rise or fall according to supply and demand. If too many shoes, for example, were produced, the price would go down, incompetent producers would be eliminated, and capital and labor would be shifted to the production of some other commodity which could be marketed at a profit. Thus, the market mechanism would serve, without human intervention or judgment, to co-ordinate most of the activities that went to make up the economic life of the people. The market mechanism, if left free of governmental or other interference, would automatically operate to bring about full employment of both labor and capital. The profit motive would be an incentive to all to employ their labor and capital as energetically and efficiently as possible. Profits, however, would not be excessive because free competition among numerous small producers would tend to keep them down. If, for example, the producers of nails were making excessive profits, it would not be long before the producers of other less profitable commodities would shift their capital and labor to the making of nails and profits would be brought into line. The profit motive, in fact, was a means of making sure that the goods and services required by society would be produced economically. Moreover, if each individual employed his capital and his labor to make

the highest profit possible, he not only served his own best interests but those of society as well. Individual self-interest would add up to the social good. And finally, since wages, profits, interest, and rent were the resultants of free competition in a free market, all the participants in the economy would receive a just reward for their several contributions. For the government to interfere with the operation of these "economic laws" would be to court disaster. In time, most Americans came to look upon private property, private profits, individual initiative, free competition, flexible prices, and non-interference by government as constituting the foundations of their economic life.¹

LAISSEZ FAIRE IN ACTION

The American economic system never fully exemplified the principles of *laissez faire*. In actual practice, government rarely, if ever, occupied a neutral position; it fostered business enterprise with an indulgent hand whether the privilege bestowed was in the form of high tariffs, bounties to railroads, patent rights, or the generous disposition of a rich national domain. And however much the economic system in practice may have departed from the theoretical formulation of a free-enterprise order, faith in the principles of such an order was in no degree weakened. This faith was grounded on the fundamental fact that the economy was on the whole operating satisfactorily. Many felt, to be sure, that they deserved more for their labor and that others deserved less, but at any rate during most of the time there was work for all and an opportunity to earn a livelihood. Moreover, the level of economic well-being was more or less constantly on the up-grade despite the temporary recessions of depression years (see Figure 1). The national income rose from \$2,000,000,000 in 1850 to \$81,000,000,000 in 1929. The per capita income rose from \$95 in 1850 to \$668 in 1929.² With prices held constant as of 1926, the national income grew from \$4,700,000,000 in 1850 to \$113,400,000,000 in 1929. Whatever may have been the wastes, inefficiencies,

¹ For a more detailed discussion of the principles and practices of a *laissez-faire* economy, see Caroline F. Ware and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Economy in Action*, chap. I. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936; George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education*, pp. 135-74. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

² Temporary National Economic Committee, *Economic Prologue*. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Part I. Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 195.

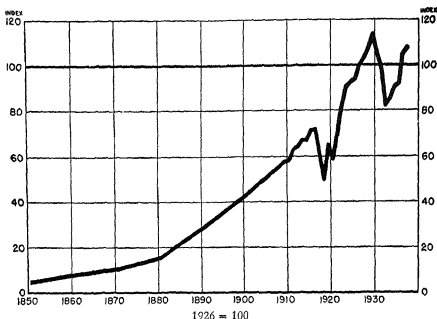


Figure 1. National Income in Constant Prices

TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, ECONOMIC PROLOGUE. INVESTIGATION OF CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER, Part 1. *Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 9.

or injustices of the system, no one could deny that it worked to make the United States the greatest industrial nation in the world with a per capita income higher than that to be found elsewhere.

The economic system of the nineteenth century operated within a framework of fact and circumstance that was most favorable. A virgin continent was at hand to be exploited and developed. No sooner was one frontier developed than another a little farther to the westward was calling for additional labor and new capital. Great cities were to be built and their inhabitants supplied with public utilities. The larger part of a continent was to be spanned with a network of railroads. Savings found a ready outlet for investment and the flow of money into capital goods expanded employment and increased the total national income. Great new industries, the product of technological advance, also stimulated economic growth. The building of railroads and the making of automobiles

and radios, each in turn, provided opportunity for the investment of capital and the employment of labor. A fact of great importance in the extensive development of the American economy, and one that is sometimes overlooked, was the rapid growth of population. During the nineteenth century population increased more than fourteen-fold — from about 5,300,000 to something over 76,000,000. Each decade but one down to 1930 showed an increase greater than the one preceding it. From 1890 to 1930, "the net increment of increase from decade to decade" was greater than the total population in 1830.⁴ An increasing population afforded an expanding market for goods and services. It has been estimated that from fifty to sixty per cent of the investment in capital goods during the latter half of the century went to meet the needs of a growing population. Men could afford to take risks in building new factories or opening new mines or other industries because a growing population afforded a constantly expanding market. And finally, foreign markets in a world that was only partially industrialized afforded still other outlets for both capital and finished products.

It was difficult for most Americans to think in terms other than those of an expanding economy and few were disposed to question the validity of the fundamental principles of *laissez faire*. In the nineteen-twenties a rising national income served to mask the fact that the economic system had developed fundamental defects and that the period of marked expansion was drawing to an end, at least for another decade. When the stock market broke in 1929 and the business outlook grew darker each passing day, many thought it was merely another depression and that the economy would soon right itself if left alone. Just before the crash, President Hoover had publicly stated that "the fundamental business of the country" was "on a sound and prosperous basis," and as late as March, 1930, the President was quoted in the press as saying that "the worst effect of the crash upon unemployment will have passed during the next sixty days." At the beginning of 1930, Andrew W. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury, told the American people: "I see nothing in the present situation that is either menacing or warrants pessimism."

⁴ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Problems of the Consumer*. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Part 8. Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. 3505 and 4007.

And according to Arthur Brisbane "all the really important millionaires" were "planning to continue prosperity."⁴

But prosperity did not return. Year after year billions of dollars available for capital investment remained idle, fires in the furnaces of great manufacturing enterprises died out, and millions of workers remained unemployed. The government provided funds for the employment of some on public works programs, but at no time after 1936 did a program of this kind "provide work for more than a fourth of the employable unemployed."⁵ Measures adopted by the government appear to have stimulated recovery to a degree, but for a full decade our economy was characterized by idle money, idle machines, and idle men. As late as September, 1939, the estimated number of the unemployed was 8,190,000. By 1940, the total volume of industrial production was back to its 1929 peak, but "20 per cent fewer workers were employed."⁶ And in this connection the fact cannot be overlooked that during the decade 1930 to 1940, the population of the nation had increased by some 8,894,000. Per capita income in 1938 was 17.9 per cent lower than in 1929.⁷ It took the exigencies of rearmament and war to dispel the semi-paralysis that had fixed itself on the American economic system.

The material and spiritual losses suffered by the American people through idleness of men and machines are not, of course, easy to estimate. Two estimates, however, have been made of the loss of income resulting from unemployment. One by Doctor Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, shows the loss suffered had the employable population of 1929 remained the same and had the level of employment remained unchanged. His estimates are "minimum estimates and assume that the total number of people available for work" remained exactly the same as in 1929.⁸ As a matter of fact, as Doctor Lubin states, between 1929 and 1938 some six million people were added to the gainfully employable age group. The loss of income which would have been produced by this group is not included in the estimate.

⁴ Stuart Chase, *The Road We Are Traveling, 1914-1942. When the War Ends*, p. 37. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1942.

⁵ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Taxation, Recovery, and Defense*, p. 14. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 20, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Economic Prologue*, p. 12.

The charts which Doctor Lubin presented in a statement to the Temporary National Economic Committee reveal vividly the loss of employment and income during the depression years (Figures 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). In the non-agricultural occupations the loss in man years between 1930 and 1938 was 43,435,000,⁹ and the loss in salaries and wages was \$119,000,000,000. Approximately \$20,000,000,000 was lost in dividends paid out, assuming, of course, that the 1929 level of dividends paid out had been maintained. The gross farm income lost was approximately \$38,000,000,000. If all the losses are added together — those sustained by labor, agriculture, and investors — the grand total was \$177,000,000,000. When adjusted to 1929 prices, the estimated losses amounted to approximately \$133,000,000,000.

The National Resources Committee also made an estimate which takes into account the increased labor force between 1930 and 1937. Here an estimate is made "of what the real income would have been in the years after 1929 if there had been no depression following that year and economic activity had expanded to absorb the increased labor force which became available."¹⁰ The loss of income due to idle men and machines was about \$200,000,000,000, an amount which would have been sufficient to provide a new \$6000 house for every family in the United States. Nor could the loss be measured adequately in terms of income; unemployment and insecurity added up to personal frustration for a large fraction of the American people. And there was always the danger that personal frustration would build into social frustration of a kind that would be destructive to inherited political and economic institutions.¹¹

SIGNS OF CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

As the depression of the nineteen-thirties wore on and economists studied it more closely both in its historical origin and its world setting, fundamental questions began to be raised with respect to the changes that had occurred in the structure of the American economy. A group of Harvard-Tufts economists came to the un-

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰ United States National Resources Committee. *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, p. 2. A Report Prepared by the Industrial Section under the Direction of Gardiner C. Means, June, 1939. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

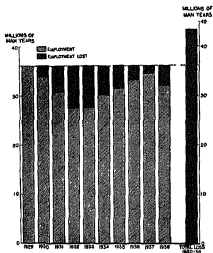


Figure 2. Employment Lost in Depression in Non-Agricultural Occupations

TNEC, ECONOMIC PROLOGUE, p. 13.

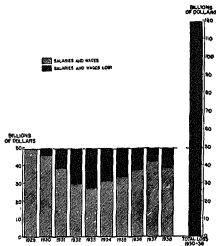


Figure 3. Salaries and Wages Lost in Depression in Non-Agricultural Occupations

TNEC, ECONOMIC PROLOGUE, p. 14.

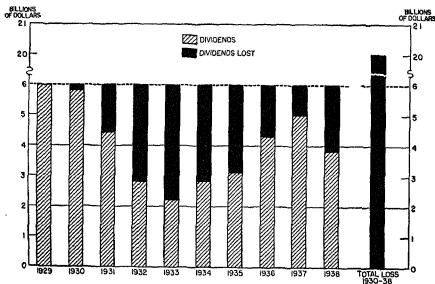


Figure 4. Dividends Lost in Depression

TNEC, ECONOMIC PROLOGUE, p. 15.

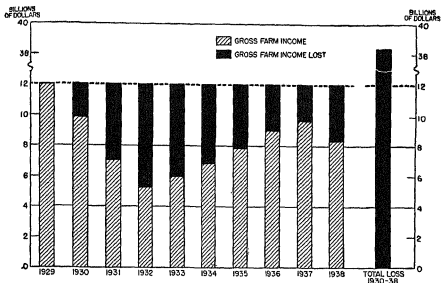


Figure 5. Gross Farm Income Lost in Depression

(Government payments are not included)

TNEG, ECONOMIC PROLOGUE, p. 16.

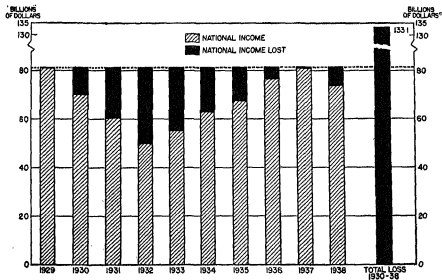


Figure 6. National Income Lost in Depression

(Adjusted to 1929 prices)

TNEG, ECONOMIC PROLOGUE, p. 17.

qualified conclusion that the depression represented something more than "a violent cyclical downswing"; that it represented "a basic change in trend," a significant modification of the economic life of the nation.¹² The following statement summarizes the point of view of this group of economists:

It must not be supposed that the changes which underlay the reversal of trend from 1929 to the present came about suddenly and without forewarning. From small beginnings around the turn of the century, they cumulated, snowball-like, until by the end of the twenties they had altered the whole structure of our economy.

Two facts stand out as basic directives of the new course. The first, generally known as the disappearance of the frontier, spelled the end of expansion into new and unsettled territory. The second, a decline in the rate of population growth, served notice on American business that neither the labor force at its disposal nor the market for its products was indefinitely elastic. Taken together, these two facts could lead to only one conclusion: the *extensive* period of American economic development was coming to a close; henceforth development would have to be increasingly *intensive* in its character. The disappearance of the American frontier, moreover, presaged the end of world expansion into new areas. The fact of arriving at the limits of expansion was no less significant for the industrial nations of Europe than for the lands in which the event occurred.¹³

Other economists advanced the hypothesis or expressed the conviction that the century and a quarter ending in 1930 was a unique epoch and that a fundamental change had taken place in the structure of the American economy and indeed in the economy of the whole Western world.¹⁴ Basic to much of this thinking was the conception of economic maturity similar to that expressed by the Harvard-Tufts economists.

¹² Richard V. Gilbert and others, *An Economic Program for American Democracy*, p. 22. New York: Vanguard Press, 1938.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ See testimony of Professor Alvin H. Hansen before the Temporary National Economic Committee, *Savings and Investment*, pp. 3503-45. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Part 9. Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940; Alvin H. Hansen, "Economic Progress and Declining Population Growth," *American Economic Review*, XXXIX (March, 1939), 1-15; Alvin H. Hansen, *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1941; Alvin H. Hansen, *Full Recovery or Stagnation?* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1938; Temporary National Economic Committee, *Taxation, Recovery, and Defense*, pp. 4-5.

Those who entertained the view that the depression of the thirties was a unique phenomenon, not to be explained in terms of ordinary business-cycle analysis, and symptomatic of a fundamental change in the economy, stressed the development of conditions that made it difficult for savings to flow into capital investment. Among these was the passing of the frontier, the falling-off of the rate of population growth, the concentration of income in the hands of a few with the result that savings were too great for capital investment to absorb, and the decline of opportunity for foreign investment. Forces such as these, it was thought, were building up a new economic order. As Professor Hansen put it:

The economic order of the western world is undergoing in this generation, it seems to me, a structural change no less basic and profound in character than the industrial revolution beginning 150 years ago and extending deep into the nineteenth century. . . . In this generation we are passing over a divide which separates the great era of the growth and expansion of the nineteenth century from an era which we cannot as yet characterize with clarity and precision.¹⁵

It must not be supposed, however, that economists were agreed in their interpretation of events of the decades immediately preceding World War II. Some maintained unshaken faith in traditional principles and practices. Doctor Harold G. Moulton and some of his associates in the Brookings Institution challenged bluntly the conception of economic maturity. They discounted the effect of the disappearance of the frontier and the "apparent completion of the building of great industries"; they did not look upon the declining rate of population growth or the prospect of population decline as constituting any necessary check upon economic expansion; they saw in the unfulfilled wants of the American people a new frontier calling for extensive investment in capital goods and a greatly expanded volume of production. Writing in 1940, they explained the phenomena of idle capital and unemployment very largely in terms of governmental regulation of the economy and the consequent loss of confidence by the business community. They concluded an extensive investigation with the following statement:

The re-establishment of the stable conditions which are so sorely needed in the United States at this critical period in world history

¹⁵ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Savings and Investment*, pp. 3503-04.

largely depends upon the removal of unnecessary impediments to the flow of funds into constructive capital developments and the restoration of confidence in the future of private enterprise.¹⁶

Whatever interpretation one may give to the depression of the thirties, and whatever views one may entertain with respect to economic organization in the future, it is clear that during the past three quarters of a century fundamental changes have occurred in the structure and operation of the economic system. It is equally clear that at the outbreak of World War II the American economy, and indeed the economy of the Western world, was working inefficiently and inequitably. No greater problem faced the American people than that of so ordering their economic life as to make it serve more effectively the needs of human living. The war merely postponed the solution of this problem. If organized education is to meet its responsibility in preparing citizens for intelligent participation in shaping economic policy, teachers must themselves be aware of the basic changes that have occurred in the economic life of the nation.

FROM A FREE-ENTERPRISE TO AN ADMINISTERED ECONOMY

The summary overview presented in the preceding paragraphs should have served to make clear at least one important generalization. For some decades we in America have been moving away from an economy that operates more or less automatically to an economy that is more and more administered. A self-adjusting economy is giving place to one that is planned and controlled. To whom the authority shall be given to make the necessary decisions and in what ways those who administer the economy can be made competent for their trusteeship are problems of grave import to the future of the nation.

THE GROWTH OF CORPORATE ENTERPRISE

One of the essential changes that has occurred in the structure of the American economy has been the growth of corporate enterprise.

¹⁶ Harold G. Moulton, George W. Edwards, James D. Magee, and Cleona Lewis, *Capital Expansion, Employment, and Economic Stability*, p. 336. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 82. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1940.

During a large part of the nineteenth century, as already pointed out, most business enterprises in the United States were owned and operated by private individuals or a small group of partners. In the closing decades of the century, however, businessmen turned more and more to the corporation as a form of business organization. Even before the Civil War the corporate system was becoming important in the railroad industry, and in the postwar years it came to occupy a dominant position in many aspects of our economic life — in banking, insurance, public utilities, mining, and manufacturing. More recently the corporate system has become important in the mercantile field, construction, real estate, and even in agriculture. It is clear that the individual businessman is giving place to the corporation in all types of industry — that we are passing, or have already passed, from an individual to a corporate economy. By 1937, corporate activity had come to embrace the whole field of communication as well as the production and distribution of electric light, power, and gas. No less than 92 per cent of all manufacturing was carried on by corporations (see Table 19) and the same was true of 89 per cent of the business done in the field of transportation.

TABLE 19. IMPORTANCE OF CORPORATE ACTIVITY BY BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY, 1937*

Industry	Per Cent of National Income	Per Cent of Business Done by Corporations in Each Industry
Agriculture	8.9	7
Mining	2.1	96
Electric light and power and manufactured gas	1.6	100
Manufacturing	24.0	92
Contract construction	2.1	36
Transportation	7.3	89
Communication	1.3	100
Trade	12.5	58
Finance	9.3	84
Government — including work relief wages	13.5	58
Service	11.9	30
Miscellaneous	4.2	33

* Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce as cited in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Economic Prologue*, p. 96. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Part I. Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

THE GROWTH OF THE LARGE CORPORATION AND THE CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER

If corporations had remained small concerns, they would not have had a very profound effect upon the organization of American economic life. But some of them did not remain small. A few hundred of the largest have come to occupy a dominant position in the American economy, so dominant, in fact, that many regard them as the major force in our society. Certain it is that the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few giant corporations has raised problems of the first magnitude and certain it is that the American citizen who fails to understand the essential elements of these problems is living in an unreal world.

The dominant position of a few large corporations can be impressively indicated in a number of ways. First of all, one may compare the assets of these corporations with other assets in society, as, for example, the assets of all other corporations, total industrial wealth, and the total national wealth. In 1933, two hundred of the largest non-financial corporations controlled "approximately 19 to 21 per cent of the national wealth, between 46 and 51 per cent of the nation's industrial wealth, and approximately 60 per cent of the physical assets of all non-financial corporations."¹⁷ These two hundred corporations controlled 64 per cent of the instruments of production under corporate control and they paid out 64 per cent of the interest and dividends paid out by the many thousands of non-financial corporations. (See Table 20.) The degree of concentration of assets in manufacturing, transportation, and two other industrial categories in 1933 is shown in Table 21. Among the fifty largest financial corporations — "thirty banks, seventeen life-insurance companies, and three investment trusts" — concentration was even more striking. The thirty large banks together held 34 per cent of all banking assets of the country outside the Federal Reserve banks and the seventeen life-insurance companies controlled about 81 per cent of the assets of all life-insurance companies.¹⁸

Among the very large corporations — financial and non-financial — thirty controlled assets, in 1935, of a billion dollars or more each. In his final statement before the Temporary National Economic

¹⁷ United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, p. 105.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

TABLE 20. RELATION OF 200 LARGEST NON-FINANCIAL CORPORATIONS TO ALL NON-FINANCIAL CORPORATIONS, TO INDUSTRIAL WEALTH, AND TO NATIONAL WEALTH, 1933*

	Per Cent of Each Category Controlled by 200 Largest Corporations		
	All Non-Financial Corporations	Industrial Wealth	National Wealth
Total assets (involves some duplication)	57.0	.	..
Total assets less taxable securities (involves only minor duplication)	54.8	..	..
Total physical assets, land, buildings, equipment, and inventories (involves no duplication)	59.6	46-51	19-21
Total instruments of production, land, buildings, and equipment (involves no duplication)	64.2	..	..
Gross receipts from sales and services	29.9	..	..
Interest and dividends paid	64.0	.	.
Compiled net profits . . . . .		.	.

* Adapted from United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, p. 106. A Report Prepared by the Industrial Section under the Direction of Gardiner C. Means, June, 1939. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

TABLE 21. CONCENTRATION IN FOUR INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES, 1933*

Proportion of Corporate Assets in Four Industrial Categories Controlled by Largest Corporations in These Categories	1933	
	Total Assets Less Taxable Investments, Less Depreciation	Land, Buildings, and Equipment, Less Depreciation
	Per Cent	Per Cent
75 largest manufacturing corporations	40.2	45.4
45 largest transportation corporations	91.7	91.6
40 largest public utility corporations	80.4	81.2
25 largest "other" non-financial corporations	14.8	17.4

* United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, p. 106. A Report Prepared by the Industrial Section under the Direction of Gardiner C. Means, June, 1939. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

Committee, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney compared the assets of these thirty billion-dollar corporations with the assessed valuation of the several states.

It will be observed that there are only ten sovereign states which have within their respective borders property valued at more than the assets of either the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company or the American Telegraph and Telephone Company. Stated in another way, each of these two corporations is richer than any one of thirty-eight sovereign states. At the other end of the scale, there are eighteen states, the taxable wealth of each of which is less than the total assets of the smallest of the thirty "billion dollar" corporations.¹⁹

Five of the largest corporations controlled assets in 1935 greater than the assessed valuation of property contained in one half of the American states in 1937. The assets of four great corporations exceeded the value of all the property, as measured by assessed valuation, of the eleven states that went to make up the Southern Confederacy; and fifteen corporations controlled assets greater than all the taxable property located west of the Mississippi River.²⁰

The importance of the large corporation in the manufacturing industries is indicated when size is measured by number of persons employed, by value added by manufacturing, and by value of products. The results of an investigation made in 1939 is summarized as follows:

With size measured by employment:

One hundred companies employed 20.7 per cent of all the manpower engaged in manufacturing;

With size measured by value added by manufacture:

One hundred companies contributed 24.7 per cent of all the value added in manufacturing activity;

With size measured by value of product:

One hundred companies accounted for 32.4 per cent of the value of products reported by all manufacturing plants.²¹

The whole story of concentration of economic power is not told

¹⁹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Final Report and Recommendations of the Temporary National Economic Committee Transmitted to the Congress of the United States*, p. 677. Seventy-Seventh Congress, First Session, Senate Document 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 676-77.

²¹ United States National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

by setting down the assets of the large corporations nor by indicating the degree to which they dominate employment and production in their respective fields. The corporate community is bound together, in some instances rather tightly, by interlocking directorates (Table 22). In 1935, four hundred persons held nearly a third of the 3544

TABLE 22. NUMBER OF DIRECTORS AND THEIR HOLDINGS OF
DIRECTORSHIPS IN 200 LARGEST NON-FINANCIAL AND 50
LARGEST FINANCIAL CORPORATIONS, 1935*

Number of Director- ships Held by a Single Individual	Total Number of Directors	Total Number of Director- ships Held	Cumulative Number	
			Directors	Director- ships
9.....	1	9	1	9
8.....	3	24	4	33
7.....	6	42	10	75
6.....	6	36	16	111
5.....	19	95	35	206
4.....	48	192	83	398
3.....	102	306	185	704
2.....	303	606	488	1310
1.....	2234	2234	2722	3544
Total.....	2722	3544	..	..

* United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, p. 158. Prepared by the Industrial Section under the Direction of Gardiner C. Means, June, 1939. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

directorships of the two hundred largest non-financial and the fifty largest financial corporations. Twenty-five corporations had no director in common with any other corporation on the list, but 151 companies, with assets about equal to three fourths of the total represented by the whole group of 250, interlocked with three or more others. One corporation interlocked with thirty-five others.²² The extent to which policy is co-ordinated through interlocking is difficult to say, but it is reasonable to suppose that in most instances individuals holding more than one directorship carry over from one corporation to the other some of the deliberations on the affairs of each.

The corporate community is also tied together through intercorporate holding of stock and by the services afforded by great financial

²² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

corporations. Not infrequently one corporation holds enough stock in another to determine its major policy and management. Moreover, a few large financial firms underwrite and distribute a large part of the new securities of the large corporations. In 1935, for example, ten financial firms accounted for 56 per cent of all corporate underwriting. "As an almost necessary result of such activity, each of the more important investment firms is drawn ultimately into the affairs of a number of the big corporations."²³ It is also true that investment broking and insurance companies and other financial institutions are tied into the corporate community by virtue of the fact that they are heavy investors. In 1935, they held about one fourth of all corporate bonds.²⁴ Financial concerns also extend a substantial volume of short-term loans to corporate enterprises. It is easy to overestimate the control which banks and insurance companies have over non-financial corporations, but it cannot be doubted that a few large financial institutions serve to link together more tightly the relatively small number of "non-financial giants."

The business community represented by the two hundred and fifty large corporations is further integrated and co-ordinated through formal organizations of one kind or another. These associations bring together certain economic-interest groupings on a national or interstate basis. In 1937, there were more than twenty-four hundred national and interstate trade associations. These organizations gather and disseminate information among their members, help to develop uniform policies within the industry involved, and in many instances bring pressure to bear to mold public opinion and to shape the policies of government. Some of the national associations are "to a significant extent dominated by" the larger corporations and constitute avenues through which their influence may be extended.²⁵

The United States Chamber of Commerce undertakes to speak for business as a whole, its primary function being "to obtain the matured judgment of business upon national questions, and to present and interpret those views to the agencies of government and to the public."²⁶ The Chamber of Commerce is able to bring its

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

²⁶ Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Its Organizations, Functions, and Services*, p. 4, (Washington, 1935), as quoted in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, p. 27, Monograph 26, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

immense financial resources to bear in crystallizing and disseminating the opinion of its members. Writing in 1941, Donald C. Blaisdell said of this organization:

From its national headquarters across Lafayette Square from the White House emanate the opinions constituting the voice of the nation's business. The desire of the Senator to know the thoughts of business would now be fully satisfied. Not only Congress, but also the President and his Cabinet, bureau chiefs, and heads of the independent agencies, are thus informed of collective business opinion. Federated in the chamber are fifteen hundred commercial organizations and trade associations, including as members more than seven thousand of the most important corporations, firms, and individuals of the country. Representing such a constituency, and having under its direction in Washington a competent staff experienced in all phases of business activity, the Chamber is indeed in a strategic position to dispense its product — "service to American business."²⁷

The National Association of Manufacturers has been no less important as an agency for crystallizing and expressing the view of American industry. The officers of the association as well as the members of important policy committees are drawn to a considerable extent from the 250 large corporations. The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, found in 1937 that the association had been financed "by a small group of powerful corporations" and that a "clique of large corporations, not more than sixty in number," had "supplied it with active leadership."²⁸ The association asserts that it is "the medium through which American industry is able to voice a united opinion on vital national questions," and it claims to be "the only organization exclusively representing the interests of American industry."²⁹ Certainly it has been extremely active in influencing public opinion. A congressional investigation in 1913 disclosed "that the association had placed an employee of the House of Representatives on its pay roll in order to obtain information not available to the public; the association's agents had contributed

²⁷ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, p. 26.

²⁸ *Report of the Committee on Education and Labor*, Part 6, No. 6, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session, p. 220.

²⁹ Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *op. cit.*, as quoted in United States National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

large sums of money to the re-election campaigns of Congressional candidates, and had opposed representatives friendly to labor; the association had carried on a disguised propaganda campaign through newspaper syndicates and through the Chautauqua circuits, by employing publicists, and by distributing large quantities of propaganda to schools, colleges, and civic organizations throughout the country. . . ." ³⁰ In 1939, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor found that between 1933 and 1938 the association "blanketed the country with a propaganda which in technique has relied upon indirection of meaning, and in presentation upon secrecy and deception. Radio speeches, public meetings, news, cartoons, editorials, advertising, motion pictures, and many other artifices of propaganda have not in most instances disclosed to the public their origin with the association. . . ." ³¹ And in 1942 the association was supplying free to college and high-school teachers and to others who cared to use them a large volume of printed materials setting forth its points of view on current economic and political questions.

THE OWNERSHIP OF CORPORATE ENTERPRISE

Since the corporation plays such a dominant role in the American economy, it is important to know whether ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few large holders of stock or widely diffused among the people. In one sense, ownership of corporations in this country may be thought of as being highly dispersed. In 1937, the number of Americans owning corporate stock amounted to between eight and nine million. Nearly twenty per cent of all persons receiving income were the owners of corporate stock.³² It is obvious that many persons of moderate means had invested their savings in one or more corporations. But this wide dispersion of ownership should not be permitted, as has sometimes been the case, to mask the fact that ownership of the major part of the stock in American corpora-

³⁰ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, p. 20.

³¹ *Report of the Committee on Education and Labor*, Part 6, No. 6, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session, p. 218.

³² Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Distribution of Ownership in the 200 Largest Non-Financial Corporations*, p. xvii, Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 29, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

tions is concentrated in the hands of a relatively few persons. In 1937, about one half of the stockholders owned stock valued at less than two thousand dollars and the sum of their holdings was but a small fraction of the stock outstanding.³³ Fifty per cent of the stockholders received less than five per cent of the dividends paid by corporations to individuals and eighty per cent of the stockholders accounted for not much more than ten per cent of the dividends paid to individuals. At the other end of the scale, a few large stockholders received the great bulk of the dividends.

The following summary statement with respect to the concentration of the ownership of corporations in 1937 is taken from a study made under the auspices of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the Temporary National Economic Committee:

Thus the 10,000 persons with the highest dividend incomes, comprising not much over one tenth of 1 per cent of the total number of stockholders and about one fiftieth of 1 per cent of the total number of income recipients, received about 25 per cent of all dividends paid to individuals and may, therefore, be estimated to have owned, directly or indirectly, about one fourth of all stock of domestic corporations. Fewer than 75,000 persons, i.e., less than 1 per cent of the number of stockholders and considerably less than one fifth of 1 per cent of the total number of income recipients, were necessary to account for one half of all dividends received by individuals. This certainly represents an impressive degree of concentration of ownership.³⁴

The data presented in the foregoing statement indicate that corporate ownership for all corporations in the aggregate is highly concentrated. A similar story of concentration of ownership is revealed when individual corporations are considered. An analysis made in 1937 of the stockholding of the 1710 corporations listing their securities on a national securities exchange revealed that, in general, a relatively small number of shareholdings accounted for the majority of the stock outstanding. When individual corporations are considered, again it is discovered that dispersion of ownership is much more apparent than real. In 1937 it could be said: "Notwithstanding the large number of shareholdings in most large corporations, not much over 1 per cent of the holders are required in most cases to

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

account for the majority of the stock outstanding or for voting control." ³⁵

The analysis of the ownership of the two hundred largest non-financial corporations as of 1937 is also informative. These corporations had assets of nearly \$70,000,000,000 or nearly 45 per cent of all non-financial corporations and they accounted for nearly 45 per cent of the dividends paid by all non-financial corporations. They held a dominant position in most of the manufacturing industries of the country.³⁶ The ownership of these corporations provided "a significant clue to the ultimate center of economic power" in the United States.

The ownership of these corporations was highly concentrated. In general, a relatively few large shareholdings accounted for a large fraction of the stock outstanding.

There were about 4,000,000 shareholdings with a value of \$500 or less — out of a total of nearly 8,500,000 record shareholdings in the 200 corporations — but they comprised only 3 per cent of the value of all shares of the 200 corporations. The 1,375,000 shareholdings worth \$501 to \$1000 apiece made up only another 3 per cent. On the other hand, there were 415,000 shareholdings with a value of over \$10,000 each which accounted for about 70 per cent of the value of the total stock outstanding in the 200 corporations.³⁷

The largest 3 per cent of the common shareholdings accounted for somewhat more than 50 per cent of the total value of shares outstanding. In the case of preferred stocks, it required only about 5 per cent of the largest shareholdings to account for 50 per cent of the total value of the issues.³⁸

One of the striking features of the American corporate system has been the relatively slight degree of ownership vested in the officers and directors of the large corporation. Those who direct and manage the large corporations, as a rule, own only a small fraction of the outstanding stock. In 1937, the officers and directors of the two hundred largest non-financial corporations held about 5.5 per cent of the outstanding stock of these corporations; the officers held 0.1 per cent of the outstanding stock, officer-directors held 1.9 per cent, and directors held 3.5 per cent.³⁹ This separation of ownership and management is of great significance and will be considered in greater

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

detail in the following section. The reader should be cautioned here, however, that in some corporations, as, for example, those owned largely by a single family, this separation of ownership and management has not been carried very far and indeed may not exist at all.

The evidence presented in the preceding paragraphs leads to one important generalization: A great many small investors have some stake in American corporations, but the bulk of the stock of large corporations is owned by a relatively few persons. Concentration of ownership means a potential concentration of control. To understand the working of the American economic system it is necessary to see how corporate enterprise is controlled.

CONTROL OF THE LARGE CORPORATION

Each passing decade during the first part of the twentieth century, as has already been pointed out, marked the growing dominance of the large corporation over American economic life. These corporations were in fact becoming great industrial empires surpassing in resources and in importance most of the American commonwealths. In whose hands, it may now be asked, did the control over these industrial and commercial giants rest? By control is meant the power to elect boards of directors, to determine broad policies, as distinguished from the day-by-day decisions involved in management. It is not always easy to discover in whose hands the control of a corporation rests; actual control and apparent control may be two different things. In practical operation, the investment banker from whom the officers of a corporation have borrowed funds, or upon whom they rely to market securities, may exercise a degree of control not revealed by a mere examination of stock ownership. The analysis of control here presented, however, is based primarily on a study of stock ownership.⁴⁰

THE SEPARATION OF OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

One of the significant features of large-scale corporate enterprise in the United States is the separation of ownership and control. In the late nineteen-thirties the great majority of the eight or nine million stockholders, especially those who held stock in the large corporations, were not in a position to exercise much, if any, control

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, chaps. VI and VII.

in matters of fundamental policy. To be sure, the owners of a majority of the stock of a corporation had the legal right to elect the board of directors and through them to determine the major policies of the enterprise. Actually in most large corporations the great mass of the stockholders might well have been regarded as disfranchised citizens in the great industrial empires their savings had helped to build. As a rule, control was exercised by a small group who owned materially less than one half of the stock, or by management — the officers and directors of the corporation — who often owned an inconsequential fraction of the stock. Not infrequently the group who exercised control owned less than five per cent of the voting stock outstanding.

The separation of ownership and control came about in numerous ways. When the stockholders of a corporation were numbered by the tens of thousands, concerted action was extremely difficult. Few found it practicable to attend the annual meeting for the election of members of the board of directors. If one were to vote at all, one must vote by proxy. But individual stockholders were likely to know little or nothing of the merits of those who sought election to membership on the board of control. They were in no position to get at the facts with respect to the management of the corporation; they knew that dividends had been good or bad and that the price of stock had gone up or down, but they did not know why. They were citizens of a great industrial empire but with an inadequate knowledge of its men and measures. As a rule, either they consigned to the wastebasket the request to designate proxies or signed on the dotted line. Under such circumstances, a small compact group of shareholders were sometimes able to control a majority of the voting stock represented at the annual meeting of stockholders. More frequently a small minority could gain a working control of the corporation, if it owned from ten to thirty per cent of the stock, by gathering up proxies of scattered stockholders. As Dimock and Hyde point out:

Once in power a minority group is difficult to dislodge. It has, of course, picked a management which is congenial and cooperative. Then the proxy machinery, with expenses paid by the company, is commonly at its disposal. The proxy committee is in effect chosen by the control group and is used as a means of perpetuating itself. Naturally, the larger the corporation and the more dispersed the

stock, the more difficult it is for a non-control faction to amass a sufficient number of proxy certificates to oust the control group and assume command.⁴¹

In those instances in which no single compact group owned a large percentage of the stock as was the case in many of the large corporations, control was likely to rest with management. Since management was in control of the proxy machinery, its position was well-nigh impregnable. In the late nineteen-thirties most of the two hundred largest corporations were controlled by the owners of a minority of the stock or by a management group which owned even less.

The virtual disfranchisement of the great majority of the stockholders in large corporations was also brought about by the adoption of certain legal devices. The most common of these was known as "pyramiding." A minority group would secure control of a corporation which in turn owned the majority of the stock of another corporation. This process might be continued more or less indefinitely until a relatively small investment at the apex of the pyramid would give control of a whole network of corporations. By this device, an investment of only \$20,000,000 was enough to give the Van Sweringen brothers working control over eight Class I railroads with assets of over \$2,000,000,000.⁴²

The issuance of non-voting stock was another legal device designed to concentrate control in the hands of a small minority group. Only certain classes of stock would carry the right to vote for directors. By disfranchising outright a majority of the stockholders and by buying up a majority of the voting stock, it was possible for a relatively small group to dominate a corporation. In one instance this device was so employed that the owners of voting stock valued at less than \$2,250,000 were able to get control of a corporation having assets of more than \$130,000,000.⁴³

A third device was to issue stock with unusually great voting power. In one instance a million shares of preferred stock of a corporation were issued to a certain company, the value of the stock

⁴¹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in Large Corporations*, p. 20. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 11, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

⁴² Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, p. 73. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

being one dollar a share. Each share carried one full vote, whereas the outstanding common stock carried only one twentieth of a vote. In this way an investment of a million dollars was sufficient to give the company virtual control of a corporation with assets of approximately a billion dollars.⁴⁴

TYPES OF CORPORATE CONTROL

The two hundred largest non-financial corporations in 1937-39 may be classified on the basis of the dominant interest groups owning enough stock to give a majority or working minority control. It is unusual for any one individual, or for any one corporation, to own enough stock in a large corporation to dominate it. It is possible, however, for a small number of owners of large blocks of stock to associate themselves in an interest group. This interest group, by voting and acting as a unit, without owning a very large fraction of the outstanding stock, may gain at least a working control of the corporation. In 1937-39, at least five types of interest groups could be identified in the ownership of the two hundred largest non-financial corporations. These were: (1) single-family interest groups, (2) two or more family interest groups, (3) family and corporate interest groups, (4) single corporate interest groups, and (5) two or more corporate interest groups.

Forty-three of the two hundred largest non-financial corporations were controlled by single-family interest groups. In only eight instances, however, was control based upon ownership of the majority of the stock. In thirteen instances, the single family was in a position to exercise control through ownership of from 30 to 50 per cent of the stock. For all practical purposes this was enough stock to insure virtually unchallenged control. Ownership of a substantial minority of stock (10 to 30 per cent) gave working control in about a dozen other instances.⁴⁵ Single-family dominated corporations were found most often in manufacturing and merchandising enterprises. They comprised about a third of the largest corporations engaged in these activities. Three family interest groups — the du Ponts, the Mellons, and the Rockefellers — had shareholdings valued at nearly \$1,400,000,000 which gave them control of fifteen of the two hundred

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴⁵ Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Distribution of Ownership in the 200 Largest Non-Financial Corporations*, p. 104.

largest corporations. Thirteen family groups, including the three just named, had holdings valued at \$2,700,000,000 or about 8 per cent of the stock of the two hundred corporations.⁴⁶

Thirty-four of the corporations were under the control of two or more family interest groups.

Control in most of these cases was based on minority holdings of less than thirty per cent of the voting stock. Corporations under control of such interest groups were relatively most numerous in manufacturing and merchandising. However, there were also four electric utilities over which a group of several families or business associates appeared to exercise control.⁴⁷

Approximately sixty of the corporations were under the control of one or more other corporations, "but about a dozen of the controlling corporations were in turn controlled by an interest group which consisted of one or several families or a number of business associates." If these latter corporations be regarded as belonging to those controlled by family interest groups, the total number falling in this classification would amount to nearly ninety, or more than two fifths of the total.⁴⁸

The investigation on which this discussion of ownership control is based disclosed about sixty non-financial corporations, among the two hundred largest, in which no "visible center of ownership control" existed. "This does not mean, however, that an actual center of control was lacking, but only indicated that a study of the twenty largest record holdings failed to disclose such a center."⁴⁹ It seems reasonable to suppose that in many of these corporations the management group was able to operate the proxy machinery in such a way as to attain control. This assumption appears the more reasonable because many of the corporations without a visible center of ownership control numbered their stockholders by the thousand.

THE ROLE OF MANAGEMENT IN THE CONTROL OF LARGE CORPORATIONS

One of the most significant aspects of the American economy has been the dominant role played by management — that is to say, the officers and directors of large corporations. The power and influence of management has not, as a rule, grown out of ownership of any appreciable amount of stock; it was rather the result of the diffusion of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

stock-ownership and the use that was made of the proxy machinery. In 1937-39, nearly four fifths of the large non-financial corporations were under minority ownership control. Under such circumstances, and especially where the control group did not own a very large percentage of the stock, management could so employ the proxy machinery as to make its position almost invulnerable. On the importance of management in the control of corporations Dimock and Hyde comment as follows:

The most common form of control among the large corporations may be termed management control. When stockholding is sufficiently diffuse the position of management becomes almost impregnable.

Management does not need to own stock; the strategic advantages of its location are quite sufficient. A presumption of worth is in its favor and, more concretely, the proxy machinery is at its disposal. Management chooses the proxy committee and by making appointments from among the members of management assures its own continuance. The effectiveness of this machinery is too formidable for small stockholders to overcome. . . .

Only the cataclysmic uprising of an indignant majority of the stockholders is sufficient to overthrow the management. . . .

With the diffusion of ownership which we have noticed in a large sector of our economy, management is left with the responsibility for determining policies, including those affecting prices, production, and employment, within very broad limits and for all practical purposes without effective check from any source. When there is a degree of concentration of stockholdings, of course, the important stockholders may take part in determining broad policy, either through direct informal contact with the management (including the directors) or through choosing directors who will adopt the desired lines of action. Even here, however, the directors need not be responsive to the demands of those who elected them. Except in those relatively rare cases where the charter provides for removal, the directors are practically unfettered in making their decisions until reelection time comes. And in the large proportion of the corporate giants where management rules supreme, even election time is no cause for particular concern, for the means of returning themselves to office are securely in their own hands.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in Large Corporations*, pp. 21-23.

THE TRUSTEESHIP OF MANAGEMENT

As the nineteen-thirties drew to a close, the concentration of economic power in the hands of the relatively few individuals who controlled and managed large-scale corporate enterprise in the United States raised problems upon the solution of which depended the future of the capitalistic system and perhaps the future of democratic political and social institutions as well. The separation of ownership and control had gone so far that it created what might well have been regarded as a new economic absolutism. The men who composed the management groups were in a position to rule great industrial empires about as they pleased. Since they commonly owned only a small fraction of the stock of the corporations they managed, their rewards came not so much from dividends paid as from high salaries, bonuses, and other less obvious sources. With their own self-interest often widely divergent from that of the stockholders whose money they managed, there was always the temptation to cast aside the restraint which normally might have been expected to follow from a desire to promote the interests of stockholders. And if management chose to exploit the corporation for its own benefit, there was not too much that stockholders could do about it. Stockholders were subjects in great industrial empires in which constitutional guarantees were all but unknown. The general public, of course, was in even a weaker position; it could no longer rely on free competition to keep prices down or to prevent excessive profits. In many segments of the economy concentration of production had been carried to the point where management was able to eliminate competition and to maintain what approximated monopolistic prices. Officers and directors of huge corporations had it within their power to make decisions that would sharply expand or contract the whole volume of production, that spelled employment or unemployment for millions of workers, that would cause accumulated savings to flow into capital formation or lie idle in investment institutions, and that would pass on to the masses the gains made possible by technological advance or distribute them to certain restricted elements in the population.

The management of corporate enterprise had come to exercise a power no less extensive and no less important than that exercised by the political state. The arbitrary use of such vast economic power was scarcely more defensible than the arbitrary use of the powers inherent

in government. And yet many citizens, perhaps most, continued to fear government and to trust business, to hold to their faith in free enterprise and individual initiative as though the events of a century had left the pattern of economic arrangements undisturbed. Even so, the American economy had taken such form as to impose on the managers of corporate enterprise a whole complex of fiduciary relationships. Whether they knew it or not, or whether they desired it or not, the men into whose hands had been committed the responsibility for the formation of industrial policy had in fact assumed a sacred trusteeship. They stood in a moral if not a legal fiduciary relationship (1) to the stockholders whose savings they managed, (2) to labor whose opportunity to work depended in large measure upon their decisions, and (3) to the consuming public. More important still, theirs was the responsibility to adopt policies that would result in the efficient and equitable operation of the economy, that would prevent periodic economic collapse, that would release the productive energy still latent in science and invention, and that would pass on to the masses the gains that accrued from an advancing technology. The concentration of economic power had made the trusteeship of management no less important than constitutional restraint on the powers of government. Whether industrial leadership could be trusted, without certain social restraints being imposed upon it, to exercise the great power committed to its keeping was a political and economic problem that lay at the very heart of our democratic capitalistic society. Signs were not lacking that many business leaders were becoming aware of their new stewardship and that the people as a whole were beginning to see the necessity of working out a framework of governmental and business relationships that would prevent the development of either leviathan business or the leviathan state.

As one looks back over the nineteen-twenties and thirties, it becomes increasingly clear that the main element in the trusteeship of management was the responsibility to maintain an efficient and equitable economic order. In any society, the chief end of economic activity is not high rewards to business management or large profits to the owners of capital; it is, rather, the production of goods and services for consumption. Neither the owners nor the managers of corporate enterprise should receive greater rewards than necessary to supply society with the required capital goods or to stimulate

initiative and efficient performance. In a modern technological society, economic collapse can scarcely be avoided when industrial policy is geared to high salaries for management and large profits to capitalists rather than to full employment, increased production, and mass consumption. The gains of technology cannot be siphoned off to a favored few without putting the whole economic order in jeopardy.

As the nineteen-thirties progressed, considerable progress was being made in the solution of this vital problem of the trusteeship of management. The coming of the war made the matter less pressing, but once again it has taken a central place on the agenda of democracy.

THE CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND THE REGULATION OF PRICES IN INDUSTRY

In any exchange economy — that is, in an economy characterized by a high degree of buying and selling — the way prices are determined is of prime importance. As the Committee on Recent Economic Changes has well put it:

Prices and price relationships almost completely dominate the economic life of the nation. Fundamental to human welfare as are the activities of production, distribution and consumption of goods, it is prices as a medium of control which, in their ceaseless changes and readjustments, stimulate or retard the very processes by which our industrial and commercial life is carried on, and govern the direction of human effort.⁶¹

In a complex economy, the price structure is a delicate mechanism, registering a great variety of social and economic pressures. It reflects such important matters as increased proficiency of production, the shifts in consumer demand, the expansion or contraction of mass purchasing power, the pattern of monetary arrangements, the increasing cost of overhead represented in large capital outlay, the regulatory measures of government, and the presence or absence of free competition. Where prices are subject to the control of either government or a small group of producers, the operation of the

⁶¹ Introduction by the Committee on Recent Economic Changes to Frederick C. Mills, *Prices in Recession and Recovery*, p. v. Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 31. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., in Co-operation with the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, 1936.

whole economy may be vitally affected. Power to administer prices — to eliminate free competition, to substitute human judgment for the market mechanism — may be so used as to direct the gains that accrue from increased productivity to certain elements in the population and to deny them to others, to expand or to contract the total volume of production and employment, to promote general prosperity or to direct the whole economy into the trough of depression.

During the past century and a half the price structure of the Western world has exhibited varying degrees of control and rigidity. When mercantilism gave way to capitalism, the price system began to register the effects of increasing competition. Later, as the large corporation developed and a relatively few producers were in a position to dominate the market for their particular commodities, the tendency was in the opposite direction. In an increasing number of segments of the economy, free competition began to give way to monopoly or oligopoly. By 1940, some industries in the United States were characterized by free competition and flexible prices, while in others there was little competition and prices were determined in the main by administrative decision. So important is the power to administer prices that the extent of its existence needs to be examined in some detail.

In the late nineteen-thirties the number of producers was sufficiently great to insure a relatively high degree of competition in many of the extractive industries, including agriculture, lumbering, bituminous-coal mining, petroleum production, and fisheries.⁵³ In a considerable number of manufacturing industries the concentration of production was also relatively low. The Census of Manufacturers of 1935 contained two hundred and seventy-five categories, in eighty-two of which the four largest producers accounted for less than twenty-five per cent of the total output.⁵⁴ A relatively low degree of concentration existed in the manufacture of cotton textiles, woolen and worsted goods, silk and rayon, knitted goods, men's, youths', and boys' clothing, women's and children's apparel, leather, and certain types of food products.⁵⁴

⁵³ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, chap. II, Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 21. Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. II.

In the manufacture of certain commodities, on the other hand, in many instances a single firm almost monopolized the field. For more than a half-century the Aluminum Company of America produced "one hundred per cent of the nation's output of alumina and virgin aluminum ingot."⁵⁵ For more than a quarter of a century, it held or controlled in excess of ninety per cent of the commercially available supply of bauxite, the raw material from which aluminum is made. In addition to producing fifty per cent of aluminum cooking utensils, this company owned a fourth of the stock in the Aluminum Goods Manufacturing Company, the second largest producer of aluminum utensils. The United Shoe Machinery Company was long the almost exclusive maker of machines employed in the manufacture of shoes. The Hartford-Empire Company, through the ownership of patents, was able to maintain a virtual monopoly of the use of machinery for the production of glass containers. In the making of many kinds of optical glass, the Bausch & Lomb Optical Company held a virtual monopoly. It was the sole producer of scientific precision glass in the United States.⁵⁶ The International Nickel Company of Canada, Ltd., a concern very largely owned by American investors, had a virtual monopoly on all the nickel used in the United States. The Dow Chemical Company accounted for the total production of magnesium and the Climax Molybdenum Company was the owner of approximately ninety-five per cent of the world's known deposits of this metal.⁵⁷ The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, a five-billion-dollar corporation, through its ownership of stock in a network of companies, was in almost complete control of the telephone facilities of the nation. The Pullman Company enjoyed a complete monopoly of sleeping and parlor cars.

In some instances two companies dominated the market of a particular commodity. Says Professor Clair Wilcox, writing in 1940:

Two companies provide all the domestic telegraph service; two control all the submarine cables between the United States and several foreign countries; two offer the only radio-telegraph service to many points abroad. Two companies, in each field, account for all, or nearly all, of the nation's supply of bananas, of plate glass and safety glass, of bulbs, tubing and rod, and bases for electric lamps, of electric accounting machines, of railroad air brakes, of oxyacetylene, of sulfur, and certain chemicals. In many local markets, on a

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

smaller scale, two petty enterprises share a trade. Under circumstances such as these, formal or informal understandings governing price and production are readily attained. Each firm of a pair controlling the whole of a supply is likely to act as if it were a monopolist. In their effect upon the market, duopoly and monopoly are substantially the same.⁵⁸

In 1941, Crowder and Wimsatt made a detailed study of the concentration of production in manufacturing. From the thousands of products listed in the Census of Manufacturers in 1937, they selected 1807 for analysis. This sample included slightly less than one half of the total census products and gave an over-all picture of the manufacturing industries in the United States. It was found that for about three fourths of the products analyzed, the leading four producers accounted for 50 per cent or more of the value output of each product, that for one half of the products four leading producers accounted for 75 per cent of the output, and that for nearly one third of the products the four leading producers accounted for about 85 per cent of the total output.⁵⁹ In the case of 417 products, the four leading producers of each accounted for more than 90 per cent of the value of the product,⁶⁰ and in the case of 291 products, the single largest producer manufactured from 50 to 75 per cent of the total output.⁶¹

Concentration of production in manufacturing industries may also be measured in terms of the output of a few large producers in each industry. The Census of Manufacturers of 1935 reported 275 industries: 21 large industries employing 100,000 persons or more, 44 medium industries employing between 25,000 and 100,000 workers, and 210 small industries having less than 25,000 employees. In three of the large and in six of the medium industries, the four largest producers accounted for more than 50 per cent of the total product measured in terms of value. In each of seventy-eight small industries, the output of the four largest producers amounted in value to 50 per cent or more of the total output of the industry. Thus in the case of about one third of the census industries, the four largest enterprises accounted for 50 per cent or more of the value product of the in-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵⁹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Structure of Industry*, p. 275. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 27, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

dustry. In approximately 60 per cent of the industries, the four largest concerns produced more than a third of the output; and in about one sixth of the industries, their share of the total product was more than two thirds. In six of the large, thirteen of the medium, and 117 of the small industries, the eight largest producers contributed more than 50 per cent of the total value product of the industry.⁶² It was found, too, that in 1937 one half of the workers in manufacturing enterprises were employed by 2.9 per cent of the establishments. One fourth of the workers were employed by .52 per cent of the establishments.⁶³

The following summary statement gives a good over-all view of the concentration of production in the decade of the nineteen-thirties.

Among 1807 products, representing nearly half, by number, and more than half, by value, of those included in the Census of Manufacturers for 1937, there were 291, or more than one sixth of those in the sample, in which the leading producer accounted for 50 to 75 per cent of the total supply. One company, in each field, in some year between 1930 and 1940, produced 40 per cent of the nation's output of industrial alcohol, 40 per cent of the corn products, 41 per cent of the farm machinery, 50 per cent of the towels, 60 per cent of the fruit jars, 66 per cent of the canned soup, and 85 per cent of the fire-extinguishing apparatus and supplies. One company, in 1932, was said to manufacture 65 per cent of the cinema negative film, 75 per cent of the cinema positive film, and 85 per cent of the still film for amateurs. The American Can Company, the American Car and Foundry Company, the American Smelting and Refining Company, the American Sugar Refining Company, the International Match Company, the Koppers Company, the National Biscuit Company, the National Lead Company, the Procter and Gamble Company, the Singer Manufacturing Company, and the Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation . . . had no rivals on the list in their respective fields.

Two companies manufactured 70 per cent of the heavier types of electrical equipment, 70 per cent of the electric motors, and 75 per cent of the watt-hour meters made in 1923 and produced 80 per cent of the distribution and power transformers and 89 per cent of

⁶² These data are from Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, p. 300; and United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, pp. 115, 240-48.

⁶³ Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Structure of Industry*, p. 56.

the generators that were in use in 1925. Two companies accounted for 63 per cent of the farm machinery manufactured in 1936, producing more than 50 per cent of the output of thirteen different implements, 88 per cent of the grain and rice binders, and 89 per cent of the corn binders. Two companies possessed 89 per cent of the domestic capacity for the production of synthetic nitrogen in 1937. Two companies, in each field, in some year during the thirties, provided 47 per cent of the beef products, 51 per cent of the copper, 56 per cent of the glass containers, 62 per cent of the biscuits and crackers, 63 per cent of the ophthalmic lenses, 64 per cent of the tire cord fabric, 70 per cent of the milk bottles, and 80 per cent of the locomotives.

Three companies, in each field, in some recent year, produced two thirds of the national output of chemicals, 68 per cent of the lead, 69 per cent of the copper, 70 per cent of the cast-iron enamel ware and vitreous china ware, 73 per cent of the farm combines, 74 per cent of the biscuits and crackers, 75 per cent of the ophthalmic lenses, frames, and mountings, 75 per cent of the window glass, 78 per cent of the copper, 79 per cent of the calcined gypsum, 80 per cent of the cigarettes, 85 per cent of the fruit jars, 85 per cent of the cotton gauze, bandages, adhesives, sponges, pads, etc., 86 per cent of the automobiles, 87 per cent of the gypsum board, 90 per cent of the tin cans, 90 per cent of the household cotton thread, and 97 per cent of the snuff.⁶⁴

Where a few manufacturers of a product dominate the trade, steps are almost sure to be taken to control or eliminate competition. Price-leadership in the decades preceding 1940 was a commonly accepted practice in many segments of the American economy. Smaller producers often adopted and followed without much variation the prices announced by a large producer in the industry. When this was done, the large producers were able to prevent price-cutting and the smaller producers were in a position to profit by the higher prices set by the leader. In his volume on *The Decline of Competition*, Burns presents much of the evidence with respect to price-leadership before 1936. Among the great corporations that had exercised leadership in their respective fields were the United States Steel Corporation, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Standard Oil Companies in other parts of the country, the International Harvester Company, the Philadelphia and Reading Com-

⁶⁴Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 113-16.

pany (anthracite coal), the American Can Company, the Corn Products Refining Company, the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, the United States Industrial Alcohol Company, and the National Biscuit Company.⁶⁵ A later study by Doctor Clair Wilcox, published in 1940, presents evidence of price-leadership in the sale of steel, cement, agricultural implements, petroleum and gasoline, copper and lead, newsprint paper, glass containers, and biscuits and crackers.

Price-leadership is only one of many policies that have been adopted to control or limit price competition. Numerous trade associations were formed for the primary purpose of helping producers limit competition and regulate prices.⁶⁶ Formal and informal agreements have been entered into among competitors to share markets or to regulate prices.⁶⁷ Use has been made of basing point systems to eliminate the advantage some sellers might enjoy because of favorable location with respect to markets.⁶⁸ Frequently a few large concerns have adopted policies by which they would amicably share markets.⁶⁹ Dominance of important markets has been acquired and kept through the control of patents.⁷⁰ Wilcox found, in an investigation completed in 1940, a good deal of evidence of price agreements among the sellers of certain types of steel products, iron ore, gasoline, chemical nitrogen, potash, typewriters, eyeglasses, cheese, and life insurance.⁷¹

The case of typewriters may be cited as an example of price control through agreement:

Four companies, manufacturing 95 to 98 per cent of all the new standard typewriters sold in the United States, accepted a consent decree in another antitrust suit on April 23, 1940. It was charged in the indictment in this case that these concerns had agreed upon

⁶⁵ Arthur Robert Burns, *The Decline of Competition*, chap. III. New York: Published under the Auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences by the McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.

⁶⁶ Simon N. Whitney, *Trade Associations and Industrial Control*, p. 38. New York: Central Book Co., 1934; Burns, *op. cit.*, chap. II; Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 234 ff.

⁶⁷ Burns, *op. cit.*; see especially Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 132 ff.

⁶⁸ Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 ff.; Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 146 ff.

⁶⁹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 176 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 158 ff.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-45.

uniform prices, identical discounts, and a common schedule of trade-in allowances; that they had maintained these prices, discounts, and allowances in their own sales outlets and had required other distributors to adhere to them; that they had arranged to submit identical quotations whenever bids were requested; that they had co-operated in underbidding other manufacturers who sought to obtain a share of the business; that each of them had bought from the others machines of their own make that had been accepted in trade and that all of them had agreed to destroy machines that had been made by other concerns. The prices of standard models of Underwood, Remington, Royal, L. C. Smith, and Corona typewriters were advanced simultaneously from \$105 to \$110 on October 11, 1934, and from \$110 to \$115.50 on April 1, 1937. The manufacturers of these machines realized substantial profits during the period from 1935 through 1939. Remington Rand, Inc., obtained a return which ranged from a low of 6.40 per cent on average invested capital in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1935, to a high of 14.03 per cent in the year ending March 31, 1938. L. C. Smith and Corona Typewriters, Inc., obtained a return which ranged from 5.18 per cent in the year ending June 30, 1939, to 16.82 per cent in the year ending June 30, 1937. The Underwood Elliott Fisher Company obtained a return which ranged from 8.31 per cent in the calendar year 1938 to 23.99 per cent in 1937. The Royal Typewriter Company obtained a return which ranged from 15.75 per cent in 1935 to 29.7 per cent in 1936.⁷²

The evidence indicates clearly that in manufacturing production was so highly concentrated that it was possible for producers in many industries to determine prices through administrative decision. That is to say, in the case of the bulk of manufactured products, prices of goods to a major extent were "formed on an administered basis rather than on the basis of a free market."⁷³

THE LIMITATION OF COMPETITION IN THE LABOR MARKET

The concentration of production was accompanied by a decline of competition in the labor market; the picture of a society in which a large number of individual laborers bargained with a large number of employers in arriving at wages to be paid became more and more unreal. Wages, like the price of goods, were increasingly determined

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

⁷³ United States National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

by administrative decision rather than by free competition in an open market. The individual laborer found that his bargaining power was severely restricted when only a few employers were interested in buying his particular skill and industry. In industries where labor was not organized, wages were administered to a considerable degree by employers. During the nineteen-thirties the position of organized labor was greatly strengthened by federal legislation. The percentage of the nation's labor force belonging to unions greatly increased. One of the main purposes of labor unions was to regulate wages through collective bargaining. Thus, labor rates tended more and more to be administered, either by employers or by labor organizations. Here again the old free-enterprise economy was giving place to an economy of administrative decision.

PRICE REGULATION IN AGRICULTURE

The more price competition declined in industry and in the labor market — the more capital and labor were successful in putting a flooring under prices and wages — the worse the position of the farmer became. He had to buy on a market where prices were often rigidly controlled and he had to sell on one where prices were determined by competition. In the period immediately preceding World War I, farmers composed about a third of the total population and received about 17 per cent of the national income; in the early thirties farmers made up approximately one fourth of the population and their share of the total national income was around 9 per cent.⁷⁴ It is not surprising, under these conditions, that farmers should seek ways and means of limiting their own output in order to raise farm prices. They turned to government for help and eventually got it. Industrialists, laborers, and farmers had now all abandoned, to a marked degree, the old free-enterprise economy and had all entered into a "groupistic régime." Each of these three major groups was now in a position, to a greater or less degree, to restrict production and to regulate the price of goods or services it placed on the market.

⁷⁴ Henry C. Taylor, "The Farmer in the Groupistic Regime," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XVI (August, 1940), 255.

FLEXIBLE AND INFLEXIBLE PRICES

The evidence presented in the preceding paragraphs makes it clear that in the decades preceding World War II the conditions making for price competition were vanishing from large segments of the American economy. Concentration of production, price-leadership, price agreements, basing point systems, trade associations, market sharing, tacit understandings among producers — all these were making it possible for many producers to administer prices. In parts of the economy where competition and free enterprise still held sway, prices were flexible because they yielded to the pressures of supply and demand. In those segments of the economy where many small producers still bargained in a free market — where price competition still persisted — prices were sensitive to the law of supply and demand, they moved up or down as frequently and as much as the market dictated. But where competition had been brought under control, where the market mechanism had been supplanted by administrative decision, prices tended to be inflexible. Where monopolistic or semi-monopolistic prices were possible, most producers chose to adjust to a declining demand by curtailing production rather than by lowering prices.

The fact and extent of price rigidity have been established by a number of investigations.⁷⁵ Writing in 1940, Wilcox summarized the findings of a number of these studies:

There is evidence of price control, finally, in the relative rigidity of the prices of many products over considerable periods of time. Burns finds such rigidity to be characteristic of the prices of some 50 goods, including aluminum, bananas, bread, canned milk, cement, chemicals, crackers, drugs, fertilizer, gasoline, glass, iron ore, linseed oil, matches, nickel, paper, rayon, salt, sewing machines, starch, steel, sugar, sulfur, thread, and tin cans. Mills, who studied the frequency of monthly changes in the wholesale prices of 206 commodities included in the Bureau of Labor Statistics index during 4 consecutive 8-year periods between 1890 and 1921, inclusive, and during the

⁷⁵ See Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-243; H. S. Dennison and J. K. Galbraith, *Modern Competition and Business Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938; Temporary National Economic Committee, *Price Behavior and Business Policy*, pp. 302-07; Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Structure of Industry*, pp. 346-412; United States National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10, 129-49; and Gardiner C. Means, *Industrial Prices and Their Relative Inflexibility*, Seventy-Fourth Congress, First Session, Senate Document 13, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935.

years 1922 through 1925, found that a substantial fraction of these prices did not change as often as once in 10 months during 4 of the 5 periods, the single exception being the period from 1914 through 1921 which included the years of the First World War. During 1922-25, one sixth of the prices changed less frequently than once in 10 months, one third of them less frequently than once in 5 months, and half of them less frequently than once in 2 months. Means, who made a similar study covering the wholesale prices of 747 products included in the B.L.S. index from 1926 through 1933, found that more than half of them changed less often than 3 times a year, nearly a third of them less often than 3 times in 2 years, nearly a quarter of them less often than 9 times in 8 years, and nearly an eighth of them less often than 5 times in 8 years. Fourteen products showed no change in price during these 4 years of great prosperity and 4 of severe depression. Means found, moreover, that the prices which changed frequently fell farthest and that those which changed infrequently fell least during the years from 1929 to 1933. . . .

The most recent investigation of this character was made by the T.N.E.C. Studies Section of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The frequency, amplitude, and timing of changes in the wholesale price series included in the Bureau's index were measured according to various methods for 14 samples, each covering from 617 to 664 products during various periods from 1926 through 1938. In the 8 years from 1926 through 1933, more than half of the prices examined changed less than 23 times, nearly a third of them less than 12 times, more than a fifth of them less than 8 times, and nearly an eighth of them less than 5 times.⁷⁶

Price rigidity and flexibility may be indicated by two measures, (1) the frequency of the change in price, and (2) the magnitude of the change. During the period 1926-33, the prices of one group of products changed monthly. This was as often as changes were recorded in the data on which the investigation was based. The prices of another group of products changed infrequently, if at all, during the entire period. The magnitude of price fluctuation for the period 1926-38 is depicted in Figure 7. Commodities falling in group A were characterized by infrequent change in price and by a relatively slight variation in price level. In contrast, commodities

⁷⁶ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 302-04.

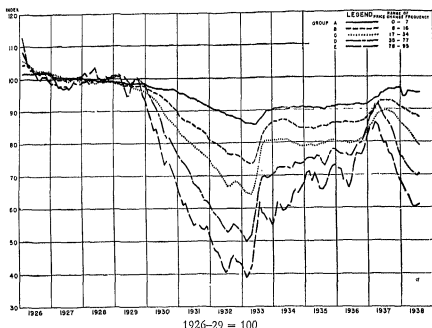


Figure 7. Monthly Wholesale Prices for Five Frequency Groups, 1926-38

UNITED STATES NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, PART I: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS. *A Report Prepared by the Industrial Section under the direction of GARDINER C. MEANS* (Washington: Government Printing Office, June, 1939), p. 147.

falling in group E registered frequent price changes as well as a marked fluctuation in the magnitude of price change. Commodities in groups A and B reflect the type of price behavior where prices are determined by administrative decision; commodities in groups D and E reflect price behavior where prices are market-determined.

It is not to be supposed, of course, that price behavior is conditioned wholly by the degree of concentration of production and the various practices employed to reduce or to eliminate price competition. Other factors enter in, especially the economic characteristics of the commodities themselves. Price rigidity may be explained in part by such product characteristics "as the degree of durability, the type of ultimate use (consumer or producer), the degree of fabrication, and the source of raw material."⁷⁷ Economists are not agreed

⁷⁷ Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Structure of Industry*, p. 411.

in their explanation of the causes of inflexible prices,⁷⁸ but as Gardiner Means puts it, "the accumulating evidence appears to point to administrative controls as the dominant explanation."⁷⁹

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF ADMINISTERED PRICES

It must not be supposed that administered prices always, or even in most instances, resulted in monopoly profits. In some instances production of a commodity was so highly concentrated in the hands of a few concerns that monopoly profits were possible, but it was also true that administered prices often resulted in moderate profits or none at all. Nevertheless, the concentration of production, together with other means of freeing price from the pressures of supply and demand, did result in excessive profits, even monopoly profits. To the extent that this was true, a relatively few persons were in a position to reap undue benefits from technological gains and from the utilization of natural and human resources. But serious as this problem was, its solution was reasonably obvious. In industries yielding monopoly profits, the government could either break up the monopoly, or, failing this, regulate prices, as in the case of railroads or public utilities. As a last resort, the government might even take over the industry and regulate prices through ownership. The remedy was obvious, however difficult it might have been to apply.

A more serious problem and one for which the solution was more obscure was the effect of administered prices on the operation of the economy as a whole. The heart of the problem lay in the insensitivity of administered prices to changing purchasing power (demand) both in times of depression and when business was recovering from recession. During periods of business recession or depression, pro-

⁷⁸ See Jules Backman, "The Causes of Price Inflexibility," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LIV (May, 1940), 474-89; J. K. Galbraith, "Monopoly Power and Price Rigidities," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, L (May, 1936), 456-75; Don D. Humphrey, "The Nature and Meaning of Rigid Prices, 1890-1933," *Journal of Political Economy*, XLV (October, 1937), 651-61; Edward S. Mason, "Price Inflexibility," *Review of Economic Statistics*, XX (May, 1938), 53-64; Gardiner C. Means, *Industrial Prices and Their Relative Inflexibility*, Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, pp. 302 ff.; Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Structure of Industry*, Part V, pp. 346-412; Rufus S. Tucker, "The Reasons for Price Rigidity," *American Economic Review*, XXVIII (March, 1938), 41-54; United States National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part I: *Basic Characteristics*, pp. 138-45; and Ralph C. Wood, "Dr. Tucker's Reasons for Price Rigidity," *American Economic Review*, XXVIII (December, 1938), 661-73.

⁷⁹ United States National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

ducers could adjust to reduced purchasing power in one of two ways, or by a combination of both. They could adjust primarily through reduction of prices or through curtailment of production. In those areas of the economy where producers were too numerous to make it possible to administer prices, the adjustment to decreased purchasing power was made primarily through a reduction of prices. Such a policy tended to arrest the downward spiral of depression because it prevented too sharp a decline in purchasing power, production, and employment. In those areas of the economy where producers were in a position to hold prices more or less rigid, the general tendency was to adjust to a declining market by curtailing production. Reduction in output spelled unemployment and a further decline in purchaser demand. Thus, a downward spiral once started would be difficult to check. In the opinion of Professor Henry C. Simons, inflexible prices were an important factor in the depression of the nineteen-thirties.

The existence of extreme inflexibility in large areas of the price structure is one of the primary factors in the phenomenon of severe depression. This inflexibility increases the economic loss and human misery accompanying a given deflation, and it causes deflation itself to proceed much farther than it otherwise would.⁸⁰

The disruptive effects of inflexible, administered prices on the operation of the economy have been described as follows:

Wherever the new type of industrial unit has introduced the factor of administration, it has substituted human judgment for automatic processes. Where administration has a hand in determining prices it undermines the central mechanism of automatic, flexible prices upon which the old economy relied for its adjustments.

The disastrous effect of this type of price [inflexible] upon the automatic mechanism of the old economy cannot be overstated. According to *laissez-faire* assumptions, there can be no general oversupply of goods or unemployment of people because prices will adjust until everything which anyone is willing to sell is sold and until everyone willing to work is employed. But when adjustments are made through volume of production instead of through price the result is very different. When a drop in demand is met by cutting down production, workers are laid off. If this is the general

⁸⁰ Henry C. Simons, *A Positive Program for Laissez Faire*, p. 14. Public Policy Pamphlet 15. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

reaction throughout industry, there is no place for these workers to go for new jobs even if they are willing to take lower wages, since wages like other forms of prices are commonly administered, particularly in the concentrated industries. Without jobs, they cannot buy, and their unemployment leads to a further drop in demand for products. If adjustment is again made by dropping production instead of by lowering price, the effect is only to make matters worse by laying off more people and thereby reducing demand still further. Such a process can go on until industry is virtually at a standstill and unemployment is widespread. In place of the reactions that were automatically set in motion to restore a balance under the old conditions of flexible prices, the opposite reactions here tend to make the situation progressively more grave.⁸¹

Inflexible prices do more, however, than impair the operation of the "automatic forces" of adjustment that are present in a competitive economy. In periods of business recession, they thrust the greater part of the burden of adjustments upon the segments of the economy where competition still persists and prices are flexible. When flexible prices exist in some segments of the economy and inflexible prices in others, normal exchange of commodities may be seriously disturbed. A case in point is when farmers must sell wheat and hogs on a declining market but find it necessary to purchase farm machinery, if they are to buy it at all, at prices that remain relatively inflexible. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads* comments as follows on the conditions created by flexible and inflexible prices:

When different parts of a glass tumbler expand or contract at different rates, the whole glass may be cracked. If the economic structure is in part flexible, and in part rigid, any strain may lead to complete collapse.⁸²

Actually, administered prices make it possible to shift to labor and agriculture the major part of the economic loss and misery produced by depressions. When manufacturers adjust to depression by curtailment of production, labor pays much of the bill in terms of unemployment while farmers pay in terms of price disparity.

⁸¹ Ware and Means, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

⁸² *Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads*, p. 9. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1935.

During the depression years 1929-32, there was a definite tendency, with numerous exceptions, for production to fall off most sharply in those industries in which prices remained most rigid. Conversely, production, again with exceptions, fell less where prices fell most.⁸³ Similarly, during the recovery years 1933-37, prices rose least in those industries exhibiting the most rapid expansion of production. Table 23 and Figure 8 show the changes in price and production for the periods 1929-33 and 1929-37 in ten industries which accounted for more than fifty per cent of the value products of agriculture and manufacturing. It is clear that adjustment to changing purchasing power took place primarily through variations of production in the case of motor vehicles, agricultural implements, cement, and iron and steel, and through price adjustments in the case of textile and food products, and agricultural commodities. Figure 9 shows, for a large sample of commodities, the pattern of price and production adjustment to depression conditions. In the case of the administered-price group, adjustment took place primarily through contraction of production; in the case of the market-price group, adjustment took

TABLE 23. PRICE AND PRODUCTION CHANGE IN TEN MAJOR INDUSTRIES, 1929-33*

Decline in Prices and in Production — 1929 to Spring of 1933	Per Cent Drop in Wholesale Prices	Per Cent Drop in Production
Agricultural implements	15	80
Motor vehicles	16	80
Cement	18	65
Iron and steel	20	83
Auto tires	33	70
Textile products	45	30
Food products	49	14
Leather	50	20
Petroleum	56	20
Agricultural commodities	63	6

* Adapted from Caroline F. Ware and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Economy in Action*, p. 24. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936.

⁸³ United States National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41, 145-48; Temporary National Economic Committee, *Price Behavior and Business Policy*, p. 51.

place primarily through variation in price.⁸⁴ As Gardiner C. Means puts it, "the whole depression [of the nineteen-thirties] might be described as a general dropping of prices at the flexible end of the price scale and a dropping of production at the rigid end with intermediate effects between."⁸⁵

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that at the close of the fourth decade of the twentieth century the American economy could be roughly divided into two segments, one characterized by competition and the other by a large measure of administrative control. In the area of free competitive enterprise, where prices were determined by the bargaining of many buyers and sellers, forces were at work which made for sustained purchasing power, production, and employment; for economic abundance; and for a just interchange of goods among producers. In the area of administrative control, where prices were determined to a marked degree by corporation officials, by labor unions, or by the leaders of farmer organizations aided by federal legislation, forces were operative which made for restricted production, for unemployment, for a partial use of natural and human resources, for scarcity, and, in many instances, for an unjust price relationship between commodities. It is not to be supposed, of course, that price behavior was the sole explanation of business recession and depression, but rigid prices were an important factor in causing depression and in delaying recovery. Under the existing

⁸⁴ It should be pointed out that some economists challenge vigorously the point of view that rigid prices are an important factor in curtailing production in times of depression. See Jules Backman, *Price Flexibility and Changes in Production*, National Industrial Conference Board Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 5, February 20, 1939, p. 51; Jules Backman, "The Causes of Price Inflexibility," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LIV (May, 1940), 474-89; Rufus S. Tucker, "The Reasons for Price Rigidity," *American Economic Review*, XXVIII (March, 1938), 41-54.

Crowder and Wimsatt found in their study of a large list of products that there was "no strongly marked relation between the conditions of concentration under which products were produced and their quantity and price behavior." According to their findings, "high and low concentration and large and small changes in price and quantity appeared together almost as if by chance." This investigation leads one to suggest the hypothesis that other factors than a high degree of concentration of production play an important role in bringing about a condition of non-price competition. That is to say, non-price competition may result from such practices as collusive agreements, market sharing, basing point systems, and price-leadership even though concentration of production may be relatively moderate. Temporary National Economic Committee, *The Structure of Industry*, pp. 346-412. As Wilcox points out, "the area of non-competitive prices is wider than the area of concentration of control." Temporary National Economic Committee, *Competition and Monopoly in American Industry*, p. 306.

⁸⁵ Means, *op. cit.*, p. 9, as cited in Temporary National Economic Committee, *Price Behavior and Business Policy*, p. 37.

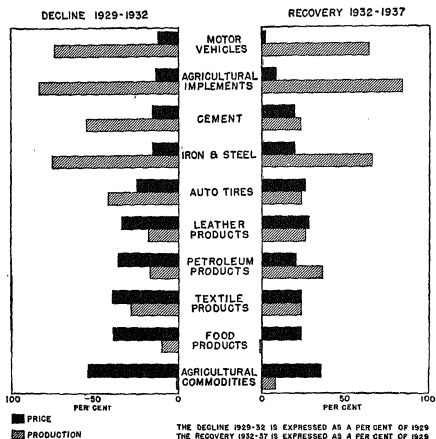


Figure 8. Price and Production Changes During Depression and Recovery for Ten Major Industries

UNITED STATES NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, *THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY*, p. 141. Prepared under the direction of GARDINER C. MEANS.

system of economic arrangements, individual businessmen, even in normal times, often found it necessary to restrict output in order to escape insolvency,⁸⁶ and in times of reduced mass purchasing power the normal reaction of the managers of most enterprises was, where possible, to maintain prices and reduce production. They felt constrained to adopt this policy in order to show an annual profit or to prevent loss, even though its long-range effect might prove disastrous to the economy as a whole. Annual profits eclipsed from vision the

⁸⁶ See Sumner H. Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, p. 5. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928.

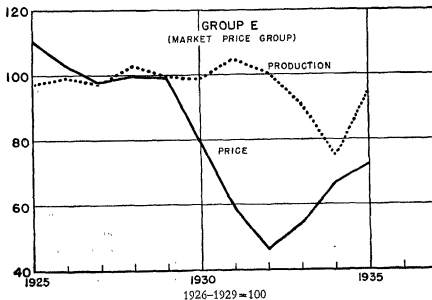
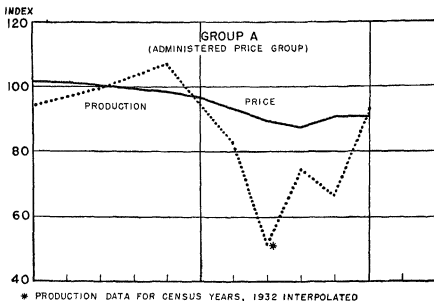


Figure 9. Production and Prices of Administered and Market Price Commodities

UNITED STATES NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, p. 148. Prepared under the direction of GARDNER C. MEANS.

impact of rigid prices upon the functioning of the economy. Moreover, the individual industrialist was caught in the meshes of a system upon which his own price and production policies alone would have little effect. Consequently, he restricted output, kept prices relatively high if he could, and hoped for the best.

With much the same effect on the functioning of the economy, labor was pushing vigorously its program of restricting production in order to maintain or raise wage rates. Labor leaders, as well as millions of workers, appeared to believe that organized scarcity would somehow be the key that would unlock the door of economic advance to men who toiled in mine or factory. Organized labor was no more disposed to abandon the policy of higher hourly wages than industrialists were disposed to abandon the policy of high prices. The fact that higher hourly wages for some spelled total unemployment for others counted for little. For the twenty-year period ending in 1939, in manufacturing "the decrease in the hours of work more than offset the increase in rates of pay; and in consequence the gains to employed labor were only in the form of more leisure."⁸⁷ But neither the spectacle of idle machines nor the misery of idle men moved industrialists and labor to abandon the policy of organized scarcity. And the American farmer, abandoning his frontal attack on rigid prices and wages, joined the intergroup struggle in which everyone was "trying to get more and more for less and less."⁸⁸ The net result of it all was a level of production and living standards far below what was possible to attain. It was a striking fact that when war came with its accent on the full utilization of natural and human resources, the national income climbed to a phenomenally high level.

The evidence is conclusive that however much men may have still lauded the virtues of free competition or taught their children to revere it, it was in reality fast passing from the American scene. Whether it was politically possible or socially desirable to return to a highly competitive system or to work out some new pattern of economic arrangements was a question about which men disagreed. Like many other problems, this one was forced into the background by the exigencies of war; it appears once more as a central problem of social policy.

⁸⁷ Spurgeon Bell, *Productivity, Wages, and National Income*, p. 93. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 81. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1940.

⁸⁸ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 12

Note: To answer some of the following questions, one may want to refer to some of the later chapters of this volume.

1. Compare and contrast the conditions of our economic life about 1875 and 1935. Show the influence of these changing conditions on the transfer of educational functions from home and community to school and college. Do you think this transfer has been too great?
2. What relation do you see between the changing pattern of economic life and the problems of curriculum reorganization in American schools and colleges since 1865? Do you think the existing curricula need to be modified to meet the changing conditions of our economic life?
3. Do you think our schools now give sufficient attention to education for consumption?
4. Show how education for effective citizenship has been affected by the rise of the large corporation and the concentration of economic power. By the limitation of competition in the labor market. By price regulation in agriculture.
5. Show how the changing conditions of our economic life have affected the status of youth in our society. What educational changes have been made and what changes do you think should be made to enable youth to adjust better to the changed status?
6. Do you think the present program for the education of teachers gives adequate attention to the structure and operation of our economic system?

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Chapter 13 ~ The Shifting Pattern of Economic Life:

THE DISPOSITION OF THE SOCIAL INCOME AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

PROFITS OF THE CORPORATE SYSTEM AND THE PATTERN OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION

THE AMERICAN CORPORATE SYSTEM taken as a whole has yielded substantial profits except in periods of extreme depression. During the period from 1909 to 1937, the years 1931-33 were the only ones in which the corporate system showed losses.¹ In 1916 net profits after intercorporate dividends and taxes had been deducted amounted to nearly \$7,500,000,000. Profits almost disappeared in 1921 but climbed back to a high point of \$8,000,000,000 in 1929. The three depression years of 1931-33 registered a total loss of about \$11,000,000,000, but by 1936 net profits amounted to \$3,900,000,000.² For the twenty-nine-year period ending in 1937, total net profits, after the losses of 1931-33 had been deducted, amounted to \$102,000,000,000, or about \$3,500,000,000 a year.³ It should be kept in mind that many individual corporations showed losses even at times when the corporate system as a whole showed profits. And many large corporations yielded substantial profits when the system as a whole was registering losses. In 1932, for example, 18 per cent of all corporations showed profits amounting to \$2,100,000,000.⁴ In good times

¹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Profits, Productive Activities and New Investment*, p. 9. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 12, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Taxation, Recovery, and Defense*, p. 11. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 20, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

or bad, it was the large corporations that accounted for the lion's share of current profits. In 1929, only 0.3 per cent of the corporations accounted for 80.1 per cent of corporate net income, and in 1932, the worst year of the depression, 0.1 per cent of the corporations — those which showed profits of a million or more — yielded 80.9 per cent of all corporate profits.⁵

THE CONCENTRATION OF PROFITS OF CORPORATE ENTERPRISE

The essential point of this discussion is not that corporate enterprise yielded profits, but that these profits accrued to a relatively small element in the population. The concentration of ownership of corporate enterprise naturally led to the concentration of dividend receipts. In the nineteen-thirties about 2 per cent of the nation's families and single individuals were the recipients of 55 per cent or more of the dividends paid out by corporations.⁶ For the ten-year period ending in 1937, about 35 per cent of the annual outgo of corporate dividends went to twenty-five thousand individuals (Table 24). The pattern of distribution of dividends disbursed by the corporate system for a decade or two prior to 1940 has been described as follows:

1. Forty per cent of the dividends were received by less than 0.1 per cent of the families and single individuals.
2. Another 20 per cent of the dividends were received by less than 1.0 per cent of the families and single individuals.
3. Another 20 per cent of the dividends were received by less than 2.0 per cent of the families and single individuals.
4. The remaining 20 per cent of the dividends were received by the remaining 96 per cent or more of the families and single individuals with most of them receiving no dividends. Most of the dividends, it is clear, were received in relatively large amounts by a small section of the population while the remainder was spread over a much larger section of the population in relatively small amounts. Briefly, there has been a high degree of concentration of dividends.⁷

The effects of the concentration of dividends on individual income. The striking differences in individual income in the United States have been accounted for in large measure by the high con-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Profits, Productive Activities and New Investment*, p. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

TABLE 24. DIVIDEND RECEIPTS REPORTED BY 25,000 INCOME TAXPAYERS RECEIVING THE GREATEST AMOUNTS OF DIVIDENDS IN EACH YEAR, 1927-37*

(Money figures in millions of dollars)

Year	Net Dividend Outgo of the Corporate System	Dividend Receipts	
		Amount	Per Cent of Net Dividend Outgo
1937.....	4,832	1,497	30.98 †
1936.....	4,702	1,389	29.54 †
1935.....	2,927	1,131	38.64
1934.....	2,642	1,018	38.53
1933.....	2,101	846	40.27
1932.....	2,626	1,007	38.35
1931.....	4,182	1,563	37.37
1930.....	5,613	2,060	36.70
1929.....	5,927	2,222	37.49
1928.....	5,166	2,084 ‡	40.34
1927.....	4,765	1,978	41.51

* Temporary National Economic Committee, *Profits, Productive Activities and New Investment*, p. 50. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 12, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

† Tabulating procedure changed in 1936.

‡ This figure was obtained from a tabulation comparable to those used for the other years. A corresponding figure of \$2,089,000,000 was obtained from a special tabulation which included 222,000 returns in addition to the 569,000 in the tabulation on which the figure in the table is based.

centration of corporate dividends in the hands of a relatively small element in the population. Individuals with small and moderate incomes have as a rule shared little, or not at all, in the distribution of corporate dividends, and persons with sizable incomes have usually been the recipients of substantial dividends.⁸ In the case of individuals with incomes of less than \$10,000, dividend receipts in the years from 1929 to 1936 were not a very important factor, but in the upper income brackets the percentage of income attributable to dividends ranged from about 30 to 85. For each of the three years, 1929, 1932, and 1936, taxpayers with an income in excess of \$100,000, as a class, derived more than 60 per cent of their income from dividend receipts. Clearly, the distribution of corporate profits was an important factor in creating the wide difference between individual incomes so characteristic of prewar America.

⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 52-56.

THE PATTERN OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The term "income distribution" should not, of course, lead one to suppose that the national income is produced, accumulated, and distributed among the people. Income is in reality an accounting concept. The national income is an expression in money terms of the total volume of wages, salaries, rents, interest, and profits that accrues as the processes of production and consumption are carried on day by day. Similarly, distribution is an accounting concept employed to indicate how income flows into the hands of the various income recipients. The farmer receives part of his income as he both consumes the produce of his farm and markets what he has to sell. Others receive their share of the national income in the form of daily wages or weekly or monthly checks. Some receive income primarily in the form of interest, rent, or profits from business enterprise. Many receive income, of course, from more than one of these sources. When money value is assigned to all the wages, salaries, rents, interest, and profits which accrue to all the people in the course of a year, the sum total is the national income for that year. The way in which the various individuals share in the total national income may be regarded as the pattern of income distribution.

Evidence already presented with respect to the operation of the American economy pointed to the conclusion that individuals and families have shared very unequally in the national income. More specific evidence shows that such in fact was the case. In 1929 nearly 6,000,000 families in the United States, or slightly more than one fifth of the total, received an income less than \$1000. The income of approximately 12,000,000 families, or 42 per cent of the total, was less than \$1500. In contrast, 600,000 families, or 2.3 per cent, were recipients of incomes in excess of \$10,000.⁹ The way income was distributed in 1929 is described as follows by Leven, Moulton, and Warburton:

The aggregate income of the 6,000,000 families at the bottom of the scale, even when the negative incomes shown by some families are eliminated, amounted to \$3,500,000,000. In other words, about

⁹ Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume*, p. 55. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 56. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1934.

21 per cent of the families received only 4.5 per cent of the income. The 11,653,000 families with incomes of less than \$1500 received a total of about \$10,000,000,000. At the other extreme, the 36,000 families having incomes in excess of \$75,000 possessed an aggregate income of \$9,800,000,000. Thus it appears that 0.1 per cent of families at the top received practically as much as 42 per cent of the families at the bottom of the scale.¹⁰

Later studies reveal that disparities in individual and family income are not recent phenomena and that they have been present in good times and in bad. Table 25 and Figures 10, 11, and 12, taken from a study of the National Resources Committee for 1935-36, indicate strikingly income differentials in that year. Fourteen per cent of all families received incomes less than \$500 and 42 per cent received less than \$1000. The 42 per cent of the families with the lowest incomes received less than 16 per cent of the total while the 1 per cent of the families in the highest brackets received over 13 per cent of the aggregate.¹¹ When families and single individuals were considered together as comprising the nation's consumer units, the differences in income were very much the same as when families were considered as the unit. About 12,000,000 families and single individuals, or about one third of the total, received an annual income of less than \$750, nearly one half (47 per cent) received less than \$1000, and 27,000,000, or somewhat more than two thirds, received less than \$1500. The total income received by the top 0.5 per cent was about the same as that received by the lowest 32 per cent.¹²

Evidence is available to show that from 1918 to 1937 individual income was consistently highly concentrated in the hands of a relatively few recipients (Table 26). There was, of course, fluctuation from year to year, but at no time did the top 1 per cent of income recipients fail to receive less than 12 per cent of the total individual income. And during the decade ending in 1937 the highest 0.5 per cent of income recipients usually received 10 per cent or more of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

¹¹ United States National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, pp. 2-3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

¹² Temporary National Economic Committee, *Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in Large Corporations*, p. 117. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 11, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

TABLE 25. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND SINGLE INDIVIDUALS AND OF AGGREGATE INCOME RECEIVED, BY INCOME LEVEL, 1935-36*

Income Level	Families and Single Individuals			Aggregate Income		
	Number	Per Cent at Each Level	Cumulative Per Cent	Amount (in thousands)	Per Cent at Each Level	Cumulative Per Cent
Under \$250	2,123,534	5.38	5.38	\$294,138	0.50	0.50
250-500	4,587,377	11.63	17.01	1,767,363	2.98	3.48
500-750	5,771,960	14.63	31.64	3,615,653	6.10	9.58
750-1,000	5,876,078	14.90	46.54	5,129,506	8.65	18.23
1,000-1,250	4,990,995	12.65	59.19	5,589,111	9.42	27.65
1,250-1,500	3,743,428	9.49	68.68	5,109,112	8.62	36.27
1,500-1,750	2,889,904	7.32	76.00	4,660,793	7.87	44.14
1,750-2,000	2,296,022	5.82	81.82	4,214,203	7.11	51.25
2,000-2,250	1,704,535	4.32	86.14	3,602,861	6.08	57.33
2,250-2,500	1,254,076	3.18	89.32	2,968,932	5.01	62.34
2,500-3,000	1,475,474	3.74	93.06	4,004,774	6.76	69.10
3,000-3,500	851,919	2.16	95.22	2,735,487	4.62	73.72
3,500-4,000	502,159	1.27	96.49	1,863,384	3.14	76.86
4,000-4,500	286,053	.72	97.21	1,202,826	2.03	78.89
4,500-5,000	178,138	.45	97.66	841,766	1.42	80.31
5,000-7,500	380,266	.96	98.62	2,244,406	3.79	84.10
7,500-10,000	215,642	.55	99.17	1,847,820	3.12	87.22
10,000-15,000	152,682	.39	99.56	1,746,925	2.95	90.17
15,000-20,000	67,923	.17	99.73	1,174,574	1.98	92.15
20,000-25,000	39,825	.10	99.83	889,114	1.50	93.65
25,000-30,000	25,583	.06	99.89	720,269	1.22	94.87
30,000-40,000	17,959	.05	99.94	641,272	1.08	95.95
40,000-50,000	8,340	.02	99.96	390,311	.66	96.61
50,000-100,000	13,041	.03	99.99	908,485	1.53	98.14
100,000-250,000	4,144	.01	100.00	539,006	.91	99.05
250,000-500,000	916	(1) †	..	264,498	.45	99.50
500,000-1,000,000	240	(1)	..	134,803	.23	99.73
1,000,000 and over	87	(1)	..	157,237	.27	100.00
All levels	39,458,300	100.00	..	\$59,258,628	100.00	..

* United States National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, p. 6. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

† Less than 0.005 per cent.

TABLE 26. SHARES OF TOTAL INDIVIDUAL INCOME RECEIVED BY THE HIGHEST ONE PER CENT OF INCOME RECIPIENTS, 1918-37*

Year	Per Cent of Total Income Received by Highest 1 Per Cent of Income Recipients	Index (1918 = 100)	Minimum Incomes of Highest 1 Per Cent
1918.....	12.79	100.00	\$6,385
1919.....	13.35	104.38	7,910
1920.....	12.42	97.11	8,010
1921.....	13.57	106.10	6,845
1922.....	14.24	111.34	7,445
1923.....	12.95	101.25	7,505
1924.....	14.17	110.79	8,040
1925.....	16.39	128.15	9,380
1926.....	16.21	126.74	9,655
1927.....	17.18	134.32	9,590
1928.....	19.26	150.59	10,140
1929.....	18.47	144.41	9,975
1930.....	14.63	114.39	8,080
1931.....	13.72	107.27	6,595
1934.....	12.66†	98.98	5,375
1934.....	13.03	101.88	5,375
1935.....	13.41	104.85	5,800
1936.....	14.53	113.60	6,880
1937.....	13.29	103.91	6,940

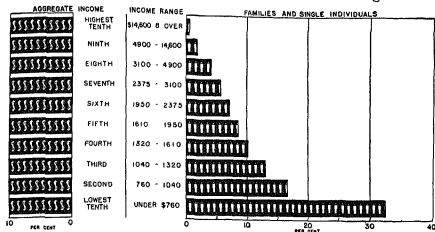
* Temporary National Economic Committee, *Concentration and Composition of Individual Incomes, 1918-1937*, p. 16. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 4, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

† Economic income. The 1934 figure of 12.66 per cent is comparable to percentages for the preceding years. The second percentage for 1934 and the percentages for 1935-37 are slightly overstated relative to the preceding years due to a change in the income concept. . . . Total individual income for 1934-37 includes work-relief wages.

the total.¹³ Clearly, the concentration of income reflected the concentration of ownership and control of corporate enterprise, and the concentration of corporate dividends.

The wide differences in the income received by American families affected profoundly the quality of individual living. For millions meager income spelled inadequate housing and diet, unequal opportunity for intellectual and cultural advance, and the hardening of

¹³ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Concentration and Composition of Individual Incomes, 1918-1937*, p. 23. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 4, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Government Printing Office, 1941.



This chart may be read either by length of bars or by symbols. Each dollar symbol represents 1 per cent of aggregate income of all families and single individuals or \$592,586,280. Each figure symbol represents 1 per cent of all families and single individuals or 394,583 consumer units.

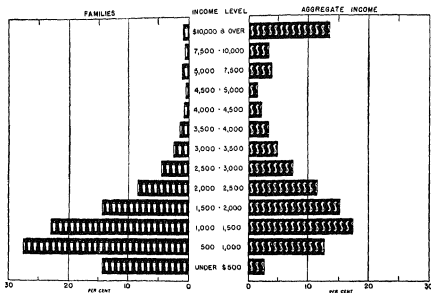
Figure 10. Proportion of Nation's Consumer Units Receiving Each Tenth of Aggregate Income, 1935-36

UNITED STATES NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, CONSUMER INCOMES IN THE UNITED STATES: THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN 1935-36 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 7.

class lines. The old American ideal of social mobility was increasingly difficult to achieve. Not a few were convinced that the age of the self-made man was in its twilight. Writing in 1940, the President of Harvard University commented as follows on the growth of social stratification:

American society in some localities has always been organized on definite class lines; money and power have been passed on from father to son. The different strata have been relatively rigid and impenetrable. But until recently such situations were the exception rather than the rule. Now we see in progress the rapid extension of such stratification over the whole land. We see throughout the country the development of a hereditary aristocracy of wealth. The coming of modern industrialism and the passing of the frontier with cheap land mark the change. Ruthless and greedy exploitation of both national and human resources by a small privileged class founded on recently acquired ownership of property has hardened social strata and threatens to provide explosive material beneath.¹⁴

¹⁴ James Bryant Conant, "Education for a Classless Society," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXV (May, 1940), 597.

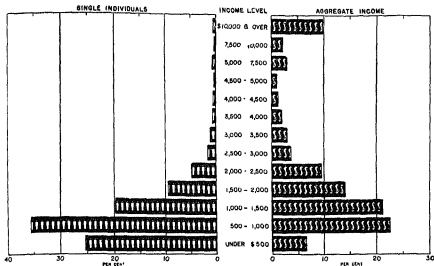


This chart may be read either by length of bars or by symbols. Each figure symbol represents 1 per cent of all families or 294,000 families. Each dollar symbol represents 1 per cent of aggregate income of all families or \$476,792,380.

Figure 11. Distribution of Family Income in the United States by Income Level, 1935-36

UNITED STATES NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, CONSUMER INCOMES IN THE UNITED STATES, p. 3.

The pattern of income distribution also had a profound effect upon the operation of the national economy. Recipients in the high income brackets, unable or unwilling to spend a large percentage of their income for consumer goods, created a larger volume of savings than capital investment could absorb. Idle money spelled idle men and a contracting volume of production. For nearly a decade the Roosevelt administration tried with indifferent success to devise measures which would entice or compel the flow of accumulated savings back into the money stream of the economy. So important is this matter of savings in relation to investment and the total volume of production and employment that it deserves special attention.



This chart may be read either by length of bars or by symbols. Each figure symbol represents 1 per cent of all single individuals or 100,580 single individuals. Each dollar symbol represents 1 per cent of aggregate income of all single individuals or \$115,793,900.

Figure 12. Distribution of Income of Single Individuals in the United States by Income Level, 1935-36

UNITED STATES NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, CONSUMER INCOMES IN THE UNITED STATES, p. 4.

SAVINGS, INVESTMENT, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

THE FLOW OF INCOME THROUGH THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In a money economy such as ours, full employment, a high level of income, and national well-being depend in large measure upon the disposal which people make of their income. Income is spent for consumer goods or it is saved. That is to say, gross savings may be defined as the difference between gross income — the total product of goods and services — and the amount spent for consumption. Savings may be disposed of in two ways: (1) they may be invested in capital goods (factories, railroads, mines, highways, hotels, school-houses, and the like), or (2) they may be hoarded. Money is hoarded when it is kept idle whether in an old stocking or in a bank deposit. If savings are hoarded and are not offset by an equal volume of dis-hording, the national income declines. The level of income for any given year is determined by the total volume of expenditures for

consumer and capital goods. When the total volume of funds spent for consumer goods plus the amount spent on capital investment (for the replacement of old plant and equipment or the purchase of new) is equal to the current income, the total national income remains at about the existing level. When the total flow of funds for the purchase of consumer and capital goods is in excess of current income, the total national income increases. The effect of the flow of funds in the economy on levels of income has been clearly stated by Professor Hansen of Harvard University:

Let us consider what is necessary in order to keep the income stream flowing on a high level, once it has reached that level. The income received or realized out of the productive process of the prior week or month will either be expended for consumption or it will be saved. The part that is spent on consumption goods and services automatically becomes the source of a new income stream. The part that is saved may or may not feed into the income stream, depending upon whether or not these savings are used either by the saver himself or by a borrower for the purpose of capital goods, plant, machinery, industrial and commercial construction, houses, office buildings, schools, or public works.

If the saver does not himself use the funds, or if he fails to find a borrower who will use them to purchase plant, equipment, and other capital goods, the income stream dries up and unemployment prevails in the capital goods industries. It is highly essential that all that part of the current flow of income which is not expended on consumption goods, namely that part which is saved, shall be expended either directly by the saver himself or indirectly through a borrower on new plant and equipment of some sort. If the amount which is saved is large, as it is likely to be at a high income level, it is necessary that equally large outlets be available for the savings in equipment and plant expansion, and in residential and public construction.¹⁵

Figure 13 illustrates in oversimplified form the flow of funds through the economy. As goods and services are produced, income accrues to individual or business concerns in the form of wages, rent, interest, or profits. Part of this income is spent for the purchase of consumer goods and services and therefore flows back into the in-

¹⁵ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Savings and Investment*, pp. 3500-01. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Part 9. Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

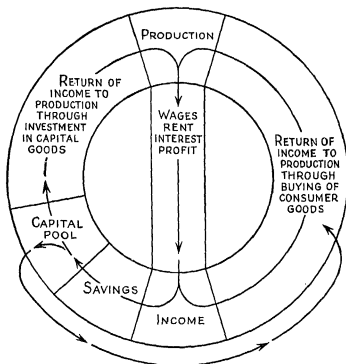


Figure 13. The Flow of Funds Through the Economy

Prepared by the authors

come stream, keeping it to that extent at its former level. Part of the income is saved and flows into what may be regarded as the capital pool and is available for investment in capital goods. In the capital pool there may also be available for investment a volume of previous savings. Bank credit is also a source of funds which may be made available in the capital pool. If at times of industrial expansion, the funds in the capital pool are inadequate to meet the demands for capital investment, recourse may be had to the monetization of assets, that is, the supply of money may be increased by borrowing from banks with existing assets as security. When the total volume of current savings flows back into production, employment and total income remain stable and the whole economy proceeds on an even keel. When capital investment exceeds current savings and draws upon previous savings and bank credit, production and income expand. Prosperity occurs — production, employment,

and income increase — when there is an expansion of expenditures for both consumer and capital goods at the same time. In fact, unless an increasing purchase of consumer goods is in prospect, funds are little likely to flow into additional capital goods. There is not, as has been supposed, a conflict between expenditures for consumer goods and capital goods; that is to say, it is not necessary to reduce consumer expenditures and increase savings in order to bring about an increased flow of funds into capital investment. By monetizing assets — by creating bank credit — it is possible to increase the volume of funds that flow back into production through both channels — i.e., the purchase of consumer goods and investment in plant and equipment. In fact, the record discloses that a high level of income is attained when a large volume of consumption is also accompanied by a large volume of capital investment.

Special attention needs to be called to the effect of the accumulation of savings in the capital pool. When savings accumulate here and are unable to find an investment outlet, production contracts, unemployment increases, the national income shrinks, and a downward spiral of depression sets in. The liberty accorded the possessors of money not to spend it but to hoard it — i.e., to keep it idle — is a liberty which can be so exercised as to throw the whole economy out of balance. Refusal to spend one's money either for consumer goods or capital goods is refusal to claim one's share of the goods and services currently produced. And this refusal to claim one's share of goods and services, this insistence on using money, not as a medium of exchange, but as a store of value, necessarily results in increased inventories, in the piling-up of goods and services in the market. As goods and services are unclaimed, employment drops off and the total volume of production grows smaller. In a money economy the keeping of money idle in large volume has an effect on the volume of production similar to that caused by a general strike on the part of labor. Refusal on the part of the possessors of capital to employ it in some kind of enterprise is on a par with the refusal of laborers or farmers to engage in productive activity.

THE CONCENTRATION OF SAVINGS

It was pointed out previously that during the nineteen-twenties and thirties concentration of corporate ownership and control resulted in a high degree of concentration of profits and income. The

evidence indicates, moreover, that the pattern of income distribution produced an extremely marked concentration of savings. It has often been supposed that American consumers in the lower and moderate income brackets were sufficiently frugal to save and that the sum total of their savings constituted a substantial fraction of the savings of society. The facts do not support this assumption.¹⁶ Saving has been primarily the function of those individuals and families whose income was in the upper brackets (see Table 27). In 1929, nearly

TABLE 27. AGGREGATE SAVINGS OF FAMILIES, BY INCOME GROUPS, 1929*

Income Class (in dollars)	Number of Families	Aggregate Savings	
		In Millions of Dollars	As a Percentage of Total
Under 0	120,000	-1,588	-10
0 to 1,000	5,779,000	-550	-5
1,000 to 2,000	10,455,000	801	5
2,000 to 3,000	5,192,000	1,490	10
3,000 to 4,000	2,440,000	1,319	9
4,000 to 5,000	1,232,000	998	7
5,000 to 10,000	1,625,000	2,549	17
10,000 to 20,000	412,000	2,003	13
20,000 to 50,000	156,000	1,836	12
50,000 to 100,000	39,000	1,165	8
100,000 and over	24,000	5,116	34
All classes	27,474,000	15,139	100

* Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume*, p. 93. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 56. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1934.

6,000,000 families, those with incomes of less than \$1000, showed aggregate negative savings of considerable volume. Approximately 59 per cent of all families — those with incomes at the bottom of the scale — accounted for only 1.6 per cent of the total savings. A relatively small number of families, 2.3 per cent of the total, with incomes in excess of \$10,000 contributed two thirds of the savings of all families. "Approximately 60,000 families at the top of the income scale, with incomes of more than \$50,000 per year, saved almost as

¹⁶ United States National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, pp. 18-19.

much as the 25,000,000 families (91 per cent of the total) having incomes from zero to 5000."¹⁷

A later study made by the National Resources Committee shows that in 1935-36 the general pattern of savings was much the same as in 1929 (Figures 14 and 15). Families and individuals living alone were regarded as consumer units. Of these, 59 per cent with incomes of less than \$1250 a year showed in the aggregate dissavings; they were forced to turn to previous savings, or to other sources to meet current needs.¹⁸ In contrast, 110,000 consumer units with incomes in excess of \$20,000, or 0.3 per cent of the total, accounted for 39.5 per cent of all savings. Families and individuals in this income class, "after spending an average of \$14,800 on current living, and paying income taxes which many wealthy people [regarded] as confiscatory," were able to save 50.8 per cent of their income.¹⁹

Corporate savings were also highly concentrated. In 1937, non-financial corporations reported a gross savings of \$2,869,000,000. Corporations with assets of more than \$1,000,000, or 4.2 per cent of the total, reported 87.5 per cent of the gross savings. One tenth of one per cent of the corporations, those with assets in excess of \$100,000,000, accounted for approximately 30 per cent of the savings. In contrast, 189,000 corporations, or 59 per cent of the total, with assets less than \$50,000 reported negative gross savings.²⁰

The evidence is clear that relatively few individuals and a small number of large corporations provided the great bulk of the savings available for capital investment. Individuals and families with a small income spent most of it for consumer goods; individuals and families with a large income saved a large fraction of it. Thus the pattern of income distribution was an important factor in determining the total volume of savings. The concentration of wealth and income in the hands of a relatively small element of the population lead to a high savings economy. And what was more important, the great bulk of the savings was being made by individuals and

¹⁷ Leven, Moulton, and Warburton, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁸ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Saving, Investment, and National Income*, p. 16. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Monograph 37, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941. See also Temporary National Economic Committee, *Taxation, Recovery, and Defense*, p. 308.

¹⁹ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Taxation, Recovery, and Defense*, p. 308.

²⁰ Temporary National Economic Committee, *Saving, Investment, and National Income*, p. 22.

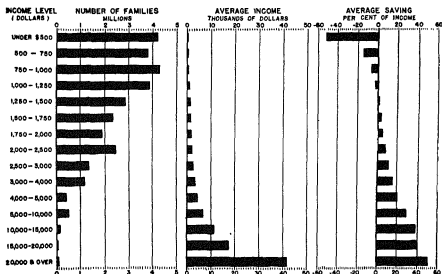


Figure 14. *Incomes and Savings of American Families by Income Levels, 1935-36*

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, CONSUMER EXPENDITURES IN THE UNITED STATES, Estimates for 1935-36, p. 20, as cited in TNEC, TAXATION, RECOVERY, AND DEFENSE, p. 313. INVESTIGATION OF CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER, Monograph 20, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session, Senate Committee Print. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.)

groups who were either unable or unwilling themselves to consume the output of the capital goods their savings made possible. In the minds of some the question was being raised as to whether too large a portion of the total national income was being directed from consumer expenditures into savings. The answer to this question was not an easy one. As a matter of fact, a high rate of savings may contribute to the operation of the economy at a high level. If savings find an outlet in capital goods investment, the effect is to stimulate production and employment, and it cannot be said that too large a proportion of the national income is saved. If on the other hand for some reason a considerable fraction of the total savings does not flow into capital enterprise, unemployment will develop, production decline, and the whole economy falter. The whole question of capital investment is of such importance to the operation of the economy that it requires examination in some detail.

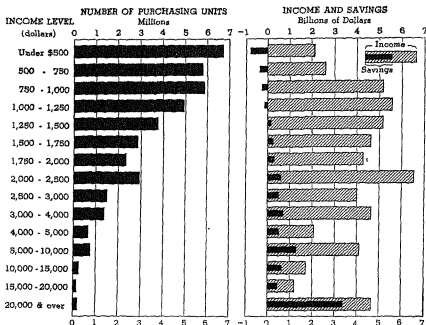


Figure 15. *Incomes and Savings of Families and Single Individuals by Income Levels in the United States, 1935-36*

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, CONSUMER EXPENDITURES IN THE UNITED STATES, Washington, 1939, p. 48, as cited in TNEC, TAXATION, RECOVERY, AND DEFENSE, *Monograph 20*, p. 309.

THE PROBLEM OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Orthodox economic theory took no account of the possibility that savings might not automatically flow into capital investments; it was assumed that savings represented a choice between consumer and capital goods and that a dollar saved would presently find its way into some form of capital investment. According to this analysis, idle money was out of the question and hence there could be no partial use of human and natural resources — no unemployment and depression — as a result of the accumulation of funds in what we have called the capital pool. Since the full productive energy of society would in no way be affected by the relative amount of the total national income that was either spent on consumer goods or saved and since economic well-being did depend upon the increase of capital equipment, the accent came to be placed on saving. In

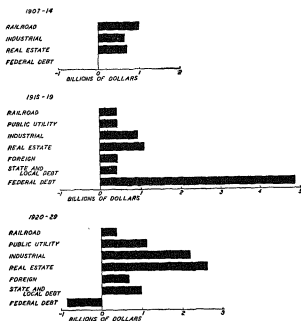


Figure 16. Summary Picture of Investment Outlets, 1907-29 Annual Averages, by Economic Periods

From HAROLD G. MOULTON, GEORGE W. EDWARDS, JAMES D. MAGEE, CLEONA LEWIS, CAPITAL EXPANSION, EMPLOYMENT, AND ECONOMIC STABILITY, p. 17. *The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 82.* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1940.)

fact, inequality of income could be and sometimes was justified on the ground that it made a greater volume of savings possible.²¹

During most of our history, the conception that savings would automatically flow into capital investment fitted closely the facts of economic life. The development of a raw continent called for the expenditure of a vast volume of funds for the development of land, the building of ships, and the promotion of trade and commerce. Later the construction of transportation facilities — turnpikes, canals, railroads — opened up ever-broadening channels for the flow of savings into investment. Each succeeding frontier was an outlet for investment as was an expanding agriculture, commerce, and industry. Population increased nearly fifteen-fold during the nineteenth century and the demand for funds to provide the capital goods required to meet expanding needs was great. During the first three decades

²¹ For a more extended discussion see Harold G. Moulton, *The Formation of Capital*, p. 156 ff. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 59. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1935.

of the present century billions of dollars were required annually to finance the development and maintenance of railroads, new industrial enterprises, public utilities, urban and rural real estate, as well as roads, school buildings, and other projects being carried forward by local and state governments and by the federal government. Figure 16 presents a summary picture of investment outlets for the period 1907-29. To maintain the prosperity of the nineteen-twenties, it was necessary to find annual investment outlets in gross capital formation ranging in amount from \$11,000,000,000 to \$22,000,000,000 (Figure 17 and Table 28). The experience of the twenties and the thirties made it clear that prosperity and relatively full employment in a high savings economy such as ours had come to be required a continuous and an expanding volume of investment in capital goods.

Shortly after the close of World War I, the problem of finding adequate investment outlets for savings showed signs of becoming acute. The pattern of income distribution was such as to cause money savings to increase faster than consumptive expenditures. As already noted, a relatively small number of persons were recipients of a large fraction of the national income which they were in a position to save rather than to spend for consumer goods. This high concentration of income and its effect on saving is reflected in

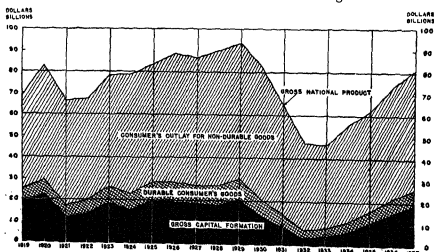


Figure 17. Gross National Product and Capital Formation, and Consumer's Outlay for Durable Goods and Other Goods and Services, 1919-37

TNEC, SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT, INVESTIGATION OF CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER, Part 9, p. 3499. *Hearings before the TNEC, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session.*

TABLE 28.* GROSS AND NET CAPITAL FORMATION, 1919-37,†
PRIVATE AND PUBLIC
(In millions of dollars)

Year	Gross Capital Formation	Net Capital Formation
1919.....	19,341	10,517
1920.....	22,100	11,650
1921.....	11,488	3,683
1922.....	13,282	5,802
1923.....	18,199	9,691
1924.....	15,245	6,823
1925.....	19,211	10,644
1926.....	19,037	9,734
1927.....	18,208	8,859
1928.....	17,824	8,168
1929.....	20,298	10,082
1930.....	13,662	3,879
1931.....	8,464	-278
1932.....	3,147	-4,427
1933.....	4,268	-2,987
1934.....	6,123	-1,533
1935.....	10,027	2,189
1936.....	14,594	6,301
1937.....	18,846	9,531

* Temporary National Economic Committee, *Savings and Investment*, p. 4008. Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, Part 9. Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

† Source: Kuznets, *National Income and Capital Formation, 1919-1935*, except that data for 1934-37 are preliminary and are reproduced with the special permission of Dr. Kuznets and the National Bureau of Economic Research [footnote in original].

the fact that in 1929 only 2.3 per cent of the families of the nation were required to account for more than two thirds of all savings.²²

An accelerated rate of capital investment might have been expected to absorb these increased savings but such was not in fact the case. During the decade of the twenties, according to the analysis of the Brookings Institution, we were utilizing only about eighty per cent of our productive capacity.²³ Under such conditions business leadership was not disposed to go on building new factories and other agencies of production that were not needed to supply con-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

²³ See Edwin G. Nourse and associates, *America's Capacity to Produce*. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 55. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1934.

sumptive demands. The net result was that savings continued to increase faster than consumptive expenditures and that a considerable volume of these funds did not find an outlet in capital investment. As a matter of fact, a very large part of these excess savings were employed to inflate the price of outstanding securities and were dissipated in a speculative boom. In one of its investigations, the Brookings Institution has commented as follows on the problem of excess savings during the nineteen-twenties:

Summarizing this discussion, we had funds available for investment ranging from around 8 or 9 billions in 1923-24 to as much as 15 or 16 billions in 1928-29. On the other hand, the volume of new corporate issues for productive purposes, including mortgages, remained practically stationary at about 5 billions. The amount of the savings that passed into hands of business enterprisers for use in buying materials and hiring labor for the construction of new plant and equipment was thus about 5 billion dollars annually. The question is what became of the balance. . . .

The answer is that, aside from that portion which went into foreign issues, the excess savings were absorbed, dissipated, in bidding up the prices of outstanding securities. Money savings were thus transferred increasingly into speculative profits rather than into productive plant and equipment. The inflation of security values resulted in a vulnerable financial structure, the collapse of which was an important contributing factor to the depression.²⁴

During the decade preceding the outbreak of World War II, the problem of finding outlets for the investment of savings in capital goods became a central problem in our economy. In the minds of many, future economic stability and even the fate of private enterprise itself had come to depend upon the solution of this problem. Even during the depression years of the thirties the pattern of income distribution was still such that a relatively small percentage of the population was still able to accumulate a substantial volume of savings. The National Resources Committee estimated that savings by individuals amounted to approximately \$6,000,000,000 in 1935-36.²⁵ Corporate savings were also made in considerable volume. The total amount of individual and corporate funds annually available for investment during the latter years of

²⁴ Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 151.

²⁵ United States National Resources Committee, *Consumer Expenditures in the United States*, p. 53. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939.

the nineteen-thirties has been estimated as something like \$6,000,000,000 or \$7,000,000,000.²⁶ There was a plethora of funds for investment which private enterprise could not or did not absorb. For the three-year period 1926-28, the total volume of securities and mortgages issued was \$24,000,000,000 as compared with only \$4,000,000,000 for the best three-year post-depression period 1936-38²⁷ (Table 29). After 1931 the total annual volume of new domestic

TABLE 29.* NEW DOMESTIC CORPORATE SECURITIES ISSUED ANNUALLY
EXCLUDING REFUNDING ISSUES†

(In millions of dollars)

Calendar Year	Bonds and Notes	Preferred and Common Stocks	Total
1931.....	1,234	311	1,545
1932.....	305	20	325
1933.....	40	119	159
1934.....	143	35	178
1935.....	335	69	404
1936.....	849	344	1,193
1937.....	754	402	1,156
1938.....	789	65	854
1939, to June 30.....	149	60	209

* Harold G. Moulton, George W. Edwards, James D. Magee, and Cleona Lewis, *Capital Expansion, Employment, and Economic Stability*, p. 41. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Publication 82. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1940.

† Compiled from the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*.

corporate securities, excluding refunding issues, ranged from \$159,000,000 in 1933 to somewhat more than \$1,000,000,000 in 1936. From 1931 to 1938 the savings made available for investment through life insurance companies alone were in excess of new corporate flotations, including stocks and bonds.²⁸ "In the year 1933 the largest insurance company had savings available for investment of an aggregate amount more than three times the volume of new corporate bond and note issues. Two other companies had nearly double the amount."²⁹ In 1938, new corporate securities, including bonds, notes, and stocks, amounted to less than one half the funds made available for investment by insurance savings, deposits in mutual savings banks, and savings and time deposits of commercial

²⁶ Moulton, Edwards, Magee, and Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

banks.³⁰ It is not surprising that in the same year insurance companies were carrying cash balances of \$800,000,000, that mutual savings banks had about \$500,000,000 on deposit in commercial banks, and that commercial banks had four billion of excess reserves.³¹

In the early years of the nineteen-thirties a fundamental change occurred in the investment outlets for savings. As the depression deepened and human suffering increased, the federal government stepped in and undertook through deficit spending to put idle money and idle men to work. Figure 18 indicates strikingly the extent to which federal borrowing supplanted private investment as an outlet for savings. It is interesting to note, however, that during the nineteen-twenties a greater volume of savings was absorbed by real estate alone than by deficit spending on the part of the federal government during the nineteen-thirties. Moreover, as events turned out, deficit spending, however helpful it may have been, was insufficient, even in conjunction with private capital formation, to bring about full employment of human resources. With millions still unemployed and with production far less than it might have been, it was obvious that the problem of savings, investment, and unemployment had not been solved. It took an armament program and war itself to provide a temporary solution.

The failure of the decade before World War II to provide a solution of the problem of idle money and idle men brought forth searching analyses of the structure and operation of the economic system in the hope that the factors that were preventing recovery might be identified. Testimony before the Temporary National Economic Committee in 1939 established the significant fact that for many years the gross savings of the corporate system, consisting of funds from internal sources, were of such magnitude as to finance the great bulk of investments in plant and equipment.³² In other words, except in years of unusually great activity, American business as a whole had been able to supply the necessary funds for plant and equipment out of its own savings without having to absorb the savings of the general public. These funds were derived in the main from profits retained and from allowances set aside for depreciation and depletion. Edward R. Stettinius, Chairman of the Board of the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.

³¹ Testimony of Dr. Donald H. Davenport before the Temporary National Economic Committee, *Savings and Investment*, pp. 3768-69.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 3561 ff.

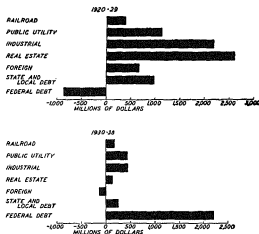


Figure 18. Changes in Investment Outlets, 1920-29
v. 1930-38

From HAROLD G. MOULTON, GEORGE W. EDWARDS, JAMES D. MAGEE, and CLEONA LEWIS, CAPITAL EXPANSION, EMPLOYMENT, AND ECONOMIC STABILITY, p. 35. *The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution.*

United States Steel Corporation, testified that for the period 1921-38 his company had spent \$1,222,252,649 for plant and equipment and that of this amount 96 per cent had come from internal sources — \$191,890,003 from retained profits, \$50,093,864 from tax refunds, and \$937,792,891 from allowances for depreciation and depletion.³³ Moreover, Mr. Stettinius testified that so far as the immediate future was concerned he did not think his corporation would find it necessary to tap individual savings very much, that the prospect for individual savings being canalized into the operations of his company was very, very low.³⁴ Owen D. Young, of the General Electric Company, testified that the experience of his corporation had paralleled closely that of the United States Steel Corporation.³⁵ From 1921 to 1939 his organization had spent less on plant equipment than had been accumulated in depreciation reserves.³⁶ Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., testified that for the same period the General Motors Corporation had accumulated \$1,009,189,442 from depreciation allowances and undivided profits and that only \$770,765,241 had been spent on plant and equipment.³⁷ "In the eighteen-year period there has been," he

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4026.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3597.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3598 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3620-31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4031-32.

said, "substantially no outside financing."³⁸ Doctor Oscar L. Altman, of the Securities and Exchange Commission, presented data that showed the extent to which business enterprise as a whole had been able to finance expansion from internal sources. From 1923 to 1929 American business as a whole spent annually for plant construction, machinery, and equipment \$8,500,000,000. The average annual amount available from internal sources — from depreciation, depletion, and retained profits — was \$6,400,000,000.³⁹ Thus, during this period of great business activity American business was in a position to supply approximately three fourths of the funds required for capital investment. Doctor Altman testified further:

During the three years 1935 through 1937 business enterprises spent 17.4 billions for plant, machinery, and equipment. . . . During these same years business enterprises set aside from savings, depreciation, and depletion, a total of 16 billion. Internal sources therefore furnished 92 per cent of the expenditures for plant construction and equipment.⁴⁰

Other factors were regarded, in some quarters at least, as contributing to the failure of private enterprise to provide investment outlet for savings. Prominent among these was the decline in the rate of population growth, the failure to develop great new industries, a concentration of wealth and income that made possible too large a volume of savings, and the decline of competition and the development of an inflexible price structure. In the minds of some the idea was taking form that the American economy had reached a state of maturity and that its future development would be very different from that of the past. Those inclined to this view were disposed to discount the possibility that private enterprise in the future would be able to provide the capital expansion necessary for full employment or for absorption of the large volume of savings likely to accrue. They were disposed to regard capital formation on the part of the federal government as an inescapable supplement to private capital formation. Moreover, some adherents of this school of thought were pointedly raising the question as to whether too large a fraction of the national income was not being diverted from consumptive expenditures into savings. If such were the case, steps should be taken, it was suggested, through taxation and other

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3651.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3684.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3692.

means, to prevent too large a volume of savings from accumulating for investment purposes.

There was general agreement that stagnation in the capital markets was a serious obstacle to economic recovery, but there was the widest disagreement as to the causes of this stagnation or the remedies to be applied. Many held that the real difficulty lay in the role that government was playing in the whole area of economic life. Many business leaders were of the opinion that adequate outlets for savings would be found by private enterprise if only government would adopt fiscal and economic measures calculated to restore confidence in private enterprise. The coming of the war temporarily solved the problem of savings, investment, and full employment, but the problem is once more a central one in our economy.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 13

1. To what extent does the pattern of income distribution in the United States affect the opportunity for youth to attend school and college? Social well-being generally?
2. In what ways, if any, would a more liberal support of education affect the economic well-being of the nation?
3. Do you see any relation between the pattern of income distribution, the flow of funds through the economic system, capital investment, and business booms and depressions?
4. Why may it be more difficult in the future than it has generally been in the past to find capital investment outlets for savings?
5. How do you account for the fact that wars are usually accompanied by full employment and a rise in the national income?
6. Make a list of the major facts and generalizations with respect to the shifting pattern of economic life that you think should be included at some point in the curriculum of the senior high school or junior college.

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Chapter 14 ~ The Relation of Government to the Economy

THE EFFECTIVENESS with which the economy operates is an important factor in determining many of the conditions of American life. When full use is made of human and natural resources, the national income is at a relatively high level, the doors of occupational opportunity for youth swing open more widely and more easily, increased migration from farm to city relieves much of the pressure of population on the land, the farmer shares more equitably in the social income, the support of an adequate program of education is easier, the stage is set for cultural-intellectual advance, human association is on a more fraternal basis, the ideal of social mobility is more nearly a reality, and the United States is in a position to exercise a more effective leadership in world affairs. When, in contrast, the economy falters and widespread unemployment develops and persists, a large fraction of the wage earners of the nation have to turn to the government for relief, the profits of business enterprise shrink or disappear altogether, past savings are wiped out in large volume, a youth problem emerges for which no amount of vocational education or guidance is a solution, the financial support of education and other public services is curtailed, the incidence of personal frustration is magnified, and the fear that personal frustration will add up to disastrous social frustration always lurks in the background. Obviously the challenge to our generation is to work out an over-all policy system with respect to the economic order that takes adequate account of the changes which have occurred in the structure and operation of the economy during the past three quarters of a century—the concentration of power in the large corporation, the decline of price competition, the spread of relatively inflexible prices into large segments of the economy, the increasing concentration of income, the development of a high savings economy, and the ap-

pearance of conditions that make it more difficult to find adequate offsets to savings. The development of such an over-all policy system through democratic processes will require much experimentation as well as a popular understanding of proposed programs. Above all, fundamental decisions will have to be made with respect to the relation of government to the economy.

In a simple rural economy like that of the United States a few generations ago, most men built their security on their own farms, shops, or small business concerns. As a rule, the means and tools of production were owned by those who used them. Under such conditions, the spirit of individual self-reliance was strong and the essential role of government was to maintain law and order. Now, conditions are vastly different; most producers are employees and such security as they have is based mainly on their jobs. It is not surprising, therefore, that next to problems of peace or war unemployment has come to be the major problem of our time. Nor is it strange that the attitude of many should have changed with respect to the relation of government to the economy, that many now look to government as the bed rock of their security, relying upon it to maintain the conditions that make for full employment or to provide jobs when private industry fails to make them available.

The record discloses that during the closing decades of the nineteenth and the first four decades of the present century the increasing interrelatedness and interdependence of human affairs, created by technological revolution, changed fundamentally the role of government in American life. Leviathan industry tended inescapably to produce the leviathan state. The old institutions of family, community, church, and state government were unable to cope with problems that were no longer local but nation-wide in their sweep. Slowly at first and later more swiftly the federal government multiplied its functions and extended its controls. This extension of function is no recent phenomenon; for fifty years before the outbreak of World War II, the expansion of the federal government, measured in terms of civilian employees, proceeded at a rate of about fifty per cent each decade.¹

The crisis created by depression and war forced the federal government to assume virtual control of the economic life of the nation.

¹ Harry C. Mansfield, "Government," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (May, 1942), 960.

No one can doubt that one of the major peace-time problems is to work out a configuration of policies that will insure reasonably full employment and at the same time define clearly the relation of government to the economy.

It seems unlikely that government will ever again assume the relatively passive role it occupied in the system of national policies inherited from the nineteenth century. The concentration of economic power would appear to make this impracticable, if not impossible. The history of Western civilization would seem to indicate that the state cannot for long tolerate in the society a power equal to or greater than its own. When the concentration of such power takes place in some other institution, be it church or industry, a struggle between that institution and the state seems certain to ensue. The nature of this struggle in our society was clearly seen by Professor Sumner Slichter of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration at the height of the prosperity of the nineteen-twenties. Writing in 1928 he said:

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, large business units, more than any other feature of our economic arrangements, create the problem of the relationship between industry and the state. The history of government shows that whenever powerful extra-political organizations arise, the relationship which shall exist between them and the state becomes a major political issue. It was so in the Middle Ages when the power of the Papacy made the relationship between church and the state perhaps the supreme political problem. Today the development of huge business enterprises has made the relationship between industry and the state *the* political issue of the age. It occupies much the same position in modern political life as did the problem of the church and the state in the Middle Ages.²

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Changes in the structure and operational aspects of the economy, together with the new relation of government to the economic order, create for institutionalized education a new and enlarged responsibility. Decisions important for the future of the nation, and for the individuals composing it, will have to be made with respect to eco-

² Sumner H. Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, p. 147. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928.

nomic and social policy, and these decisions should be based upon an adequate knowledge of the issues involved. Secondary schools and colleges, as well as the various agencies of adult education, will fail in their duty if they do not cultivate in the citizenry of the nation an understanding of both the structure and operation of the economy. This understanding should be adequate to serve as a touchstone to proposed policies whether they relate to the internal operation of the economy itself or to the relation of the government to the economic order. It is perhaps not an unfair criticism to say that most youth graduating from secondary schools and colleges today have been conditioned psychologically to accept an over-all policy system with respect to the economy that is in fact no longer operative. Many of them have not been made aware, in any real sense, of the choices they must make between conflicting policy systems, nor are they equipped with the understanding and insight required to make an intelligent choice. It is not a proper function of educational institutions to cultivate in youth the acceptance of specific formulas for the solution of economic and political problems nor to seek to develop in them allegiance to any particular over-all policy system. Secondary schools and colleges are places where critical inquiry should be cultivated, where youth are trained to gather evidence, to balance arguments, and to reach their own conclusions. Certainly it is not too much to expect of our educational institutions that they prepare youth to pass intelligent judgment on important matters of public policy whether in the area of government or economy.

THE CHOICE OF POLICY SYSTEMS

As the nineteen-thirties drew to a close, it was clear that if acceptable social goals were to be realized in America, the relation of government to the business community would have to be defined in more consistent terms. Opportunism, *ad hoc* solutions of specific problems, needed to give place to an integrated and internally consistent system of political and economic policies. Leadership in government and business often worked at cross purposes in the absence of some over-all policy system into which the solutions of specific problems could be meshed. The need of a system of policies was clear but just what principles or elements should be incorporated

in the system was far from clear. Lack of adequate knowledge of the structure and operation of the economy, inability to predict with certainty the outcomes of new policies or proposals, deep-seated prejudices and traditions, vested interests, the dangers involved in any fundamental change in social policy — all these made experimentation in working out a new policy system difficult. And yet experimentation, within the framework of democracy, appeared to offer the only hope of solution.

A central problem encountered by those who think in terms of a system of policies is whether or not the system of policies inherited from the nineteenth century is compatible with the conditions of modern economic life. A large fraction of the business community entertains the view that there is no inherent incompatibility, that the old policy system is just as workable in the new as in the old economy. They are convinced, moreover, that the failure to recover from the depression of the nineteen-thirties was due primarily to a departure from old principles. In other words, the real difficulty lay in too much public control of business and in the failure of government to adopt and follow policies calculated to restore confidence in private enterprise. Others take the view that the old system of policies is inconsistent with the new economic structure. But here again there is a cleavage of opinion. Some hold that the structure of the economy should be so modified as to be consistent with old policies. Others are disposed to accept, in the main, the existing economic structure and to insist upon a modification of inherited policies to make them workable under new and changing conditions.³ The opinion that both the old principles and the new economic structure are hopeless is not without its adherents. To some, at least, socialism is the only alternative. Each of these positions places a fundamentally different emphasis on the role of the political state in the economic life of the nation.

If one is to understand the basis of these differences of opinion which go to the very heart of one of the most significant problems confronting the American people, one must keep in mind the essential elements of the system of policies inherited from the nineteenth century as well as the changes that have occurred in the structure

³ See United States National Resources Planning Board, "The Controversy over the Problem of Full Employment," *The Structure of the American Economy*, Part II: *Toward Full Use of Resources*, pp. 9 ff. A symposium by Gardiner C. Means and others, June, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

and operation of the national economy. As Gardiner Means points out, the three major functions of government in this system of inherited policies are:

(1) To establish conditions conducive to private enterprise by such actions as protecting property, enforcing contracts, and providing a safe money medium;

(2) to insure reasonable prices by enforcing competition where the latter could be effective and by regulating or operating enterprise in those cases where competition was not regarded as a satisfactory regulatory device;

(3) to supply services which private enterprise could not effectively supply, such as police and fire protection, highways, postal service, and education.⁴

To quote Means still further:

If government performed these three basic functions reasonably well, and if other matters were left to the initiative of individuals operating through free enterprise, the market mechanism could be relied on to insure reasonably full and effective use of resources through the automatic adjustment which it would bring about.⁵

The major changes that have occurred in the economic system may be summarized, somewhat categorically to be sure, as follows. An economy of many small producers, no one of whom could produce enough to affect prices materially, has given place to an economy in which a few large corporations have come to occupy a dominant position. Diffusion of ownership of industrial enterprise has given place to a high degree of concentration of ownership. In the old economy, control of productive property was usually vested in the hands of those who owned it, but now control and ownership have, to a considerable degree, become separated. Relatively free competition has given place, in large segments of the economy, to monopolistic or regulated competition. Competitive, flexible prices in many industries, in much of the labor market, and to a considerable extent in agriculture, have given place to administered, inflexible prices. Both profits and income have become highly concentrated. The savings of the community no longer find their way quickly and easily into private capital investment but, often in large volume, remain idle in savings institutions or flow into government bonds to finance

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

deficit spending. In short, what had been essentially a free enterprise economy has become, to a remarkable degree, an administered economy. The market mechanism has been supplanted by administrative decision throughout large segments of the economy.

Those who hold that the inherited system of policies is as workable in the new economy as in the old may appear to underestimate, or to ignore, the essential changes that have occurred in the economic life of the nation. A far more realistic position is taken by those who still maintain that the inherited system of policies is workable in a technological society provided certain fundamental changes are made in the economic structure. Among the changes required, the most important is the restoration of free competition. This position implies "that every industry should be either effectively competitive or socialized; that government should plan definitely on socialization of . . . every . . . industry where competitive conditions cannot be preserved."⁶ In other words, the state would take vigorous measures to break up many of the large corporations and to prevent associated action in any form which aims at the restraint of trade. Apparently this position would also require the withholding from labor organizations of the right to maintain rigid wage scales as well as the abandonment of the policy of enacting legislation aimed at keeping farm prices at a noncompetitive level. If all the rigidities in the economic structure erected by industrialists, labor, and farmers to restrict competition were removed, the market mechanism could again be relied on to co-ordinate the myriad of relationships involved in the processes of production and distribution of goods and services.

Obviously, a decision to atomize American economic life to the point necessary to bring about free competition and a flexible price structure would require an exercise of governmental power far in excess of any that has ever been employed in times of peace. The state has so long neglected the positive exercise of the authority required to maintain free competition and the concentration of economic power has become so great that many despair of the possibility of carrying through "a positive program of *laissez faire*." The road to free competition in the American economy appears to lead

⁶ Henry C. Shons, *A Positive Program for Laissez Faire: Some Proposals for a Liberal Economic Policy*, p. . Public Policy Pamphlet 15. Edited by Harry D. Gideonse. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

through so much government restraint as to put in jeopardy the heritage of individual freedom. Moreover, many are fearful of the economic and social losses and dislocations which such a policy might well entail. To many it appears that a society of numerous small producers would find it impossible to make full use of technological gains. And finally, and perhaps most important, is the belief, on the part of many, that the old mechanisms relied on in a strictly free-enterprise economy would prove inadequate under the conditions of modern economic life. The question has been pointedly raised: "Is there sufficient sensitivity of goods, prices, wage rates, unit profits, and interest rates to allow the mechanisms underlying the inherited system of policies to work effectively?"⁷ More specifically, as Gardiner Means puts it:

Could the railroads be operated on a basis of quick readjustments in freight rates and wage rates whenever the traffic in one commodity or another fell off or when total traffic declined or expanded? Could the telephone system be operated on the basis of frequent short-run readjustments in rates with changes in the volume of messages being handled? Could automobile production be organized as efficiently as it is, if it were made so competitive that prices closely followed the fluctuation in orders, going down sharply whenever orders showed a tendency to fall off and rising sharply with rising demand? Could labor be sure of its share in total production, if in dealing with big corporate enterprise it was not able to resort to collective bargaining and fixed wage agreements, which in turn help to fix the labor costs of products for short periods of time? When two hundred corporations control approximately half of the industrial wealth of the country and nearly two-thirds of the land, buildings, and equipment that are owned by non-financial corporations, it is hardly reasonable to expect the type of competition which will produce that high degree of price sensitivity which is so typical of an agricultural economy such as characterized this country seventy-five or one hundred years ago.⁸

Of course, the answer to these queries on the part of those who insist on a positive program of *laissez faire* is that it is the duty of government to establish and maintain that degree of competition necessary to insure adequate price, wage, and interest-rate short-run

⁷ United States National Resources Planning Board, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

sensitivity. But, as we have seen, to many such a policy appears impracticable because of political, technological, and economic considerations.

Economists and leaders in the business community who are disposed to accept the existing structure of the American economy and who feel the necessity of devising a new system of policies that will prove workable are divided roughly into two groups: (1) those who believe that the formulation and implementation of the new system of policies is the primary responsibility of the leaders of the business community; (2) those who look to government to play an important role in the development and execution of the new system of policies. Many members of the first group are fearful of the future of private enterprise in America unless industrialists, labor leaders, and farm leaders are willing to abandon the policy of restricting production in the interest of their special groups and to place the general welfare above individual profit. But they are not without faith in both the ability and the inclination of persons in key positions in the economy to rise to a high level of economic statesmanship and to devise a system of policies that will work as satisfactorily as the old automatic mechanisms of an earlier day. The following quotations, one from a statement of an industrial leader and the other from a book by an economist, represent the point of view of those who look to the good will and the intelligence of the business community as the source of a new workable system of policies. Said the industrial leader:

The financial and managerial components of our Free Enterprise System must prove, by deeds as well as by words, their full comprehension of their social responsibilities — their deep sense of public service — and their unmatched capacity to positively plan — to put into effect — and, if you will, to police by self-imposed rules, a constitution for industrial and commercial progress acceptable to the majority of our people — people whose economic security and destiny are vitally affected by the decisions of these controlling components of the system. And in the circumstances surrounding us today, who will doubt that this action must be prompt and positive, and of a character which will demonstrate, beyond the chance of successful challenge, that the public-spirited people administering private enterprise inherently and actually excel the people comprising political organizations — no matter how sincere the intentions of

the latter may be — as instrumentalities for insuring an ever-increasing measure of economic freedom and security for all the people — save the indolent — all of the time?⁹

Doctor Edwin G. Nourse, in his *Price-Making in a Democracy*, expressed much the same point of view:

The executives of these corporate enterprises constitute a small class of economic administrative agents who accept — indeed seek — the responsibility of directing the private enterprise system. . . .

They may interpret free enterprise in the aristocratic sense of maximum freedom for the strong, clever, or ruthless rather than the democratic sense of maximum assurance that each individual will have opportunity to express his personal enterprise as willingness to work according to his talents, however small. They may administer it in the aristocratic sense of progressive accumulation of ownership control in the hands of a functional group which tends to divert subsequent gains largely to itself. Modern industrialism builds up a class of professional managers — by no means identical with the ownership group — who may seek tenure of office by following unreservedly the dictates of the proprietary group. Or they may adopt policies designed to accelerate activity and maximize efficiency of the whole population. To do so implies that their own remuneration shall be established in an open supply-and-demand market for managerial talent. It implies that capital shall find its return at the level which will just maintain plant in the volume which will be fully utilized and in the quality which will keep step with advancing technological knowledge. Similarly, property values must find their level in conformity with the rate of capitalization and the earnings that result from full-scale use of labor. . . .

It is our belief that private enterprise thus organized and operated affords the most efficient scheme for carrying on the economic life of a free people. Opening the gates of production and exchange to assure product and letting valuation adjust itself freely to such activity would promote successful private capitalism. Withholding productive effort as a means of protecting predetermined valuations shrinks the total national dividend from which all must draw their shares, and thus in the end defeats the whole system.¹⁰

⁹ Charles E. Wilson, Address before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, January 29, 1941, as published in the *American Magazine*, November, 1941, and quoted in Edwin G. Nourse, *Price-Making in a Democracy*, p. 142. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1944.

¹⁰ Nourse, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 143-44.

Others who are seeking a system of policies that will fit the conditions of modern economic life would assign to government a much larger role in policy formation. They accept the fact that a free-enterprise economy in the old sense has given place, in very large measure, to an administered economy; they still look to individual enterprise for the major part of actual production, but they regard it as a responsibility of government to determine, or at least to participate in determining, the general framework of policies within which private initiative is to operate. In other words, both the public interest and the effective operation of the economy require that government play an important part in giving direction to the economic life of the nation. Since the old mechanisms of automatic adjustments have, in large measure, given place to administrative decision, it is essential that government have a part in determining what the decisions should be. To quote Harvey C. Mansfield:

The administrative state is, in fact, the political response to the economic problems of a technological civilization. Interdependence means organization if social goals are to be attained, and a redefinition of freedom if equality is still to be sought. In a policy of universal suffrage the equalitarian demand of common men that their basic material needs be provided for is irresistible; and democratic government consequently cannot do else than turn increasingly to the regulation of economic affairs, blundering to competence as it goes and lucky if it manages to preserve the essential personal freedoms of thought and expression that dignify human life.¹¹

Finally, socialism affords still another possible choice among policy systems. But socialism is commonly regarded as being foreign to the American way of life and its advocates have never been very numerous.

We face the problem of choosing from among a number of over-all policy systems within the framework of which our economy must be built. The various economic systems resulting from the acceptance of one or another of these over-all policy systems may be described as follows:

(1) A free-enterprise economy in which the old automatic mechanisms could be relied upon to co-ordinate the relationships involved in economic activity. Government would adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude with respect to the operations of economic life, but it would be

¹¹ Mansfield, *op. cit.*, p. 960.

forced to play a positive role in maintaining the conditions under which free enterprise could in fact operate.

(2) An economy in part free enterprise and in part socialistic. The government would undertake to establish and maintain free competition in as many areas of economic life as possible but it would take over and operate all industries in which it proved impossible or impracticable to enforce free competition.

(3) An essentially administered economy, one in which the old automatic mechanisms would be largely supplanted by human judgments, the judgments to be made in the main by corporation executives and others in key positions in the economic life of the nation with a minimum of co-operation with, or "interference" by, government.

(4) An essentially administered economy, but with government playing an important role in policy formation.

(5) A socialistic economy with government, of course, playing a dominant role.

It is important, in order to avoid too great confusion and working at cross-purpose, that the solution of specific problems be approached with some over-all policy system in mind. Opportunistic and *ad hoc* solutions can only be relied on as temporary expedients. National economic policy should have internal consistency and should conform to the actuality of economic life. If the policy system inherited from the nineteenth century proves no longer workable in the modern economy, it would be fatal to nurse the illusion that it is; if the old policy system is to be abandoned and a new one worked out, decisions must be made with deliberation and with as full knowledge as is possible of the probable consequences. It is of special importance that youth who will have to choose between policy systems in the course of their adult years be intellectually equipped for the task. Herein lies a major responsibility of the American school and college.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 14

1. How do you account for the increasing participation of government in the area of economic life?
2. Do you agree that the relation of the government to the economy will be a major problem of public policy in this country? Defend your position.

3. Make a clear statement of the functions of government in the policy system inherited from the nineteenth century.
4. Draw up a summary statement of the major changes that have occurred in the structure and function of the American economy during the past three-quarters of a century or so.
5. Indicate what seem to be the different types of economic systems between which the American people must choose.
6. Do you think American youth are being adequately educated to make a wise choice between these systems?
7. Define the kind of economic system you would advocate. Show how the acceptance of this kind of system by people generally would affect the social studies curriculum in school and college.

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Chapter 15 ~ New Social Dynamics:

PROBLEMS OF POPULATION CHANGE

DURING THE CLOSING DECADES of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, the triumphs of science and invention, the development of great new industries, the swift change from a rural to an industrial civilization, the mushrooming of great cities, the rise of giant corporations, the ceaseless movement of people into this country from abroad and the reshuffling of the population from region to region within — these and other aspects of American life blended into the making of a vast drama that compelled attention. At the same time another change of revolutionary importance was taking place, a change that was quiet, unheralded, and by most people unnoticed. For the first time in its history, mankind had discovered and was employing highly effective means of limiting its numbers. Throughout western Europe and America, the small family pattern began to appear among certain elements of the population, and as the practice of family limitation spread, it became apparent to students of population change that a demographic revolution, world-wide in its sweep, was underway. The falling off of the rate of population growth; the changing age composition of the population; the growing importance of national, regional, community, and class differentials in fertility; the unequal pressure of population on the resource structure of regions and nations, with the consequent movement of people in search of economic and social opportunity — these and other aspects of population change created problems that were central in the political, economic, and social life of nations. In our own country, one could not travel far along the highways or byways of any area of economic, political, or social life without coming face to face with one or another of the problems growing out of a changing population. One aspect or another of the population problem was almost sure to intrude itself into the con-

sideration of any program for the full utilization of human and natural resources, for the reorientation of agriculture in American life, for the establishment of economic balance between the different regions of the nation, for the occupational adjustment of both youth and the older worker, for the safeguarding of the family as a social institution, for the improvement of health or housing, or for the establishment and maintenance of equality of educational opportunity. In short, population problems had become an integral part of the total structure of social and public policy.

THE PROSPECT OF A DECLINING POPULATION

At the outbreak of World War II, a declining birth rate had come to characterize all the great industrial nations of the world. Everywhere the small-family pattern was associated with an advancing technology and the development of a complex, urban, competitive economy. Throughout most of northern and western Europe fertility was insufficient to maintain the population at its existing level, and if prevailing trends in fertility and mortality had continued, within a few decades at most the population of western Europe would have reached a maximum and possibly would have begun to decline.

The small-family system appeared in France soon after the Revolution and it persisted despite the efforts of the government to arrest it. In 1933, the birth rate in France was about 12 per cent below that required to replace the parent stock and in 1938 the number of deaths exceeded the number of births. In England, the birth rate was even lower than in France: English women were having only about three fourths enough children for family replacement. England would soon have joined France in having an excess of deaths over births. It was estimated that if the fertility rates and death rates for each year of age had remained the same as in 1933, the population of England would have fallen to less than 20,000,000 in about a century.¹ In Germany, too, until the advent of Hitler, the birth rate was characterized by a downward spiral. In 1933, the net reproduction rate in Germany was .70, that is, fertility was 30 per cent below what was required to maintain a stable population. Under prevailing conditions of fertility and mortality, the popula-

¹ A. M. Carr-Saunders, *World Population*, p. 128. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.

tion of Germany eventually would have declined 30 per cent each generation. In Sweden, the net reproduction rate was about .75. The birth rate in the towns of Sweden was only about one half that required to replace the parent stock and in some of the larger cities, such as Stockholm, the reproduction rate was as low as .40. The prospect was that the net reproduction rate for the country as a whole might fall as low as .50.² In most of the countries of southern and eastern Europe birth rates were still comparatively high, although fertility was declining. The efforts of government to arrest the falling birth rate in Italy had not succeeded, and in Spain, Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania there had been an appreciable decline in fertility since about 1920. The net reproduction rate in European Russia was about 1.70, but in the Ukraine at least the birth rate was falling. Even in Japan, where much was heard of the pressure of population on the resource structure, the birth rate, although high by Western standards, was also falling. It was clear that western Europe was on the point of reversing a long-time historic trend of population increase and was about to enter a period of population decline. As we shall see later, the rate of population growth was falling off in the United States and here, too, the prospect of a declining population was not too far in the future. In sharp contrast, in areas of the world less well-developed economically — notably in Asia and Africa — fertility rates were such as to make certain a rapid increase of population unless held in check by war, famine, or disease.

TRENDS IN POPULATION GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES

The rate of population growth in this country during the past three centuries has been unparalleled in history. Increase in numbers has been due in part to immigration but more particularly to the high rate of natural increase. During a large part of our history both economic conditions and social attitudes have been favorable to the rearing of large families. During the late eighteenth century, for example, the average number of children born per mother was 7.8.³ From the middle of the seventeenth century to the Civil War

² Gunnar Myrdal, *Population: A Problem for Democracy*, p. 53. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.

³ L. M. Brooks, "The Population Problem," chap. XXIX, in C. N. Pegg and others, *American Society and the Changing World*. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1942.

population doubled about every twenty-four years and it doubled again during the thirty-year period ending in 1890. During the next four decades the rate of population growth dropped off materially, although each succeeding census with one exception showed a greater increase in absolute numbers than the one preceding it. The nineteenth century alone witnessed an increase of population more than fourteen-fold.

This rapid growth in absolute numbers tended to obscure the declining fertility of the American people and to mask the fact that we, too, were moving swiftly in the direction of cessation of population growth. A decline in fertility has long characterized certain sections of the country and certain elements of the population. The small-family pattern which appeared in southern New England more than a century ago spread into the Middle Atlantic states and urban communities elsewhere. More recently, the small-family system has been adopted, to a greater or less degree, by practically all elements of the population — by native and foreign born, by urban and rural dwellers, by whites and Negroes. The general downward trend of the birth rate among white women is indicated in Figures 19 and 20.

The annual number of births per 1000 white women in the child-bearing age, fifteen to forty-four, declined from about 278 in 1800 to 130 in 1900. By 1940 the number of births per 1000 women had further declined to 78.⁴ It is estimated that the number of births per 1000 women will drop to approximately 60 in 1980. The Census of 1940 reported that the net reproduction rate for the total population of the United States fell during the preceding ten years from 1.11 to .96. Later estimates indicate that the decline was somewhat less, the net reproduction rate falling to about 1. At best, we were having barely enough children for family replacement and all available evidence pointed toward a further decline in fertility. The rise in the birth rate beginning in the late nineteen-thirties must not necessarily be regarded as a reversal of a long-time trend. In fact, it seems very probable that the war will have the effect of accelerating the decline in fertility. It seems reasonable to suppose that many rural youth who served in the armed forces will either remain in cities and adopt the small-family pattern common there or carry that pattern back to the rural areas in which they take up

⁴ Paul T. David, *Postwar Youth Employment*, p. 67. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1943.

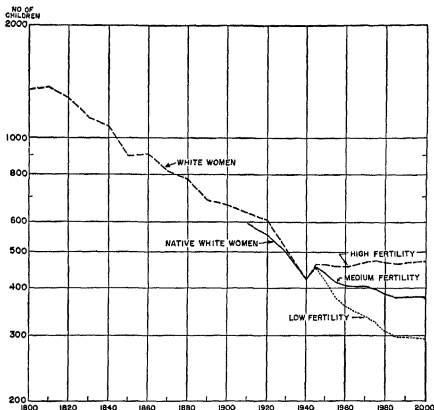


Figure 19. Number of Children under Five Years of Age per 1000 White Women 20-44 Years of Age

(Actual 1800 to 1940, estimated 1945 to 2000 under the assumptions of high, medium, and low fertility)

WARREN S. THOMPSON and P. K. WHELPTON, ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940-2000, p. 22. Prepared for the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Planning Board, 1943.

life. And in this connection it may be well to point out that fertility in our cities, in 1940, had already dropped to the point where only about three fourths enough children were being born to maintain the population at the existing level.

It is evident that if past trends continue, we shall sooner or later reach a population equilibrium to be followed by population decline. At present, due to high birth rates in the past, a higher than normal percentage of the female population is in the child-bearing age. For the moment, there is an excess of births over deaths because

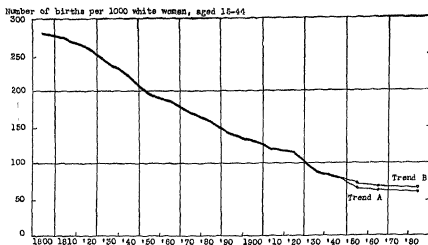


Figure 20. The Birth Rate since 1800

From PAUL T. DAVID, *POSTWAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT: A STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS*, p. 68. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. (Washington: American Council on Education, 1943.)

of this abnormal age distribution. But as women in the child-bearing age pass out of it and are not replaced by a similar number of women entering it, the rate of population growth will decline and in time the population will grow smaller.

It is difficult, of course, to predict population trends with any degree of certainty because these trends will be affected by changing social conditions and attitudes. One may be reasonably certain, however, that the small-family system will become more common, especially in those parts of the country where fertility is still high, and that in time our population will begin to decline. The best available evidence indicates that we may expect a maximum population sometime between 1970 and 2000. Estimates of future population growth and decline are presented in Table 30 and Figure 21. These estimates are, of course, based upon certain hypotheses with respect to mortality, fertility, and net immigration. On the assumption of low fertility, medium mortality, and no net immigration, the population of the nation will reach a maximum of 150,476,000 in 1970 and thereafter begin to decline. On the basis of these assumptions, the total population of the United States will be about 149,000,000 in 1980 and about 134,000,000 in the year 2000. As pointed out previously, changed social conditions and a modified population policy

TABLE 30.* ESTIMATES OF TOTAL POPULATION (IN THOUSANDS)
AT FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS, 1945-2000†

Fertility.....	Low	Medium	High
Mortality.....	Medium	Medium	Medium
Immigration.....	None	None	None
1945.....	138,316	138,482	138,651
1950.....	143,148	143,896	144,706
1955.....	146,299	148,186	150,189
1960.....	148,393	151,646	155,108
1965.....	149,790	154,694	159,910
1970.....	150,476	157,442	164,831
1975.....	150,194	159,597	169,732
1980.....	148,703	160,906	174,356
1985.....	146,137	161,385	178,611
1990.....	142,664	161,209	182,634
1995.....	138,428	160,532	186,622
2000.....	133,553	159,420	190,694

* Adapted from Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Wheippton, *Estimates of Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000*, p. 29. Prepared for the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Planning Board, 1943. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943.

† These estimates do not take into account the effect of the war on population.

may render these estimates invalid. It should be said, however, that none of the estimates contemplates any drastic decline in the birth rate.

Such evidence as is now available for the prediction of future population trends supports the conclusion that the small-family system will be adopted more widely than at present, that the rate of population growth will fall off rather sharply after 1950, and that during the last quarter of the century population will stop growing altogether and begin to decline. One may be reasonably certain, too, that the forces now operating in our society are unlikely to cause the birth rate to be stabilized at a point high enough to maintain the population at an existing level. In other words, we face the prospect of a long-time decline in total population. To arrest the decline in total population and to escape the social and economic dislocations that a declining population might well entail will, in all probability, require the adoption of a far-reaching population policy.

THE CHANGING AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

Declining fertility is necessarily reflected in fundamental changes in the age structure of the population. From the very first census

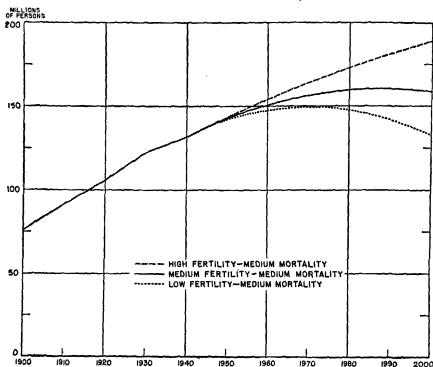


Figure 21. *Total Population of the United States, 1900-2000*

(Trend of the total population. Actual 1900 to 1940, estimated 1950 to 2000 under alternative assumptions of fertility and mortality)

From WARREN S. THOMPSON and P. K. WHELPTON, *ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940-2000*, p. 30.

to the present, children and youth have been an element in the population of declining importance (Table 31). In 1840, for each 1000 white children under sixteen years of age there were somewhat less than 1000 white persons over twenty years of age. A century later, for each 1000 children there were 2522 persons in the older age group. If the ratio of white children to white adults had been the same in 1940 as in 1840, the number of children would have been 79,000,000 instead of 31,000,000, as was actually the case. In 1850, for each 1000 adults twenty to sixty-nine years of age there were somewhat more than 1000 children under eighteen. By 1940, the number of children per 1000 adults was only about 500. So far as numbers are concerned, the burden of providing nurture and education for the oncoming generation has grown progressively lighter and the evi-

TABLE 31.* RATIOS OF WHITE PERSONS OF SELF-SUPPORTING AGE TO WHITE CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1940†

Year	Number of White Persons 20 Years of Age and Over (In thousands)	Number of White Children Under 16 Years of Age (In thousands)	Number of White Persons 20 Years of Age and Over per Thousand White Children Under 16 Years of Age
1790...	1,214	1,553	782
1800.....	1,832	2,156	850
1810.....	2,485	2,933	847
1820.....	3,395	3,844	883
1830.....	4,626	4,970	931
1840.....	6,440	6,511	989
1850.....	9,422	8,428	1,118
1860.....	13,311	11,330	1,175
1870.....	17,070	13,719	1,244
1880.....	22,928	16,920	1,355
1890.....	30,264	20,154	1,502
1900.....	37,748	23,846	1,583
1910‡.....	48,047	27,224	1,765
1920||.....	56,676	31,472	1,801
1930§.....	67,961	34,043	1,996
1940§.....	78,340	31,062	2,522

* Adapted from Newton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth: A National Responsibility*, p. 16. A Report to the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939.

† Figures for 1790-1900 are taken from United States Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth: From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900*, p. 103. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909.

‡ *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, I, 310-12.

|| *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, II, 162-64.

§ *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Population*, Second Series.

dence indicates that this will continue to be the case for some time to come. The percentage of the population under twenty years of age may be expected, assuming low fertility, to decline from about 34 in 1940 to approximately 24 in 1980.⁵

Although children and youth under twenty years of age had long been a declining element in the population, it was not until the nineteen-thirties that this age group began to register a decline in absolute numbers as well. During the decade 1930-40, the number of persons under twenty decreased somewhat more than 2,000,000,

* Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Estimates of Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000*, p. 32. Prepared for the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Planning Board, 1943. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943.

or about 4.5 per cent.⁶ This decrease in the number of young people was especially marked in cities of 10,000 population or more. In this class of cities the population under fifteen years of age decreased by 12.5 per cent.⁷ In the early nineteen-thirties the number of children of elementary-school age began to fall off, the Census of 1940 showing about 2,000,000 fewer of them than in 1930. The absolute number of youth of high-school age also began to decline in the late nineteen-thirties. This tendency for children and youth to decline in absolute numbers was, however, checked by the rise in the birth rate during the late thirties and early forties. Between 1945 and 1955 the age group, five to fourteen, may be expected to increase by perhaps as much as 2,500,000. Thereafter, until 1970, the prospect is that this age group will gradually decline in absolute numbers. The number of youth fifteen to nineteen years of age may be expected to decrease by about 1,000,000 between 1945 and 1950, increase by about 2,000,000 during the following decade, and after 1960 gradually decline.⁸

In any society characterized by a declining birth rate the older age groups will normally show an increase in numerical importance. These older persons, of course, are the survivors of the time when the birth rate was high. In this country the economically productive age group (twenty to sixty-four) has been increasing more rapidly than the population as a whole (Table 32). The proportion of the population in this age class rose from 50 per cent in 1890 to 58.7 per cent in 1940. It may be expected to increase gradually until about 1970, when persons in this age class will probably comprise approximately 63 per cent of the total population.

The increase in the proportion of the population falling in the economically productive age class is encouraging from the point of view of production and the possible economic well-being of the nation, but the figures need to be examined somewhat more closely. For a number of decades there has been only slight change in the proportion of the population in the age class twenty to forty-four. This age group may be expected to decline slowly until 1980. There has been, in contrast, a steady rise in the proportion of the population falling in the age group forty-five to sixty-four. The per cent

⁶ Philip Hauser, "Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (May, 1942), 824.

⁷ See Frederick A. Conrad, "Urban Population Trends and the Public Schools," *Elementary School Journal*, XLIII (March, 1943), 404-11.

⁸ Thompson and Whelpton, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

TABLE 32. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE,
1850-1980*

Year	Age Group				
	0-4	5-19	20-44	45-64	65 & over
1850	15.1	37.4	35.1	9.9	2.6
1860.....	15.4	35.8	35.6	10.4	2.7
1870.....	14.3	35.4	35.4	11.9	3.0
1880.....	13.8	34.3	35.9	12.6	3.4
1890.....	12.2	33.9	36.9	13.1	3.9
1900.....	12.1	32.3	37.8	13.7	4.1
1910.....	11.6	30.4	39.1	14.6	4.3
1920	11.0	29.8	38.4	16.1	4.7
1930.....	9.3	29.5	38.4	17.5	5.4
1940.....	8.0	26.4	38.9	19.8	6.9
1950.....	8.4	24.0	38.8	21.2	7.6
1960.....	6.7	23.5	37.5	23.1	9.1
1970.....	6.3	20.0	37.4	25.8	10.6
1980.....	5.5	18.7	36.7	26.6	12.4

* For the period 1850 to 1930, the figures are taken from Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Estimates of Future Population of the United States, 1040-2000*, p. 109. Prepared for the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Planning Board, 1943. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943.

The figures for 1940 are from the *Sixteenth Census: 1940. Population: vol. II, Characteristics of the Population*, Part I, p. 10. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944. Estimates for the period 1950 to 1980 are from Thompson and Whelpton, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Calculation for 1950-80 based on the assumption of low fertility, medium mortality, no net migration, and no war losses.

of the total population belonging in this age class increased from 9.9 in 1850 to 19.8 in 1940. It is estimated that nearly 27 per cent of the population will be between forty-five and sixty-five years of age in 1980. Thus it appears that persons in the older age brackets (forty-five to sixty-four inclusive) will constitute an increasing percentage of the productive age group, twenty to sixty-four. Attention has already been called to the importance of adopting employment policies that will make it possible for this increasing concourse of older workers to carry their own economic weight.

One of the most significant changes that is taking place in the age composition of the population is the rapid increase of older persons, those who fall in the age brackets above sixty-five. Between 1930 and 1940 the number of persons sixty-five years of age and over increased 2,322,000, or 35 per cent. The increase for the total population was only 7.2 per cent. It is estimated that the number of persons sixty-five and over will increase from about 11,000,000 in

1950 to about 18,500,000 in 1980, or an increase from 7.6 per cent to about 12 per cent of the total population.

DIFFERENTIALS IN REPRODUCTION

The adoption of the small-family system has taken place at a very unequal rate among the various population elements of the nation. The result is striking differentials in fertility between regions and states, the rural and the urban population, and social and occupational classes.

REGIONAL DIFFERENTIALS

Extremely wide differences in fertility are found in the various regions of the United States. These differences are reflected, in at least a rough way, in the ratios of children under five to women twenty to forty-four years of age. A county-by-county comparison of the distribution of children under five in relation to women in the main child-bearing age is presented in Figure 22.

Fertility is strikingly high in the Southern Appalachian-Ozark area, in the old cotton belt of the Southeast, in portions of the Southwest, in the Rocky Mountain states, in the northern sections of the Great Plains, in the cut-over lands of the Great Lakes states, and in the northern part of New England. The great area of low fertility extends from southern New England to Maryland and spreads westward from New York and Pennsylvania, getting broader as it reaches the Middle West, and ending in southeastern Nebraska and western Kansas. The Far-Western states of Nevada, California, Oregon, and Washington constitute a second large area in which fertility is low. A considerable portion of Florida and parts of Texas are also characterized by relatively low fertility rates.

In some areas reproduction is taking place at a rate fully twice as great as in other areas. When whole regions are compared, the number of children under five per thousand women twenty to forty-four ranges from 341 for the Far West to 517 for the Southeast. Individual states, of course, exhibit even greater differences. For one group of states the number of children per thousand women is as follows: New Mexico, 666; Utah, 593; South Carolina, 586; Arizona, 573; and Kentucky, 562. The ratios for another group of states are: New York, 289; New Jersey, 294; and Connecticut, 312.

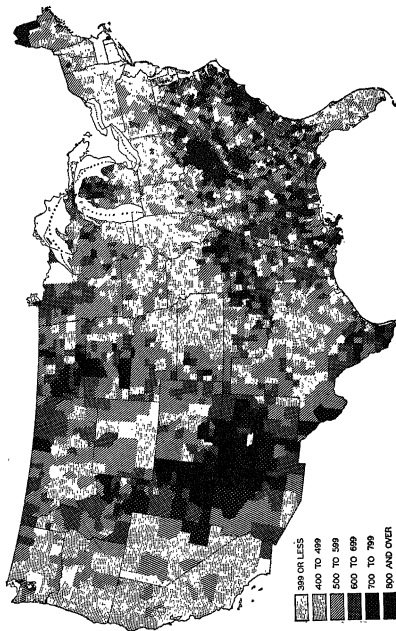


Figure 22. Distribution of Children under Five Years per 1000 Women Aged 20 to 44, by Counties, 1940
Prepared by the authors

Differentials in reproduction mean, of course, that natural increase (excess of births over deaths) is taking place at an unequal rate in the different regions. Certain areas of high fertility are supplying the population reserves of the nation out of all proportion to the population living in these areas (Figure 23). Thus, the Southern states (excluding Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri) contained only about 29 per cent of the nation's population in 1940 but they accounted for 44 per cent of the nation's excess of births over deaths. North Carolina, in 1940, accounted for a larger percentage of the nation's natural increase than did the State of New York, although its population was only about one fourth as great. North Carolina contributed about 50 per cent more to the nation's excess of births over deaths than did all New England, and Kentucky and Georgia each contributed about as much as did all the New England states combined. The Southeast, the Southwest, and the Northwest, the regions of greatest fertility, contained about 35 per cent of the total population but they accounted for 51 per cent of the natural increase.

The potential rate of population increase or decrease for the various states is indicated in Table 33. In at least fifteen states fertility, in 1940, was well below that required to maintain the population at its existing level. North of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and east of the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas, the only states in which reproduction was taking place at a rate high enough for family replacement were Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and possibly Indiana. In general, it may be noted that fertility in nearly all the great industrial states was not high enough to maintain the population at the existing level.

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIALS

Fertility has been notably higher in agricultural than in urban communities for more than a century, and although the small-family system is spreading to rural areas, rural-urban differentials in reproduction are still striking. In general, birth rates fall sharply as the size of the community increases. In 1940, for example, the number of children under five for each thousand women twenty to forty-four was 310 in the urban population, 497 in the rural-non-farm population, and 648 among farmers. These differentials in reproduction are exhibited in a strikingly uniform manner in all the

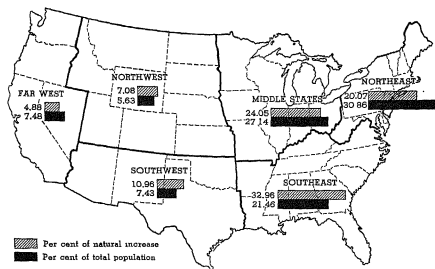


Figure 23. *Per Cent of Total Population and Per Cent of Natural Increase, by Regions, 1940*

Data added to outline map prepared by HENRY M. LEPPARD. Copyright, 1937, by the University of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

major regions of the United States (Figure 24). In 1940, the number of children under five per 1000 women twenty to forty-four was 293 in the urban population of the Northeast as compared with 722 per 1000 women in the farm population of the Southeastern states. When individual states were compared, the differences in urban-rural fertility were even more striking. The number of children per 1000 women in the urban population of one group of states was as follows: New York, 268; Oregon, 276; Florida, 280; Missouri, 280; New Jersey, 280; California, 282. The number of children per 1000 women in the rural-farm population of another group of states was strikingly larger in comparison: New Mexico, 841; Arizona, 833; South Carolina, 801; Utah, 777; and North Carolina, 748.

It should be noted that reproduction rates are more uniform in the urban population of the different states and regions than is the case with the rural-farm population. In the Southeast, for example, fertility in urban communities is slightly lower than in similar communities in the Middle states and the Northwest. It is not a great

TABLE 33. NET REPRODUCTION RATES FOR THE WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940*

Division and State	White	Non-White
New England.....	.83	(2) †
Maine.....	1.12	(2)
New Hampshire.....	(2)	(2)
Vermont.....	(2)	(2)
Massachusetts.....	.80	(2)
Rhode Island.....	.70	(2)
Connecticut.....	.75	(2)
Middle Atlantic.....	.77	.77
New York.....	.72	.71
New Jersey.....	.70	(2)
Pennsylvania.....	.88	(2)
East North Central.....	.92	.86
Ohio.....	.91	(2)
Indiana.....	.99	(2)
Illinois.....	.82	(2)
Michigan.....	1.01	(2)
Wisconsin.....	1.04	(2)
West North Central.....	1.01	(2)
Minnesota.....	1.03	(2)
Iowa.....	1.07	(2)
Missouri.....	.91	(2)
North Dakota.....	1.23	(2)
South Dakota.....	1.15	(2)
Nebraska.....	1.01	(2)
Kansas.....	.97	(2)
South Atlantic.....	1.05	1.12
Delaware.....	(2)	(2)
Maryland.....	.87	(2)
District of Columbia.....	(2)	(2)
Virginia.....	1.06	1.11
West Virginia.....	1.24	(2)
North Carolina.....	1.14	1.26
South Carolina.....	1.16	1.37
Georgia.....	1.07	1.12
Florida.....	.94	.85

* Estimates are based on a preliminary tabulation of a 5 per cent cross-section of the 1940 Census returns. Source: Adapted from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population: Net Reproduction Rates by States (Preliminary): 1940*, pp. 7-8. Series P-5, No. 13. Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1941.

† Rates not shown for those states and population groups which, in 1940, had fewer than 20,000 females under five years old.

TABLE 33 (continued)

Division and State	White	Non-White
East South Central.....	1.21	1.18
Kentucky.....	1.28	(2)
Tennessee.....	1.12	.91
Alabama.....	1.21	1.22
Mississippi.....	1.22	1.34
West South Central.....	1.08	1.10
Arkansas.....	1.23	1.19
Louisiana.....	1.04	1.19
Oklahoma.....	1.13	(2)
Texas.....	1.04	.99
Mountain.....	1.20	(2)
Montana.....	1.06	(2)
Idaho.....	1.28	(2)
Wyoming.....	(2)	(2)
Colorado.....	1.05	(2)
New Mexico.....	1.45	(2)
Arizona.....	1.19	(2)
Utah.....	1.34	(2)
Nevada.....	(2)	(2)
Pacific.....	.85	(2)
Washington.....	.90	(2)
Oregon.....	.87	(2)
California.....	.84	(2)
United States.....	.94	1.07

deal higher than in the urban communities of the Northeast. In the rural-farm population, on the other hand, differential fertility is significantly large. In the rural-farm population of the Southern Appalachians, the Ozarks, the old cotton belt of the Southeast, the Western cotton belt, the cut-over lands of the Great Lakes states, and in parts of the Great Plains, fertility is much higher than among farmers in New England, the Middle West, or the Pacific Coast. For example, the number of children per thousand women in the child-bearing age in the rural-farm population of a selected group of states is: New Mexico, 841; Arizona, 833; South Carolina, 801; North Carolina, 748; Kentucky, 739. For another group of states the corresponding numbers are: Connecticut, 349; New Jersey, 370; New York, 503; Illinois, 532; Ohio, 544; California, 500. Considerably more than half of the natural increase of the farm population is now

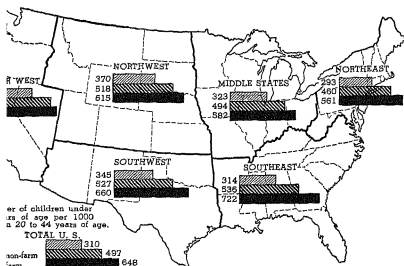


Figure 24. Rates of Reproduction in the Urban, Rural-Non-Farm, and Rural-Farm Population, by Regions, 1940

a added to outline map prepared by HENRY M. LEPPARD. Copyright, 1937, by the University of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

ing place in the Southern states. For the five-year period ending 1935 the excess of births over deaths in the farm population of North Carolina exceeded that of the farm population of all New England, the Middle Atlantic states, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan combined.⁹

The potential rate of population increase is nearly twice as high in the rural-farm as in the urban population. In 1940, the net reproduction rate as given by the Census for the farm population was 1.14; for the rural-non-farm population, 1.14; and for the urban population, .74. These figures mean that farm women, on the average, were having 44 per cent more children than necessary for replacement and that urban women were failing by 26 per cent to bear enough children to maintain the urban population at its existing level. In other words, with no immigration, and no internal exchange of population, and with no change in birth and death rates, the farm population of the nation would eventually in-

ewton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, pp. 134-35. A Report to the National Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939.

crease by 44 per cent each generation and the urban population would decline 26 per cent each generation.¹⁰

REPRODUCTION IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL STATUS

Numerous investigations have made it clear that for a long time many large elements in the American population have not been sufficiently fertile to replace themselves permanently and that other elements of the population have been characterized by birth rates materially above the replacement level. Fertility has been strikingly associated with socio-economic status. In general, birth rates are the lowest among the classes whose members receive a relatively high income, enjoy the advantages of a high-school or college education, or follow occupations affording a high pecuniary or social reward.¹¹ A study of the white urban population made in 1935 showed that net reproduction rates declined by more or less regular steps as income increased or as educational status improved (Figure 25). In the nineteen-thirties it was estimated that at least one half of the children born in the United States were born into homes in which the annual income was less than a thousand dollars. It is also true that the birth rates are much lower among the professional and business classes than among the semi-skilled and unskilled labor groups.¹² Among both of the first two groups, fertility is materially below what is necessary for family replacement.

THE RELATION OF FERTILITY TO PLANE OF LIVING

It is a significant fact that fertility in the United States is the highest where the planes of living are the lowest and that fertility declines as the plane of living rises. This fact is brought out strikingly by a comparison of Figures 26 and 22, which indicate fertility rates and planes of living, county by county, for the entire United States. Fertility is indicated by the ratios of children under five to women twenty to forty-four years of age. In developing the plane of living index the combined factors employed were: (1) the effective per capita purchasing income of each county, (2) the number of

¹⁰ Because of high birth rates in the past, there are at present an abnormally large number of women in the child-bearing age. For that reason the rate of population change indicated in these figures would not take place for a number of years.

¹¹ See United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, chap. V. Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, May, 1938. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

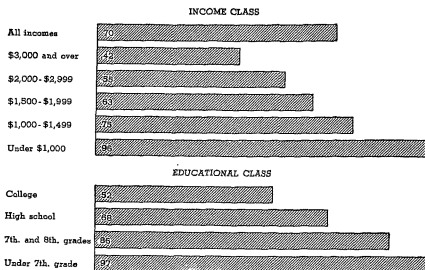


Figure 25. *Net Reproduction Rates of the White Population in the National Health Survey, by Family Income and Educational Status, 1935*

From BERNARD D. KARPINOS and C. V. KISER, THE DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY AND POTENTIAL RATES OF GROWTH OF VARIOUS INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL CLASSES OF URBAN POPULATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, xvii, October, 1939.

radios per family in the county, (3) the percentage of the population in the county above twenty-five years of age that had completed the seventh grade of school, and (4) the percentage of the population in each county that was occupying uncrowded living quarters — 1.5 persons or less per room. With relatively few exceptions, counties having a high plane of living are characterized by low fertility and counties having a low plane of living show high ratios of children to women.

Other indices of planes of living and cultural resources of communities bear out the conclusions reached in the preceding paragraph. A plane of living index for all the counties of the United States developed by the Study of Population Redistribution, on the basis of 1930 Census data, when compared with net reproduction rates of counties, revealed that fertility in the poorest group of counties was 77 per cent in excess of that required for permanent family replacement. In contrast, in counties having the highest

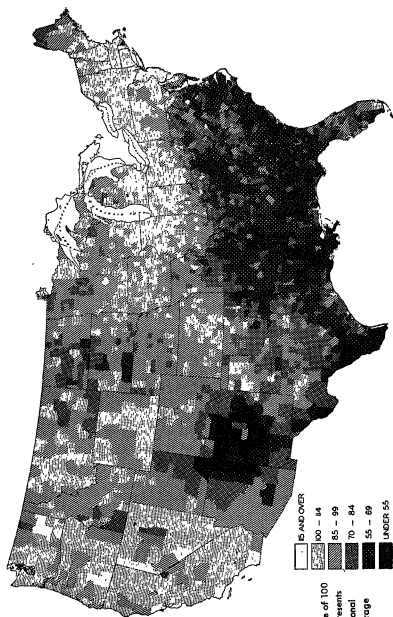


Figure 26. Index of Cultural-Economic Status by Counties, 1940

Prepared by the authors

plane of living, fertility was 17 per cent below that necessary to maintain a stable population.¹³ Other studies revealed that, in general, in the states and regions having the highest reproduction rates the ratios of physicians, nurses, and dentists to each ten thousand of the population were correspondingly low, library facilities were more limited than in other parts of the country, and the circulation of newspapers and nationally known periodicals was below the national average.¹⁴

It is clear that the future citizens of the nation are being born in disproportionately large numbers in communities in which economic resources are the most restricted, cultural conditions the poorest, and the home the least well equipped to contribute to the cultural and intellectual development of youth. According to the Census of 1930, about one fourth of the children of the nation were growing up in what later came to be known as rural problem areas — areas characterized, in general, by extremely high fertility rates, intense pressure of population on the resource structure, much marginal and sub-marginal farm lands, low planes of living, and large elements in the population unable to carry their own economic weight in times of economic stress.¹⁵

MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Many motives impel people to migrate. At times religious persecution or political oppression have been important factors. Perhaps the love of adventure is always present to a degree when people pull up stakes in the old community and set their faces along the open road in search of new homes. But even so it appears that the most impelling force is the desire to improve the economic conditions of life. Migration may be regarded as a process by which something of a balance is maintained between population and economic and social opportunity. People tend to move away from areas where the pressure of population on the resource structure is intense to areas where the pressure is of less intensity. Differences in the ratio of people to resources are, of course, the end product of a great many factors such as differentials in the rate of natural increase, varying degrees of technological development, the presence or absence of the natural resources required for industrial development, or variations in the

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

¹⁴ Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. VI.

fertility of the soil. It is not to be assumed, of course, that migration ever completely establishes an equilibrium between people and resources, but in general people do tend to move from areas where the conditions of life are hard to areas where the doors of economic and social opportunity appear to open wider.

SHIFTING PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

In this country three major types of migration have been distinguishable: (1) the movement of people from one agricultural community to another, (2) the interchange of population between farm and town or city, and (3) the movement of people from one town or city to another.

Until the closing of the frontier about 1890 the great volume of internal migration was of the first kind. For more than a century fresh and cheap land to the west drew across the continent an ever-increasing stream of migrants; the redundant farm population in the older settled communities could always, without too great difficulty, find land for new farms on the frontier. Even after the turn of the century a considerable volume of migration took place to the undeveloped lands of Texas and Oklahoma and some of the Pacific states. But by 1910 the land was losing its pulling power, the great era of agricultural migration was drawing to an end. There was, however, no end to the pressure of population on the land, no end to the need of redundant farm youth to find occupational opportunity. In a previous chapter it was pointed out that high reproduction rates among farmers, the mechanization of agriculture, the loss of foreign markets for agricultural products, and the slowing down of the rate of population growth in cities created a surplus farm population and the prospect of a long-time decline of employment opportunity in agriculture. To escape subsistence farming and rural poverty, many farm youth and adults as well found it necessary to turn cityward.

The interchange of population between farm and city was, of course, no new phenomenon. Even during the periods of the great westward migrations, cities were drawing from the farms an ever-expanding number of migrants. Gradually the city with its opportunities for industrial and other types of employment began to take the place of new land to the west as a magnet to draw off the redundant farm population. By 1900 a new pattern of migration was ap-

pearing. The currents of migration were beginning to sweep back to the Northeastern and Great Lakes states. By the turn of the century a number of New England and Middle Atlantic states were gaining in the interchange of population,¹⁶ and a decade later the industrial development of the Great Lakes states was serving to attract a considerable volume of migrants.

During the decade preceding the depression of the nineteen-thirties internal migrants were drawn chiefly to three great centers of attraction: (1) Metropolitan New York, including parts of Connecticut and New Jersey; (2) the Great Lakes states of Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio; and (3) the Pacific Coast states of California, Oregon, and Washington.¹⁷ Florida and Texas were also gaining considerably more migrants than they were giving up to other regions. The net migration to the three major areas of population attraction was: the Metropolitan New York region, 1,120,000; the Great Lakes states, 700,000; and the Pacific Coast, 1,750,000.¹⁸ During the decade before 1930 California alone gained approximately 1,600,000 through interchange of population. In contrast, most of the states, thirty-four in all, suffered a net loss through interstate migration. The two great areas of population loss through interchange of migrants were the South and the states between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi.¹⁹ South of the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers and east of the Mississippi, Florida was the only state that did not register a net loss. And between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River, Texas and Arizona were the only states that showed a gain. Each of these major regions lost about 1,700,000 more migrants than it gained. The New England states also suffered a net loss of some proportions, while the loss of Pennsylvania was rather substantial.

The nineteen-twenties were characterized by a high rate of population interchange between farms and towns and cities. During the decade about 13,000,000 people arrived at farms from cities, towns,

¹⁶ C. Warren Thornthwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States*, pp. 10-11. Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934.

¹⁷ Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Internal Migration and the War," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXVIII (March, 1943), 20; Harold F. Dorn and Frank Lorimer, "Migration, Reproduction, and Population Adjustment," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXXVIII (November, 1936), 282.

¹⁸ Dorn and Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

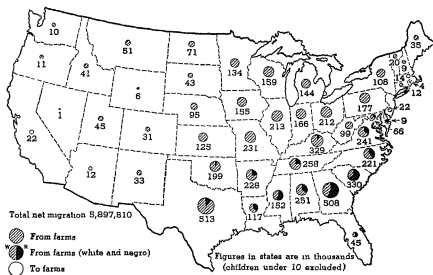


Figure 27. *Approximate Net Migration of Rural-Farm Population, January 1, 1920 to April 1, 1930*

From O. E. BAKER, RURAL AND URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES. *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, cxxxviii, November, 1936. 265.

and villages, and nearly 19,500,000 left farms for villages, towns, and cities.²⁰ The net movement from farms was in excess of 6,000,000. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, California, and Arizona were the only states in which there was not a net migration from farms.²¹ The farm population suffered a decline of 1,445,000 people despite the high rate of natural increase among farmers.²²

Two features of the movement of the farm population to cities during the nineteen-twenties are of special importance. The first of these is the predominance of Southern migrants (Figure 27). The Southern states accounted for 60 per cent of the net migration from farms.²³ In the second place, the movement of population from farms to cities was dominated by young people. The net migration from farms of boys and girls in the age group ten to twenty was

²⁰ United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Farm Population Estimates, 1910-1942*, p. 2. Washington: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942.

²¹ Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²² *Farm Population Estimates, 1910-1942*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²³ Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

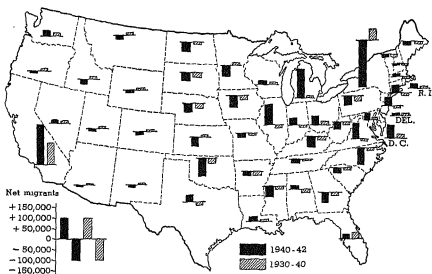


Figure 28. Average Yearly Number of Net Civilian Migrants, 1940 to 1942 and 1930 to 1940

From HENRY S. SHRYOCK, JR., INTERNAL MIGRATION AND THE WAR. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, xxxviii, March, 1943.

2,791,000,²⁴ or nearly one half the total net migration from farms. About 40 per cent of all the farm youth in this age group moved to towns and cities during the decade.²⁵

Internal migration during the nineteen-thirties was considerably less than during the preceding decade and followed a somewhat different pattern.²⁶ New York, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Florida in the East, and California, Oregon, and Washington on the Pacific Coast registered the chief gains through internal migration (Figure 28). The Great Lakes states of Illinois and Indiana registered losses and Michigan did little more than hold its own. Altogether twenty-six states gave up more migrants than they received. Net migration from the South continued, but at a markedly lower rate than during the preceding decade. The Great Plains states extending from North Dakota to Texas and including both registered marked losses.

²⁴ C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, p. 15. Washington: Works Progress Administration, Government Printing Office, 1939.

²⁵ Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁶ See Paul H. Landis, *Population Problems*, chap. XX. New York: American Book Co., 1943.

TABLE 34. MOVEMENT TO AND FROM FARMS, 1920-41*

Year	Arrivals from Non-Farm Areas	Departures for Non-Farm Areas	Net Migration from Farms
1920.....	560,000	896,000	336,000
1921.....	759,000	1,323,000	564,000
1922.....	1,115,000	2,252,000	1,137,000
1923.....	1,355,000	2,162,000	807,000
1924.....	1,581,000	2,068,000	487,000
1925.....	1,336,000	2,038,000	702,000
1926.....	1,427,000	2,334,000	907,000
1927.....	1,705,000	2,162,000	457,000
1928.....	1,698,000	2,120,000	422,000
1929.....	1,604,000	2,081,000	477,000
1920-29.....	13,140,000	19,436,000	6,296,000
1930.....	1,740,000	2,065,000	325,000
1931.....	1,683,000	1,762,000	79,000
1932.....	1,544,000	1,219,000	-325,000†
1933.....	951,000	1,433,000	482,000
1934.....	783,000	1,198,000	415,000
1935.....	825,000	1,467,000	642,000
1936.....	719,000	1,409,000	690,000
1937.....	872,000	1,401,000	529,000
1938.....	823,000	1,243,000	420,000
1939.....	805,000	1,296,000	491,000
1940.....	690,000	1,371,000	681,000
1941.....	814,000	2,171,000	1,357,000
1930-41.....	12,249,000	18,035,000	5,786,000

* From United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Farm Population Estimates, 1910-1942*, p. 2. Washington: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942.

† Net migration to farms.

The interchange of population between farm and urban areas was also less marked during the nineteen-thirties than in the preceding decade (Table 34). A considerably smaller number of persons moved from towns and cities to farms than during the previous ten-year period and the same was true of persons leaving farms for cities and towns. The net migration from farms was more than 3,500,000, but only about three fifths as great as that of the nineteen-twenties.²⁷ The total farm population increased by about 2,000,000 in comparison with a decrease of more than 1,000,000 during the preceding decade. The decrease in migration from farms was due in large measure to the failure of urban communities to provide employment opportunity.

As was the case during the preceding decade, the number of young

²⁷ *Farm Population Estimates, 1910-1942*, p. 2.

people leaving farms in the thirties was large. Nearly a third of the boys ten to nineteen years of age living on farms in 1930 had moved to non-farm territory by 1940. An even larger percentage of the girls in the same age group living on farms moved to towns and cities during the decade (Table 35).

TABLE 35. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CENSUS POPULATION AGED 20 TO 29 IN 1940 AND POPULATION OF SAME AGE ESTIMATED FROM 1930 CENSUS POPULATION AGED 10 TO 19, RURAL-FARM, GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS, 1940*

Divisions	Thousands			
	Number		Per Cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
New England	-10	-14	-10	-31
Middle Atlantic	-46	-58	-24	-35
East North Central	-143	-161	-28	-36
West North Central	-186	-208	-32	-40
South Atlantic	-281	-268	-36	-38
East South Central	-210	-186	-33	-32
West South Central	-244	-246	-37	-40
Mountain	-38	-45	-39	-38
Pacific	-12	-26	-10	-26

* From Warren S. Thompson, "The Role of Rural Society in the Production of Workers and Soldiers," *Rural Sociology*, VII (June, 1942), 128.

During this decade, as was the case for the preceding one, the South provided a major part of the net migration from farms. The Great Plains states constituted the other great area of net migration from farms.

World War II brought with it a reshuffling of population of great magnitude. Hundreds of thousands moved into areas in which the war industries or army camps were located (Figure 29). Counties in which important war industries or camps were located were the ones that experienced the greatest growth. Some areas showed a phenomenal growth as, for example, the metropolitan counties centering in Detroit, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Norfolk, Savannah, San Diego, Fort Worth, San Francisco, and Mobile. The metropolitan counties of the South showed the highest rate of annual increase. It was also true that in some parts of the country relatively small com-

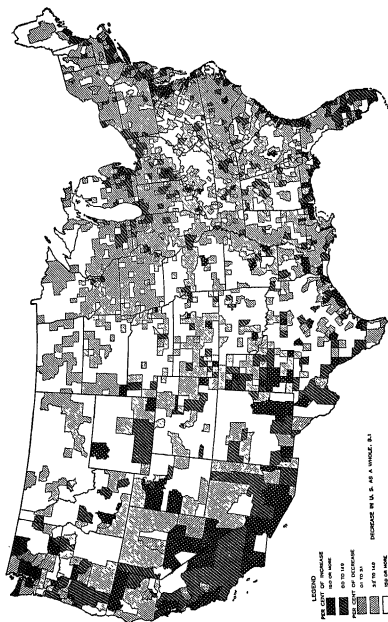


Figure 29. Estimated Per Cent Change in Civilian Population, by Counties, April 1, 1940 to November 1, 1943
United States Department of Commerce

munities in which war industries were located showed a marked population growth.

A large volume of the migrants into war-production centers was drawn from the farms. During 1941 the net migration from farms was 1,357,000, the largest on record. But the fact that more than fifty metropolitan areas showed a decrease of population between April 1, 1940, and November 1, 1943, makes it clear that the migrations of this period were by no means confined to the movement of people from farms to towns and cities.²⁸

An analysis of population redistribution for the past two decades in relation to planes of living and earning power (see Figures 26, 27, 28, 29) makes it clear that the more prosperous industrial and commercial centers have drawn off in large volume the redundant population from areas in which the pressure of people on the resource structure was intense. It is equally clear, however, that this kind of population redistribution takes place on a large scale only when employment opportunities are good in urban communities. It is true, too, that we have not established anything like an equilibrium between population and resources, that in many parts of the country — especially in farming areas — large numbers of the oncoming generation will find it necessary to move into other communities, or even other regions, in search of adequate employment opportunity.

MOBILITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE FUTURE

As Thompson points out, there are four major reasons why some areas have low earning power: (1) they have poor natural resources; (2) they have so many people and so high a birth rate that per capita resources are small even though resources per land unit may be high; (3) they lack the capital and the organization necessary for an adequate utilization of resources; and (4) they may have experienced such a rapid change in economic processes, or other communities with which they are in competition may have done so, that what was once only an adequate population becomes a surplus.²⁹ Moreover, as is commonly the case, all four of these factors may be opera-

²⁸ *Farm Population Estimates: 1910-1942*, p. 2; Bureau of the Census, "Estimated Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: November 1, 1943." Population — Special Reports. Series P-44, No. 3, February 15, 1944.

²⁹ Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, pp. 401-02. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1942 (third edition).

tive in any given area at the same time. When one views the United States keeping in mind the factors that make for low planes of living and migration, four major areas appear from which migrants may be expected to move in large volume: (1) the Southern Appalachians, (2) the old cotton belt of the Southeast, (3) the cut-over lands of the Great Lakes states, and (4) the Great Plains. In the coastal plains of the Southeast, in the Ozarks, in the hilly areas bordering the Ohio River, in parts of Utah and Idaho, and in various other places, the maladjustment of people to resources differs only in degree from that of the four major areas mentioned above. In the cotton states and in the corn belt, the mechanization of agriculture may be expected to force a considerable volume of the farm population off the land. In all of these areas many farm youth will face the choice of moving cityward or staying on the land and eking out a living at a sub-standard level. That many of them will choose to migrate seems reasonably certain. And finally, migration may be expected from areas in which employment opportunity has contracted because of exhaustion of natural resources, the development of the same kind of industries elsewhere, or the failure of peacetime industries to absorb the labor force which was assembled for war production. Since the end of World War II, the problem of adjusting the labor force to the demands of regional employment has assumed major proportions.

REPRODUCTION DIFFERENTIALS AND THE IMBALANCE IN THE EDUCATIONAL LOAD

The marked differences in fertility between the various regions and states and between the rural and urban population reflect themselves in a striking imbalance in the distribution of the load of child nurture and education. The burden of caring for the oncoming generation is by no means equally shared among the productive adults of the major regions of the nation. The number of children of elementary- and high-school age whom workers in the productive age group (twenty to sixty-four) must support and educate ranged in 1940 from 285 in the Far-Western to 504 in the Southeastern states (Table 36). In each of the major regions the number of children of school age per thousand productive adults decreased substantially between 1930 and 1940, but regional differences in the burden of

WHEN TECHNOLOGY FORCES THEM
OFF THE LAND



FSA

In the Wake of the Tractor and the Combine



FSA

Displaced Farm Tenants on the Move

TABLE 36. NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF ELEMENTARY- AND HIGH-SCHOOL AGE RELATIVE TO THE NUMBER OF ADULTS, BY REGIONS, 1930, 1940

Region	Number of Children per 1000 Adults 20 to 64 Years of Age					
	5 to 13 Years of Age		14 to 17 Years of Age		Total: 5 to 17 Years of Age	
	1940*	1930†	1940	1930	1940	1930
Northeast.....	227	295	115	125	342	420
Middle States.....	237	297	118	126	354	423
Northwest.....	281	350	135	146	416	496
Southeast.....	347	426	157	177	504	603
Southwest.....	313	380	144	157	458	537
Far West.....	189	236	96	100	285	336

* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population. Second Series.*

† *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population: vol. III, Parts 1 and 2 (Tables 3, 6, and 11).*

caring for the oncoming generation were not materially changed. (Figure 30.)

Differences in the ratios of children of elementary- and high-school age to adults in the productive age group are greater when individual states are compared (Table 37 and Figure 31). For one group of states the ratios are: South Carolina, 589; New Mexico, 563; North Carolina, 555; Alabama, 540; and Utah, 516. In another group of states the number of children per thousand adults is as fol-

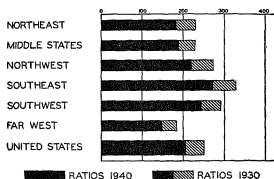


Figure 30. Ratios of Children Aged 7 to 13 per 1000 Adults 20 to 64, by Regions, 1930 and 1940

Prepared by the authors

TABLE 37. CHILD POPULATION OF ELEMENTARY- AND HIGH-SCHOOL AGE RELATIVE TO ADULT POPULATION, BY STATES, 1940*

Region and State	Number of Children per 1000 Adults 20 to 64 Years of Age					
	Ages 5 to 13 Years		Ages 14 to 17 Years		Total: Ages 5 to 17 Years	
	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930
Northeast:						
Maine.....	290	324	136	131	426	455
New Hampshire.....	248	297	121	123	369	421
Vermont.....	280	316	131	132	411	449
Massachusetts.....	223	283	115	121	339	404
Rhode Island.....	227	305	122	127	349	432
Connecticut.....	212	306	112	132	324	438
New York.....	200	254	101	109	301	363
New Jersey.....	209	290	110	124	319	414
Delaware.....	226	298	110	125	337	423
Pennsylvania.....	253	338	130	142	383	480
Maryland.....	242	308	118	126	360	433
District of Columbia.....	153	193	79	81	232	274
West Virginia.....	356	438	166	168	521	606
Middle States:						
Ohio.....	229	296	118	123	347	418
Indiana.....	246	303	123	127	369	430
Illinois.....	209	270	106	120	315	389
Michigan.....	251	309	121	124	373	433
Wisconsin.....	256	320	124	138	383	458
Minnesota.....	251	324	124	139	375	463
Iowa.....	256	316	126	135	382	451
Missouri.....	242	287	118	125	360	412
Northwest:						
North Dakota.....	334	416	153	182	487	598
South Dakota.....	303	383	145	158	448	541
Nebraska.....	269	334	132	142	401	476
Kansas.....	259	324	130	137	389	461
Montana.....	253	330	121	140	374	470
Idaho.....	302	388	142	160	443	548
Wyoming.....	269	324	124	127	392	451
Colorado.....	265	318	124	132	389	451
Utah.....	355	438	161	173	516	612

* *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population*: vol. III, Parts 1 and 2 (Tables 3 and 6), cited in Newton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth: A National Responsibility*, pp. 154-55. A Report to the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population*. Second Series.

TABLE 37 (continued)

Region and State	Number of Children per 1000 Adults 20 to 64 Years of Age					
	Ages 5 to 13 Years		Ages 14 to 17 Years		Total: Ages 5 to 17 Years	
	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930
Southeast:						
Virginia.....	318	413	150	169	467	583
North Carolina.....	381	491	175	199	555	691
South Carolina.....	405	523	184	216	589	739
Georgia.....	344	431	154	186	498	617
Florida.....	258	325	120	136	378	461
Kentucky.....	347	408	158	161	505	569
Tennessee.....	326	394	149	164	475	558
Alabama.....	376	441	164	187	540	628
Mississippi.....	381	433	166	182	547	615
Arkansas.....	352	425	161	177	513	602
Louisiana.....	325	392	148	159	473	551
Southwest:						
Oklahoma.....	326	399	154	163	480	562
Texas.....	301	369	140	155	441	524
New Mexico.....	399	445	164	168	563	613
Arizona.....	333	361	141	136	474	497
Far West:						
Nevada.....	202	237	92	95	294	332
Washington.....	202	264	103	118	305	383
Oregon.....	205	259	106	117	311	376
California.....	183	225	94	93	277	319

lows: Ohio, 347; Massachusetts, 339; Illinois, 315; New York, 301; and California, 277. Thus, the adult population in each of the states of South Carolina, New Mexico, and North Carolina carries an educational load fully twice as great as that carried by the adult population of California. The relatively large number of children in the population of the Southern states is accounted for only in part by the high birth rates among Negroes. In most Southern states the ratio of Negro children to Negro adults is higher than the ratio of white children to white adults, but even if Negroes were excluded from consideration the white population of the South would still be carrying a relatively heavy educational load. In both Kentucky and Tennessee, because of the high birth rate among

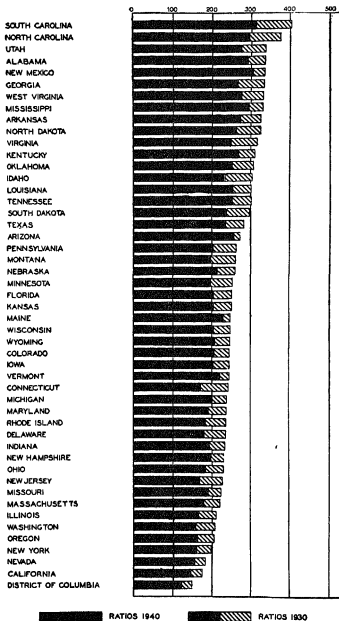


Figure 31. Ratios of Children Aged 7 to 13 per 1000
Adults 20 to 64, by States, 1930 and 1940

Prepared by the authors

mountain whites, children of elementary-school age are relatively more numerous in the white than in the Negro population. At the junior-college level, as at the elementary and secondary, the educational load is very unequally distributed among the adult population of the various states. The number of youth eighteen and nineteen years of age for each thousand adults in the productive age group ranges from fifty-two in California to ninety-six in South Carolina.

The conclusion with respect to the unequal distribution of the burden of child care and education reached from an analysis of the ratios of children to adults by regions and states is borne out by a similar analysis of county data. Figure 32 shows for all the counties of the United States the number of children seven to thirteen for each thousand adults twenty to sixty-four years of age. The great area of low ratios and light educational load extends from southern New England to Maryland and from New York and Pennsylvania westward, getting broader as it reaches the prairie states, and ending in southern Nebraska and western Kansas. Nevada and the three Pacific Coast states constitute another large area of low ratios of children to adults. The number of children in relation to adults is relatively low, too, in Florida and in parts of Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado.

The great area of high ratios of children to adults and of heavy educational load extends from Pennsylvania and Maryland southward and westward and includes the Southern Appalachian-Ozark area and the old cotton belt of the Southeast. Another extensive area of high ratios extends northwestward along the southwestern boarder of Texas, getting broader as it reaches New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, and ending in southeastern Idaho. The cut-over lands of the Great Lakes states (comprising the northern parts of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota) and parts of the Dakotas constitute another area in which the number of children in relation to adults is relatively high.

It is significant that among counties in the same state great differences often exist in the relative number of children the adult population is called upon to support and educate. Children are relatively more numerous in the mountain counties of eastern Kentucky than in the bluegrass section, in the hilly counties of southern Illinois and Indiana than in the central and northern parts of these states, in

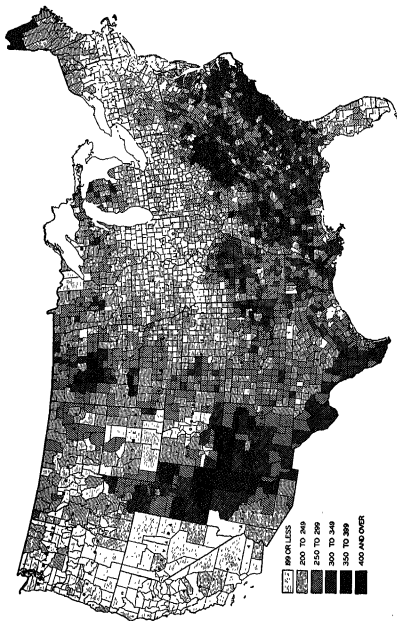


Figure 32. Distribution of Children 7 to 13 Years of Age per 1000 Adults 20 to 64, by Counties, 1940
Prepared by the authors

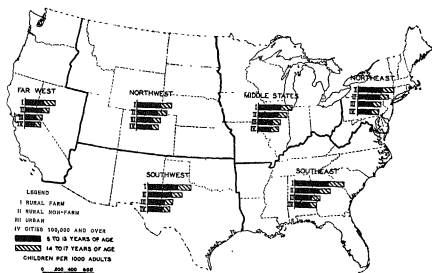


Figure 33. Number of Children 5 to 13 and 14 to 17 per 1000 Adults 20 to 64, in Rural-Farm, Rural-Non-Farm and Urban Communities and in Cities of 100,000 Population and Over, by Regions, 1940

Prepared by the authors

the cut-over lands of northern Michigan as compared with the more industrialized southern counties, and more numerous in the Missouri Ozarks than in the counties in the north and central parts of the state.

Differentials in the educational load, as measured by the ratio of children to adults, are equally, if not more, striking when urban and rural areas are compared (Table 38 and Figure 33). In every major region in the United States the number of children in comparison with the number of adults grows smaller as the size of the community grows larger. Everywhere the burden of providing support and education for the oncoming generation is relatively light on the urban population and correspondingly heavy on farmers. The number of children of school age (five to seventeen) per thousand adults in the productive age group (twenty to sixty-four) is surprisingly uniform in the urban population of all the major regions except the Far West, where it is considerably lower than elsewhere. The ratios are: Northeast, 314; Middle States, 309; Southwest, 356; Northwest, 344; Southeast, 345; and the Far West, 248. The corresponding ratios

for the rural-farm population stand out in striking contrast: Northeast, 491; Middle States, 470; Southwest, 597; Northwest, 497; Southeast, 669; and Far West, 406. Each thousand farmers in the adult population (twenty to sixty-four) of the Southeast is carrying a burden of child nurture and education more than twice as great as

TABLE 38. CHILD POPULATION RELATIVE TO ADULT POPULATION
IN RURAL-FARM, RURAL-NON-FARM, AND URBAN COMMUNITIES
AND IN CITIES OF 100,000 AND OVER, BY REGIONS AND
STATES, 1940*

Region and State	Number of Children 5 to 17 Years of Age per 1000 Adults 20 to 64 Years of Age			
	Rural-Farm	Rural- Non-Farm	Total Urban	Cities of 100,000 and over
Northeast.....	491	413	314	296
Maine.....	513	446	371	a†
New Hampshire.....	405	375	358	a
Vermont.....	491	423	340	a
Massachusetts.....	394	359	335	330
Rhode Island.....	411	380	346	332
Connecticut.....	351	333	319	305
New York.....	407	343	289	282
New Jersey.....	367	341	313	319
Delaware.....	455	343	299	295
Pennsylvania.....	513	462	342	316
Maryland.....	511	398	317	312
District of Columbia..	...	...	232	232
West Virginia.....	674	568	346	a
Middle States.....	470	398	309	288
Ohio.....	458	416	308	295
Indiana.....	459	401	324	305
Illinois.....	439	368	288	272
Michigan.....	487	418	338	321
Wisconsin.....	480	405	332	299
Minnesota.....	485	395	306	284
Iowa.....	451	382	327	297
Missouri.....	502	396	283	261
Southwest.....	597	474	356	307
Oklahoma.....	624	490	353	308
Texas.....	576	456	351	307
New Mexico.....	693	595	429	a
Arizona.....	659	468	385	a

* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Second Series.*

† Letter a indicates that the state has no cities of 100,000 or over.

TABLE 38 (continued)

Region and State	Number of Children 5 to 17 Years of Age per 1000 Adults 20 to 64 Years of Age			
	Rural-Farm	Rural- Non-Farm	Total Urban	Cities of 100,000 and over
Northwest.....	497	431	344	317
North Dakota .	550	472	370	a
South Dakota.....	513	433	352	a
Nebraska.....	474	412	333	313
Kansas.....	458	386	339	326
Montana.....	451	401	297	a
Idaho.....	524	435	368	a
Wyoming.....	468	386	345	a
Colorado.....	517	451	316	285
Utah.....	681	598	437	382
Southeast.....	669	483	345	314
Virginia.....	638	481	322	294
North Carolina.....	712	514	387	336
South Carolina.....	772	519	394	a
Georgia.....	685	438	354	301
Florida.....	613	433	301	287
Kentucky.....	644	518	336	311
Tennessee.....	605	495	337	322
Alabama.....	706	500	370	343
Mississippi.....	667	421	343	a
Arkansas.....	627	459	329	a
Louisiana.....	651	492	344	330
Far West.....	406	337	248	223
Nevada.....	362	307	256	a
Washington.....	429	327	255	240
Oregon.....	413	356	244	221
California.....	393	337	247	219

that of the adult population of the large cities in this region, and in the other major regions the burden of child care and education ranges from 57 to 94 per cent greater among farmers than among people living in the larger cities (Table 39).

Differences in the educational load of the rural-farm and the metropolitan population are even more significant when the load of the farm population of individual states is compared with that of the metropolitan population of other states. Thus the number of children of school age (five to seventeen) in the rural-farm population of a selected group of states is as follows: South Carolina, 772;

TABLE 39. NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS RELATIVE TO THOSE IN LARGE CITIES, BY REGIONS, 1940*

Region	Index of Ratios of Children 5 to 17 Years of Age per 1000 Adults 20 to 64 Years of Age, Using Ratios in Cities of 100,000 and Over as a Base		
	Rural-Farm	Rural-Non-Farm	Urban
Northeast.....	166	140	106
Middle States.....	163	138	107
Northwest.....	157	136	109
Southeast.....	213	154	110
Southwest.....	194	164	116
Far West.....	182	151	111

* *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population. Second Series.*

North Carolina, 712; Alabama, 706; New Mexico, 693; and Utah, 681. For another group of states, the corresponding ratios for cities of 100,000 population or over are: California, 219; Washington, 240; Missouri, 261; Illinois, 272; and New York, 282.

In every region the farmers have a larger responsibility for the care of the oncoming generation of that region than do the people living in the towns and cities. It must not be supposed, however, that the burden is relatively the same among farmers in the different parts of the nation (Figure 34). The farmers of North and South Carolina have a responsibility for the care of young dependents more than twice as great as that of farmers in Connecticut. In general, the farmers of the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest carry a heavier burden of young dependents when measured in terms of the ratio of children of school age to adults, than any other population element in the nation.

TRENDS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN RELATION TO ADULTS

Regional and state differences in the distribution of the responsibility for the nurture and education of children are not of recent origin (Figure 35). Between 1910 and 1930 these differences were somewhat ironed out, but between 1930 and 1940 they tended to become more exaggerated. Estimates of future population growth indicate that the regional differences in the number of children per

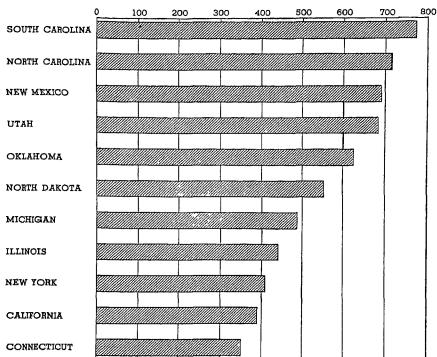


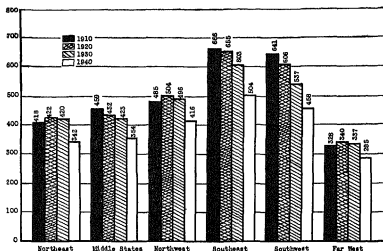
Figure 34. Ratio of Children to Adults in the Farm Population of a Selected Group of States

From SIXTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1940. Vol. II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN RELATION TO PLANES OF LIVING, INCOME, AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The unequal distribution of the responsibility of providing care and education for the younger generation among the various states and regions and among the different types of communities takes on special significance when considered in relation to differences in planes of living, income, and educational opportunity. A county-by-county analysis of fertility and planes of living already presented (see Figures 22 and 26) reveals that with relatively few exceptions the greater the fertility, the lower the plane of living.⁸⁰ It is also true that the

⁸⁰ For a description of the factors employed in developing the plane of living index see pages 609-10.



Ratio of Children Ages 5 to 17 to 1000 Adults 20 to 64

Figure 35. *Trend of Child Population Relative to Adult Population by Regions since 1910*

Data for 1910-30 from NEWTON EDWARDS, *EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUTH: A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY*, p. 48. *A Report to the American Youth Commission* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1939).

educational load, as measured by the number of children per thousand adults in the productive age group (see Figures 32 and 26), grows heavier as the plane of living falls. With relatively few exceptions, counties with the highest planes of living have a net reproduction rate below that required for family replacement and a relatively light educational load; with perhaps equally few exceptions counties with the lowest planes of living have a net reproduction rate materially above that necessary to maintain permanently a stable population and they have an educational load far in excess of the national average. Further analysis of the data reveals that in general counties predominantly rural have the lowest planes of living and a disproportionately heavy responsibility for the nurture and education of the nation's children and youth.

One of the most significant features of American culture is the unequal distribution of children in relation to income. If children and income were distributed among the adult population in something like equal proportions, it would make no great difference from the standpoint of equal educational opportunity that some

communities and regions had a high ratio of children to adults. But the actual situation is that where children are relatively the most numerous the income structure is the weakest. In 1930, the North-east and the Far West — both regions of low birth rates — were receiving a far larger percentage of the nation's income than they contained of the nation's children. The Northeast had 30 per cent of the nation's children, but its share of the national income was 43 per cent. The Far West, with 5 per cent of the children, received 9 per cent of the income. In contrast, the Southeast had to provide for approximately one fourth of the nation's children on one tenth of the national income.³¹

The unequal distribution of children in relation to income was even more striking when farm and non-farm communities were compared. In 1930 the farm population included 31 per cent of the nation's children, but farmers in 1929 received only 9 per cent of the total national income.³² During the depression and recovery of the thirties the relative position of the farmer in this respect was little if any better. In 1940 the farm population had the responsibility for the nurture and care of 29 per cent of the nation's children, but the share of farmers in the national income was only 8 per cent.³³

In 1930, in every major region in the United States except the Far West the farm population included a far larger percentage of the nation's children than its proportionate share in the national income. In the Middle states, for example, farmers had the responsibility for the care and education of 7 per cent of the children of the nation, but received only 2 per cent of the national income. In the Southeast the disparity between children and income was much greater. Approximately 13 per cent of the children of the United States were living on farms in this region, but the farmers of the Southeast were receiving only 2 per cent of the total income. In sharp contrast, the number of children in the non-farm population of the Northeast was only twice as great as in the farm population of the Southeast, but the non-farm population of the Northeast was receiving 42 per cent of the total estimated income. Even though it was probably true that the income of farmers was greater than the estimates indicated, one may be certain that the farmers of the na-

³¹ Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³³ Income figure from John D. Black, *Parity, Parity, Parity*, p. 104. Cambridge: Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, 1942.

tion were carrying a disproportionately heavy educational load and that their financial ability to carry it was much less than that of the non-farm population. The farmer shared in the increased income of 1940 and of subsequent years, but the striking imbalance in the distribution of children and income persisted.

The American people have long prided themselves on their democratic educational system. Yet the evidence clearly indicates that we have failed to achieve anything approaching equal educational opportunity for the children and youth of the nation. Areas characterized by a high birth rate, a high ratio of children to adults, a low plane of living, and a low per capita income have, in general, been unable to provide adequate educational facilities.

The cost of education is not always an adequate measure of its quality, but states providing the most liberal support of education do, in general, have superior school systems. Certainly the wide differences in expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance, or per child of school age, are of significance when considered in relation to social and educational policy. They are of special importance when considered in relation to reproduction trends and the unequal distribution of the educational load. Quite without exception, education is comparatively well supported in states in which reproduction is not taking place at a rate high enough for family replacement; conversely, in states with a net reproduction rate above 1.00, the general tendency is to provide much less adequate financial support. We have been and still are following the policy of providing relatively good educational facilities for the boys and girls who in all probability will not have enough children to replace themselves, while for children who are reasonably sure to have large families we provide far less adequate opportunities. One is justified in raising the question: Does such a policy tend to cancel out in considerable part the benefits that accrue from our entire educational enterprise?

Significant differences exist in the amount of formal schooling which citizens in the various states and regions have received. A comparison of Figures 22, 32, 26, and 36 reveal that, in general, where fertility is high, the educational load exceptionally heavy, and the plane of living comparatively low, a large percentage of the adult population has not attended school for more than seven years. In a large number of counties, fully one half of the population above twenty-five years of age has attended school no more than seven

years. The great majority of these counties are located in the Southeastern and Southwestern states — a fact which reflects the low educational status of the Southern Negro. But the relatively poor showing of the Southern states is not due wholly to the presence of Negroes in large numbers; when the white population alone is considered, the percentage of adults who have attended school for more than seven years is considerably below the national average (Figure 37). For the nation as a whole, when counties with a high reproduction rate are compared with counties with a high percentage of adults who have not attended school for more than seven years, the correspondence is very close, except in the state of Utah. (Compare Figures 22 and 36.)

When all the facts are brought into focus, the following broad generalization is warranted. In communities in which the birth rate is low, the educational load light, the plane of living high, and the economic structure the strongest, education is supported most liberally and home and community resources are the richest. In communities where fertility is high, the educational load heavy, the plane of living low, and economic resources the most restricted, education receives comparatively meager support, and home and community have the least to contribute to cultural and intellectual growth. Education may be made to serve as a means of equalizing the condition of men but it may also serve as an instrument for the creation of regional, class, and racial inequalities. If the ladders of educational opportunity rise high at the doors of some but at the doors of others scarcely rise at all, and if a considerable amount of formal schooling is essential for successful occupational adjustment, the educational system will operate to create those very inequalities of class it was designed to prevent. Finally, if each succeeding generation is recruited in disproportionately large numbers from the underprivileged areas of the nation and the underprivileged elements of the population, and if the deficit is not in some measure made good by high educational endeavor, the result may well be the spread of an inferior cultural heritage and the failure of democratic political institutions.

IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION CHANGE

In the preceding sections, attention has been confined in the main to an analysis of some of the significant facts of population change;

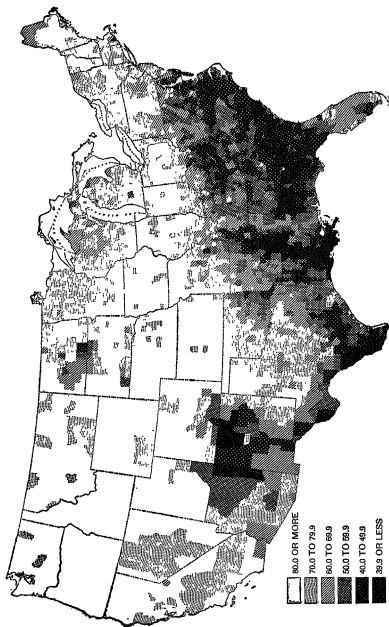


Figure 36. *Percentage of Persons 25 Years of Age and Over Who Attended School 7 or More Years, by Counties, 1940*
 Prepared by the authors

it is now in order to consider some of the broader implications of these changes.

POPULATION, INVESTMENT, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The emphasis of Malthus and his followers on the relation of population to resources gave rise to the point of view long and widely entertained that economic well-being lay in the direction of a smaller population. If population growth could be held in check, a more favorable ratio would be maintained between people and resources, a larger volume of capital would be available per productive worker, the per capita income produced would be larger, and the standard of living would be higher. It is no doubt true that the pressure of population on the means of subsistence in any given area may be so intense that the menace of overpopulation is serious and that a stable or even a declining population may be desirable. Even so, one cannot overlook the significant effects on the economy and on public policy generally that such a change in population would entail. It is probably true that the falling-off of the rate of population growth in this country — even the prospect of a declining population — offers the promise of a higher economic and a richer social life. But more recently it has become clear that the gains of the kind of population change we are experiencing are potential and not automatic. The shift from a rapidly increasing to a stable or declining population raises economic, political, and social problems of such serious import that failure to solve them would be highly disruptive and would translate potential gains into actual losses.

We have already noted the great importance economists commonly attach to capital outlay in maintaining or increasing production and employment. It was pointed out that when savings in large volume fail to find their way into capital investment, production falls off, the national income shrinks, unemployment increases, and the whole economy falters. We have also taken some account of the relation of population to investment, but this relationship should be more adequately discussed.

During the nineteenth century and the early decades of the present century, economic expansion depended upon two major factors: (1) the rapid growth of population, and (2) the rise in per capita purchasing power made possible by technological progress and the development of vast natural resources. Every decade produced not

only more but better customers. It is impossible to measure accurately the relative importance of these two factors in creating a demand for capital investment. Keynes⁸⁴ estimates that for the fifty-year period before 1913 about one half of the capital outlay in Great Britain proper was employed to meet the needs of an expanding population. Hansen⁸⁵ estimates that during the last half of the nineteenth century about forty per cent of the capital outlay in Europe and sixty per cent in the United States was required for the same purpose. Certainly a large and expanding volume of funds was needed to build the houses, railroads, and factories and to develop the farms, mines, and public utilities required to supply the wants of a rapidly expanding population.

In the nineteen-thirties the rapid decline in the rate of population growth and the prospect of a declining population within another few decades gave rise, along with other conditions, to the concept of a matured economy. In some quarters it was held that the period of rapid expansion in our economy was drawing to a close and that in the future our economic development more likely than not would be intensive rather than extensive. Others placed less importance on the significance of the decline in population growth for investment outlets. They were disposed to see in the unfulfilled needs of the American people for goods and services an adequate opportunity for investment outlets and for an expanding economy.

No one can deny that a substantial volume of capital investment will be required to produce the goods and services essential to meet in an adequate way the primary needs of our people, and to provide the comforts and necessities they would like to enjoy. It is possible, of course, that a decreasing number of customers may have an increasing volume of purchasing power, that a declining population may even require an increased amount of capital goods. But to bring this about in our economy would require a very substantial increase in per capita purchasing power — an increase sufficient to make up for the loss of the purchasing power that would normally accrue from population increase. Nor is it clear just what would be the source of the income necessary to support the higher level of living required to call forth a volume of capital investment equal

⁸⁴ J. M. Keynes, "Some Economic Consequences of a Declining Population," *Eugenics Review*, XXIX (April, 1937), 15.

⁸⁵ Alvin H. Hansen, "Economic Progress and Declining Population Growth," *American Economic Review*, XXIX (March, 1939), 8.

to that which would have been made if population had continued to increase. This matter of translating the unfulfilled needs of a stationary or declining population into a volume of purchasing power sufficiently great to prevent a contracting economy will certainly be a matter of grave concern to the leaders of the business community. It seems likely that a fundamental change will have to occur in business policy, that a conscious effort will have to be made to increase purchasing power — to create better customers — by lowering prices or by raising wages, or both. In other words, expanding markets and capital investment will come to rest squarely on a rising level of consumption. Unless in some way the purchasing power of the masses can be raised, the prospect is that of a contracting economy and large scale unemployment. It should be pointed out, however, that as previously indicated, the age structure of the population will be favorable to an increase in per capita income. A larger percentage of the population will be in the productive age group. If relatively full employment can be maintained per capita income should therefore be correspondingly high. Moreover, the change from an increasing to a stable or declining population should have the effect of making available for each worker a larger volume of capital (land and machines) and thus make possible greater per capita production and income.

Other considerations point to the conclusion that a declining population, or even a declining rate of population growth, will have a depressive effect on capital investment. In the first place, the volume of savings requiring investment will tend to be relatively larger because smaller families will make more savings possible. It is also true that older people tend to save more than younger and that a population made up of a disproportionately large number of elders will tend to increase its volume of savings. Moreover, as the age group above forty-five becomes relatively more numerous its economic power increases — a larger percentage of the national wealth falls into its hands. Older people will come to have — already have for that matter — a very great influence in the investment market and their interest may well be more in security than in risk. Venture capital for the development of new enterprises may become relatively scarce as older people turn to government bonds as a field of investment. It appears entirely possible, too, that the increased political power of the older age group may be employed to bolster

an economic order in which its property interests may be more secure. More particularly, monopolistic tendencies may be strengthened by sharper competition for a stable or decreasing number of customers. Even older workers may join older investors in support of policies designed to keep venture capital out of well-established industries. Moreover, increased purchasing power, if made available — and as we have seen, the whole economy falters if it is not made available — will result in a considerable shift of consumer demand from the necessities of life to comforts and luxuries. This shift in the pattern of consumption with the emphasis on goods and services sensitive to the demands of style and taste will tend to make investment in capital goods more hazardous and may be an important factor in making depressions more frequent. When the investment market called for a large volume of funds to produce the basic food, shelter, and clothing for an expanding population, the risk on investment was not too great. If consumer demand was overestimated and too many factories were built or farms opened up, temporary losses might ensue, but in time millions of new customers would bring relief. The case is very different when the investor is called upon to invest his savings in the production of goods and services for a stable or declining population whose rising level of living permits a wide range of choice in the goods and services that will be consumed. In the latter case, to misjudge the market might well be to court disaster. Under such circumstances, the wise investor will weigh the greater risk and proceed with greater caution. For psychological reasons, too, the prospect of a stable or declining population may well prove prejudicial to capital outlay. American investors have long been accustomed to an expanding population and to the increased purchasing power for the essentials of life which such a condition insured. When increased consumption comes to depend almost wholly on sustained prosperity and a rising plane of living, leaders of the business community may well lose some of the expansive optimism so characteristic of the past and hold back from taking the greater risk which will be involved in capital investment.³⁰

³⁰ For a more extended discussion of the effect of population change on capital investment see Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser, *Foundations of American Population Policy*, chap. V. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940; Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-09; Reddaway, *op. cit.*, chap. IV; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 ff.; Keynes, *op. cit.*

POPULATION CHANGE AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUTH

It appears that the kind of population change we may expect in the future will have a restrictive effect on employment opportunity for youth. The total consequence of population change will be a tendency to narrow the avenues of occupational advance for young people and to leave many of them stranded at the lower levels of vocational status. Youth are always in more or less competition with the older members of the working force. When the total population is growing and the employed personnel expanding, this competition is not too intense and youth have at least a fair opportunity to get ahead. But when the total labor force is falling off as a result of a decline in fertility and at the same time older workers are becoming relatively more numerous, it may well be that steps will be taken to protect the seniority rights of the older members of the employed personnel. The effect of a declining and at the same time an aging labor force will tend to block social and economic advance for all age groups, but especially for the more youthful members of society. Some of the economic and social consequences which may be expected to flow from the age structure of a declining population have been analyzed by Myrdal in the following significant statement:

The shifting of the age distribution *within* the working ages, which will result from the lowering of the population trend, will come to have a restrictive effect upon *young people's opportunities for advancement* in all the occupational groups where there is a career to carry out. It may, it is true, be easier for young people to "get into" a job, but it will be more difficult to "get ahead." With a declining population, as opposed to a stationary one, and along with it an average decrease of personnel in all spheres of activity, there will be a larger percentage of older persons everywhere who can hold appointments by right of seniority. It will then take a longer time for a young person to arrive at a responsible and leading position, and the probability that he ever will get there will vanish. There thus lies in the actual age structure of a declining population a tendency to restrict the opportunities of youth.

In all occupations in which careers are possible, the working personnel is organized hierarchically. Every part of the working life has the form of a pyramid with a broad base which rapidly tapers toward the top. Society consists from this point of view, quite simply, of a conglomeration of such hierarchical pyramids: if one

adds them all together he gets an aggregate hierarchical pyramid which is the present social order. . . .

The able-bodied adult population must be pressed into this hierarchical pyramid of society. This always frustrates the human material: the larger number are never able to achieve the careers they hope for. Many personal ambitions must be cut short. But it is clear that the more progressive the population trend is, the better will the ordinary pyramid of age structure correlate with the hierarchical pyramid of employment opportunities: thus a larger proportion of the young can get ahead in life. The more regressive the population, the less there is of such a correlation. The greater the difficulties in the way of ambitious youths, the more people even in the higher ages will be held at the bottom of the hierarchical pyramid; and social rises will occur less often and with more difficulty. In a declining population the hopes of the individual must to a greater extent be disappointed, his possibilities for development be cut off. This is another way in which a lowered population trend dampens the whole spirit of society, decreases the tempo of its progress. . . .

And it is difficult to avoid another broad generalization here: the mental and spiritual basis of private capitalism was the opportunity for individual advancement, the belief in which acquired an almost religious intensity in the "American dream" which stands as the creation of the country with the most steeply progressive population, the most unhampered private enterprise, and the most fervent individualism. When on account of the changed age structure individual opportunities to rise socially are blocked, people will get discouraged. They will lose their dynamic interest in working life; society will lose the mental attitude that goes with progress. Interest in security will be substituted for an earlier interest in social advancement.³⁷

It is to be hoped that other factors will operate to brighten this dark prospect for the future, but it scarcely seems possible to avoid altogether the influence of population decline in blocking advance along the line of occupational and economic preferment. Even under conditions of a stable population, full employment, and higher per capita income, opportunities to move up the occupational ladder would be more restricted than was the case when the total population and the total labor force were growing rapidly.

³⁷ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-65.

POPULATION CHANGE AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE OLDER WORKER

The advent of a stationary or a declining population will probably have an adverse effect on the older workers even though they may take measures to protect their seniority rights against newcomers in the field. More older workers may be expected to lose their jobs and those who do will experience greater difficulty in finding new employment. In a growing population the adjustment of the labor force to the occupational changes made necessary by technological improvement or by shifts in consumer demand is brought about, to a considerable extent, by keeping the older workers on the job and by drawing the younger workers into new jobs or vocations. In a rapidly expanding society a particular industry may become relatively less important but actually require an increasing number of employees. And even if the total labor force in the industry has to be reduced, the adjustment may be made, in the main, by reducing the number of young entrants.

With a stationary or declining population the situation may well be different. Under such conditions, adjustment of the labor force to technological change or to shifts in the demands of the market will probably be made by throwing people out of their jobs in large numbers. Apparently employers would have no other choice unless some other factor than a rising population created the necessary demand for their products. Moreover, the older workers would find their position in the labor market more precarious because there would be relatively more of them. Nor must one overlook the strong possibility, commented on in a previous section, that the slowing down of population growth, or a decline in actual numbers, may bring with it a depressed economic condition and an increased volume of general unemployment. And if such should be the case, the older workers, once separated from their jobs, would find re-employment extremely difficult. It seems reasonably certain that in a stationary or declining population the older worker will feel the incidence of occupational readjustment more keenly than when population was growing rapidly.

POPULATION TRENDS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OPPORTUNITY

Differentials in fertility, to which attention has already been

called, are important factors in creating differences in economic and social opportunity that are out of harmony with American democratic principles. The low level of economic and social well-being and the limitations on economic advance in some regions of the nation stand out in sharp contrast to others. In a country as vast as the United States it is not to be expected, of course, that life will be lived on anything like the same level in all the various parts or that the ladders of economic and social opportunity will rise equally high everywhere. But the differences that have come to exist are far too serious to be ignored; it is against the national interest to permit large areas to emerge which are characterized by low economic capacity and inadequate provisions for such public services as health and education.

Although imbalance in the distribution of population in relation to resources is not the sole explanation of regional differences in economic and social well-being, it must be recognized as a factor of prime importance. Quite without exception the major areas in the United States that have fallen markedly behind the rest of the nation in affording opportunity for economic and social advance for their inhabitants have long been characterized by higher-than-average birth rates. Much of the energy and resources of these areas have gone into the rearing of children who later moved out into more prosperous areas to make their life's contribution. But not enough out-migration took place to prevent an increasing pressure of population on resources. Future plans to improve economic conditions in these areas of limited opportunity, whatever else they may include, are almost sure to stress a better adjustment of population to resources. In working out such an adjustment, two things seem essential: (1) the birth rate will have to be brought more nearly in line with that of the rest of the nation, and (2) a large volume of out-migration should be encouraged.

When urban and rural America are compared, many of the same differences and distinctions with respect to economic and social opportunity emerge which exist between some of the major regions of the nation. Among farmers, as a class, the per capita income is lower than among non-farmers, the plane of living falls below the national norm, and the opportunity for youth to find satisfactory occupational status appears to be growing less. Before World War II, approximately one half of the farmers of the nation produced relatively

little more than they consumed on the farm — that is, for a great many, farming was essentially on a subsistence rather than a commercial basis. High birth rates among farmers were creating a surplus population which could not be absorbed by agriculture without further increasing the number of farmers falling in the lower income class. It appears that among the measures that may be adopted for the reorientation of agriculture in American life, a reduction in the birth rate and the encouragement of migration off the land will be important.

High fertility among unskilled labor groups in urban communities also creates a problem of occupational adjustment and social mobility of serious import. The demand for unskilled labor is decreasing in American industry, but the birth rate among the unskilled is higher than necessary for family replacement. The result is the accumulation at the base of the occupational pyramid of a large number of persons who are not qualified to join the ranks of the semi-skilled, skilled, or clerical workers. The ranks of the unskilled, to whom the doors of employment are tending to be closed, are also swollen by migrants from depressed rural areas where the birth rate is also high. In the past when the demand for unskilled labor was relatively great and the common laborer found less difficulty in obtaining and keeping employment, youth from this occupational class could more easily work up to higher levels of employment. More or less steady work provided a ladder by which industrious and capable youth could rise in the economic and social world. But the situation has changed. The common laborer finds steady work more difficult to obtain, he tends to remain a common laborer, his income is low, the size of his family is large, his children drop out of school early to take unskilled jobs, to reproduce large families, and to start the cycle all over again.

When one recalls that before the war in the urban areas of the four major regions — Northeast, North Central, South, and West — the percentage of persons living in families with an income of less than \$1000 ranged from 37.5 to 52.2 and that, in rural areas, a still larger percentage was living in low-income families, the problem of occupational and social mobility takes on added importance.³⁸ The problem will be easier to solve because families in the upper sections

³⁸ National Health Survey, *The Relief and Income Status of Urban Population in the United States*. Preliminary Reports, 1935-36. Population Series, Bulletin C (revised 1939), p. iv.

of the occupational pyramid are not reproducing themselves. Even so, positive educational and other measures will need to be taken to up-grade the unskilled labor force and to keep alive the old American ideal of equal opportunity in a mobile society.

THE EFFECT OF POPULATION CHANGE ON THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO THE ECONOMY

In recent years sharp differences of opinion have developed with respect to the effect that population change may be expected to have on free economic enterprise and on the relation of government to the economic system. Some do not regard population trends as a very important factor in future economic development and for that reason do not expect a stable or a declining population to create a situation calling for the expansion of public enterprise. Those who take this view see in the unsatisfied wants of even a declining population an adequate stimulus for capital investment and increased production. To quote from a publication of the Brookings Institution:

The conception of population growth as a controlling factor in economic expansion involves an elementary fallacy. It is based on the assumption that the only impetus to economic growth is that which comes from increased numbers of people.³⁹ The fact is that economic activity—the use of our labor power and our capital equipment—has always been directed to a double purpose: (1) the production of goods to care for the primary needs of increasing numbers of people; and (2) the production of increasing quantities of goods for the already existing, as well as for the increasing, population. Stating the matter in individual terms, we seek not only to produce enough to provide our children with necessities, but we hope to enable them, as well as ourselves, to achieve higher standards of living than were enjoyed by our forefathers. . . .

Why should a cessation of population growth make it necessary for us to refrain henceforth from producing more and still more for the existing population? Are not the unfilled wants and unsatisfied desires of the present 132 millions of people just as real a source of potential demand as the elemental needs of those who may be born in the years ahead?

The character of our productive output must of course be modified as population ceases to grow. Instead of additional bread and

³⁹ The authors have never encountered the writings of anyone who entertains the view that increase of population is the only impetus to economic growth.

potatoes for more hungry mouths, we should provide a greater variety of food for a population receiving better nourishment. Instead of additional hovels, shacks, and tenements, we should build houses and apartments of improved design. Instead of bare floors and walls and the most meager household equipment, we might have attractively furnished homes equipped with adequate labor-saving devices. So long as human wants remain unsatisfied there will be opportunity for the further expansion of production.⁴⁰

Few would contend that expected trends in population change will necessarily prevent increased production per capita and a rising standard of living. The view has been frequently expressed, however, that these ends are not likely to be attained in a stable or declining population without increased governmental participation in the economic affairs of the nation. Those who take this position readily admit, of course, that many human wants still remain unsatisfied, but they feel that the mere existence of unfilled needs is no guarantee that capital investment will take place in volume sufficient to assure an expanding economy or full employment. It is reasoned that in the past an increasing population was an important factor in stimulating capital investment and economic expansion and that when this stimulus is removed it may well be necessary for the state to step in and take the necessary measures to insure adequate capital outlay and reasonably full employment. As Thompson puts it:

In the United States . . . we have taken it for granted that economic activity would expand steadily and at a fairly rapid rate. This has been an axiom of our economic thinking. . . . It is probable that very few people have fully realized how much the belief in a constantly expanding economy rested on the assumption of a growing population, since the assumption that a rising level of living is man's normal state was even more explicit in our economic thinking.

Once the belief in a steadily and automatically expanding economy becomes general a number of corollary beliefs follow inevitably. The one we are most interested in here is the belief that the need for capital will continue to expand indefinitely and at so rapid a rate

⁴⁰ Harold G. Moulton, George W. Edwards, James D. Magee, and Cleona Lewis, *Capital Expansion, Employment, and Economic Stability*, pp. 167-69. The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution Publication 82. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1940.

that savings will always be inadequate and will be immediately put to use to provide additional capital goods. . . . In retrospect this belief in the naturalness, indeed, the inevitability, of a steadily expanding economy and the very general economic optimism it engendered appear to be in large measure the logical consequences of a steady and rapid population growth rather than a quality inherent in the nature of our economic universe, as many people still seem to think. The point which the author wishes to raise here is whether an economic system which has arisen in connection with a rapid and continuous growth of population and which has, on the whole, worked well will work so effectively when population growth suddenly slows, ceases, or, perhaps, declines. He does not expect to answer this question; at most, he hopes to convince a few readers that an automatically expanding economy is closely related to a growing population and that when the latter ceases to grow the economy can only be kept expanding by conscious community effort; that the success of our *laissez-faire* economy owes far more than is generally realized to the fact that it operated in a rapidly expanding population; that many of its qualities are not inherent in the nature of economic activity but are to a very significant extent an outgrowth of the great expansion of population which has taken place in the Western World since 1700. Since this expansion of population is nearing an end in many countries, he would argue that our economy must undergo much change to keep it functioning effectively in the new stage of human growth into which we are entering. . . .

The writer believes, therefore, that the economic and social changes associated with a slowly growing or a stationary population will tend to render a *laissez-faire* system of economy more and more inefficient in providing for the general welfare. As already has been said, the organizing principle in such a system was the continuous investment by the individual in enterprises intended to supply the community with the goods and services it demanded, with profit as the driving force. Of course, this did not always work out to the greatest common good; but it did work pretty well as long as all procurable capital was needed to produce larger and larger amounts of the goods in more or less general use, a condition which was quite easily maintained as long as population was growing rapidly and the level of living was also rising steadily and rapidly. Thus our expanding economy rested on two pillars: (a) the unprecedentedly rapid growth of population, and (b) the equal-

ly unprecedented increase in the use of nonnecessities (comforts and luxuries).

At present and rather suddenly, one of the pillars supporting a rapidly expanding economy, namely, a rapidly growing population, is being withdrawn, or, perhaps it would be more accurate to say, is being weakened by decay. It will no longer support a growing superstructure. More and more any expansion in economy must rest on the remaining pillar, namely, increased demand from the existing population, that is, upon a rising level of consumption. If this single pillar is to support the rapidly increasing volume of economic activity we have become accustomed to, it must be greatly buttressed by raising the level of consumption in the one third to one half of the population which now lacks the means of decent living.

In the past much improvement in this respect has actually taken place, but, in the writer's opinion, as population ceases to grow and the automatic increase in economic activity arising from this source fails, there must be more conscious management of our economy in order to assure a steady and rapid expansion of consumption which will, in turn, ensure the efficient use of our savings and our labor. This increased management of the economic system as a whole can come either from the activity of individual enterprisers organized in the public interest or from the organized public, that is, the government. Since the writer believes that the profit motive which dominates the private enterpriser cannot be organized in the public interest without a large measure of public regulation, he is forced to conclude that the operation of our economy will more and more be directed by public bodies. Thus it is that the slowing up of population growth will, in the judgment of the writer, have as one of its most important economic and political consequences the development of an increasing public regulation of our whole economic system.⁴¹

It appears to the authors of this volume that the population changes in prospect for the future will create serious problems of economic and social adjustment but that these problems are essentially institutional and therefore subject to solution. Moreover, the population changes in prospect may be turned to good account—they may be an important factor in the development of a more stable, equitable, and efficient economy. The accomplishment of these ends under existing conditions, however, will require greater

⁴¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-03, 308-09.

social control, more co-operative planning, a more intelligent direction of economic life, and an enlarged sphere of government action.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION CHANGE

Educational policy in the future will be materially affected by the adjustment the American people make to the broad economic, social, and political problems growing out of population change discussed in the preceding paragraphs. With all the uncertainty that surrounds these adjustments it would be highly speculative to attempt to forecast the precise arrangements that will need to be worked out to bring education in line with the new conditions. Certain aspects of population change do, however, have rather precise implications for educational policy and practice.

The decline in young people as a population element both relatively and absolutely; the changing age composition of the population; regional, community, and class differentials in reproduction; the pressure of population on the resource structure; and the movements of people from farm to city across state lines and from region to region — all these create educational problems of considerable magnitude which may be anticipated to some degree.

Problems growing out of changes in the school and college population. The decline in the absolute number of children of elementary-school age reflected itself in a marked falling off in elementary-school enrollment during the nineteen-thirties. The prospect was that elementary-school attendance would undergo a long-time decline. The rise in the birth rate during the late thirties and early forties, however, modified this prospect materially. On the assumption of low fertility, medium mortality, no immigration, and no war losses, the number of children five to fourteen will increase by about 2,500,000 between 1945 and 1955. During the following decade, the number of children in this age group will decline and in 1965 will be about 1,000,000 less than in 1945.⁴² It appears, then, that elementary-school enrollments will increase sharply during the next ten years and then fall off even more sharply.

Attendance at the secondary level is more uncertain. In the late thirties a peak was reached in the absolute number of young people

⁴² On the assumption of medium fertility, as defined by Thompson and Whelpton, a somewhat higher peak in the population of this age group may be expected in 1955 and the decline from this peak to the 1945 level will be extended over a considerably greater period of time.

of high-school age. Despite the rise in the birth rate in the late thirties and early forties, apparently temporary, the absolute number of young people of high-school age may be expected to continue to decline until about 1950 or 1955. During the following ten years the absolute number will increase but at no time will the population in this age group be materially above what it was in 1940. The period during which the high-school age group is increasing will be relatively short.⁴³

It is a significant fact that for the nation as a whole we have come to the end of the era of spectacular expansion of high-school attendance. With the absolute number of young people of high-school age decreasing, except for a brief period, and with more than sixty-five per cent of young people of high-school age already attending high school, it will not be possible for high-school enrollment to double each decade as it has often done in the past. The total number attending high school will probably increase for some time to come, but at a much slower rate than in the past. The only way high-school enrollment can hold its own or grow is for a larger percentage of youth of high-school age to attend school.

The changes in elementary- and high-school enrollments indicated in the preceding paragraphs will give rise to problems of adjustment, but they will also afford opportunity for positive gains. Building programs as well as attendance districts will have to be considered in terms of the changing school population. Falling enrollment should make it possible in many communities to establish a more satisfactory pupil-teacher ratio. With a declining or even a stationary school population, some conflict of interest may develop between teachers in the profession and young persons desiring to enter it. This conflict of interest may well lead to a re-examination of tenure and retirement policies. Relatively fewer beginning teachers will be entering the profession and teacher turnover will be less. As a result, the whole program of teacher education will probably be oriented more largely around the needs of teachers in service. It ought to be possible, too, to improve the quality of the whole educational enterprise at the elementary and secondary levels. From about 1890 to 1930, the intellectual and financial resources of many communities were severely taxed to provide facilities for a high-school population that was doubling every decade and for an elementary

⁴³ This analysis is based upon data in Thompson and Whelpton, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 98.

enrollment that was also growing rapidly. The accent was necessarily placed upon quantitative considerations. In the future perhaps greater emphasis can be placed upon quality. Trends in population will make it easier to provide better-trained teachers, to work out a more effective instructional content, and to extend educational opportunities more widely among youth in the upper age brackets.

It must be recognized, too, that population change will have some effect on college attendance. Writing in *Survey Graphic*, in 1938, Provost Smith of New York University expressed the belief that the falling birth rate would before very much longer have a significant effect on the number of young people attending college:

Tremendous expansion in enrollments in elementary school during the last fifty years was followed by even more spectacular increases in high-school enrollments; these expansions were followed by stupendous increases in colleges and institutions of higher education. Now, after continuous expansion, losses in the elementary schools are reaching the high schools. Schools of higher education and colleges have a few years of grace before the secondary losses reach them.⁴⁴

A similar point of view was expressed in one of the volumes of the Report of the Regents' Inquiry. Julius B. Maller comments on the nation-wide trends in college enrollment as follows:

The colleges will probably reach their maximum enrollment by 1943 and then will face "a diminished human reservoir" from which to draw, because of the cumulative effect of the declining birth rate. It should be noted in this connection that the decline in the size of families was particularly marked in the upper middle class and those of higher economic status, groups from which the colleges drew a considerable proportion of their enrollments.⁴⁵

It is true that the number of young persons of college age may be expected to decrease in the future except for a short period during which the large numbers born during the war years will reach college age. It does not necessarily follow, however, that college enrollments will be smaller. With only fifteen or sixteen per cent of the youth of college age attending college, it is possible to increase

⁴⁴ Rufus D. Smith, "The Population Curve Hits the Schools," *Survey Graphic*, XXVII (September, 1938), 445-49.

⁴⁵ Julius B. Maller, *School and Community*, p. 146. The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939.

the total number materially by a moderate increase of the percentage and this does not appear unlikely. In fact, it appears very probable that junior-college enrollments will be greatly expanded. As the financial burden at the elementary-school level grows lighter, and the rate of expansion at the high-school level falls off, many communities will find it possible to extend the opportunities of a junior-college education to their youth. Moreover, the program of general education upon which emphasis is now being placed may serve to attract a larger number of young people to college. The employment opportunities for youth will also be an important factor affecting college attendance. Youth tend to prolong the period of their education when satisfactory employment is difficult to find, and colleges tend to become, in some measure, custodial institutions. Moreover, as the small-family pattern spreads, parents with only one or two children may be more concerned about sending their offspring to college and may be in a better economic condition to do so.

But other factors may operate in the opposite direction. The small-family system is being adopted very rapidly by those who normally send their children to college. As we have already seen, too, in the white urban population families with an income of two thousand dollars or more, or in which the mother has a high-school education, are failing, by a wide margin, to have enough children for family replacement. The pattern or income distribution which has prevailed has tended to put a ceiling to college attendance and it will certainly do so in the future. If one half of the nation's children should continue to be born into homes with a real income no greater than that of the nineteen-thirties (\$1000 or less), the prospect for college attendance would be none too good. If, on the other hand, our state and national governments should undertake really to equalize educational opportunity by making a college education available to poor but bright youth, college enrollments would be increased markedly. Certainly, other factors than population change will be important in determining attendance in college in the future.

Population trends and the support of education. However difficult it may be to provide adequate support for education in the future, the changing age composition of the population should make the task easier. As the number of children and youth declines in relation to the number of persons in the productive age group and

this gain is not wiped out by the increase in the number of old dependents, it should be possible to finance a more adequate educational program without making any greater demand on the social income. Considerable competition, however, for the taxpayers' dollar is almost sure to develop between those who espouse the educational needs of youth and the champions of security for the aged.

The unequal distribution of the burden of child care and education between the major regions and between farm and urban communities calls for a reshaping of our national educational policy with respect to the support of education. The close association between high fertility rates, a low cultural-economic status, poor educational facilities, and meager educational attainments makes it clear that a policy of liberal federal support for education is essential. If the American educational system is to be truly democratic, if the ideal of equal educational opportunity is to be spelled out in the lives of children, some way must be found to enable those states and communities in which the educational load is the heaviest and the economic resources the most limited to provide for their future citizens a richer educational experience. Increased state aid to education will help solve the problem, but it cannot be looked to as the ultimate solution. The simple fact is that many states are unable at present to provide adequate educational facilities without taxing themselves far beyond what may reasonably be expected of them. Careful investigation has revealed that as a rule states with the poorest educational systems are spending more of their social income to support schools than is true of states with the best educational systems.⁴⁶

It should be strongly stressed that federal support of education is in the national interest and in no sense can it be regarded as a special favor. Rural areas would receive a large portion of federal funds designed to equalize educational opportunity, but it is these areas that are supplying the population reserves of the nation. Moreover, with the degree of mobility that is sure to characterize the American people in the future, education can no longer be regarded as exclusively a local or state concern. Migrants carry with them into the communities in which they find their new homes all their abilities or inabilities: their capacity or incapacity to contribute positively to the cultural-intellectual life of the community, their wisdom or

⁴⁶ See Edwards, *op cit.*, chap. VIII. Other investigations are discussed in this chapter.

fully in the performance of civic responsibilities, their strength or weakness in carrying their own economic weight. No community and no state that is sensitive to its future welfare can be indifferent to the quality of the education its future citizens are receiving, no matter in what part of the nation they may be growing up. And finally it must not be forgotten that there are two types of citizenship in the United States, state and federal. Each has its peculiar duties and responsibilities. Nor can it be denied that an enlightened citizenry is as essential for the successful operation of the government of the United States as it is for the successful operation of the government of each of the several states. Education is a national interest and should receive liberal federal support.

The principle of local support of education may be weakened in some communities by the further adoption of the small-family pattern. A sampling of a large number of urban and rural families revealed in 1942 that slightly more than a third of the families in Ohio had children in the public schools.⁴⁷ It is reasonable to suppose that conditions in Ohio are not radically different from those existing in a good many other states. In 1930, at least ten states had a lower net reproduction rate than Ohio. The indications are that in the future a considerably smaller number of families in most American communities will have children in the public schools. To obtain adequate local support for education, school administrators may find it necessary to cultivate public relations more assiduously. In fact, as a larger percentage of the people of the community lose direct contact with the schools, it may become the better policy to look to state and federal governments as the sources of an increasing percentage of the cost of public education.

The further growth of adult education. Population trends are almost sure to reinforce other factors making for the development of more extensive programs of adult education. At present, about one fourth of the population is over forty-five years of age, but in time at least 40 per cent may be expected to fall in this older age group.⁴⁸ This change in the numerical importance of older people may in itself stimulate greater interests and new demands in the area of adult education. More important still is the fact, already noted,

⁴⁷ T. C. Holy and Roy Wenger, "Families with Children in Ohio Public Schools," *Educational Research Bulletin*, XXI (October 14, 1942), 189-201.

⁴⁸ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

that as we move in the direction of a stable or declining population the older worker will feel more keenly the incidence of technological unemployment. Older workers separated from their jobs by new industrial processes or by business depression will stand in need of retraining. Moreover, smaller families and increased leisure may well result in a demand on the part of a considerable number of middle-aged and older people for new types of non-vocational education. The prospect is that adult education will become an integral part of the program of public education.

The reorientation of rural education. Many rural communities are sorely in need of state and federal funds to enable them to support more adequate educational programs. It is not to be supposed, however, that increased financial support is all that is required; the instructional program is in need of fundamental reorientation. Educational leadership must face the reality of a surplus of manpower on American farms. A revitalized program of rural education could strengthen the economic structure and improve the quality of individual living in many rural communities. Such a program would certainly stress activities designed to give farm youth a better understanding of and command over the resources of their environment. It would explore the possibilities of vocational adjustment in the community, with respect both to existing vocations and to new occupations that might be developed. It would seek to open up new avenues of community leadership and it would stress the peculiar values of rural life. It is not to be supposed, of course, that education alone, even when adequately conceived and supported, could solve all the major problems of rural America, but the schools could contribute much by a more vigorous attack on the problems of community life.

The fact cannot be overlooked, however, that no matter what the schools may do, they cannot remove altogether the pressure of population on the land. In the future, as in the past, millions of farm youth will turn cityward. It will be the obligation of the rural school to give this rural-urban migration some intelligent direction. Youth who migrate from farm to city will stand in need of more adequate preparation for the work they will do and the kind of life they will lead than we have given them in the past. It is of great importance that their educational experience be such that upon reaching the city they will not find it necessary to join the

ranks of the unskilled labor force — ranks that will probably already be crowded as a result of the high birth rates now prevailing among the unskilled in cities. Farm migrants will need proficiency in the exercise of some marketable skill. In addition they will need an understanding of some of the broad general principles and processes involved in machine production or in such other activities as transportation, trade, professional, or clerical work. It is important, too, that youth who migrate from farms be given intelligent direction in seeking the best markets for their services. In the past, migrants from farms have too often turned cityward with little knowledge of jobs available other than that acquired from letters from friends, newspaper advertisements, or the statements of company agents. What is needed is the further development of the employment service provided by the federal government — a service that will make available at all times information with respects to the demands of the labor market in the various parts of the nation. And finally, the guidance program for migrant farm youth will need to give emphasis to the problems of personal and social adjustment which they will encounter upon being transplanted from a simple rural culture to the more complex milieu of urban communities. Far too little is now known of these perplexing problems of adjustment which face the rural migrant. Until more is known about them, it will be difficult to work out a satisfactory curriculum for the rural schools.

POPULATION POLICY

Problems growing out of population change may be expected to be serious, but they can be subjected to social control. It should be possible in a stable population to increase production, to expand the social income, and to improve in varied ways both the material and spiritual qualities of life. Luckily, the essential elements of a population policy will be consonant with democratic social values and with American traditions and ideals. The road that leads to general social improvement — to an economic system that operates efficiently and equitably, to relatively full employment, to the distribution of the benefits of technology among the masses, to an equitable pattern of income distribution, to security, to equal educational opportunity, to social mobility — is the road along which those who may wish to

solve the problems of population must advance. It seems clear, however, that a definite population policy will need to be formulated and carried into effect.

Any population policy will necessarily have to deal with the quantity of the total population. From data already presented, it appears that in the United States, barring immigration on a large scale, the choice will not be between an expanding and a stable population but between a stable and a declining population. In fact, it seems almost certain that a few decades hence a period of decline in the total population will set in and by that time "the intrinsic reproductivity may be only three fourths or two thirds of that required for permanent population replacement."⁴⁹ Wise policy would seem to dictate that positive measures be taken to offset the tendency towards population decrease and to assure the maintenance of a stable population. Once a decline in population has set in, the shift back to a stable population would be beset with much difficulty. A declining population is characterized by a large percentage of aged persons and if the birth rate should be raised high enough for permanent population replacement there would also be a large number of young dependents. In such a situation, the productive age group might well find the load of both young and old dependents extremely burdensome.

In the course of years, it will not be easy to arrest the declining birth rate. It will prove still more difficult to increase fertility to a point high enough to maintain a stable population. In order to rescue the American family from near sterility, it may prove necessary to carry into effect a program of distributional reforms that will work a revolution in the economic constitution of the American family as an institution. A very large part of the economic burden that the rearing of children entails may have to be shifted from the family to the larger society. A considerable body of experience in other countries indicates that in any such program aid to families should not be in the form of cash payment, but in the form of services. A program of this kind would involve some redistribution of the national income in the interest of children and families; it would, of course, increase taxes, and it would, no doubt, become the center of much bitter political controversy. Benefits in kind, such as free medical care for mothers and children, public nursery schools,

⁴⁹ Lorimer and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40.

aid for worthy youth to attend college, free lunches for school children, and reduced taxes and rents for families with three or more children would tend to reduce the economic motive for family limitation, but they would scarcely prove adequate to raise the birth rate high enough to maintain a stable population. Psychological attitudes are also important. At present, the value emphasis in our society is unfavorable to family life and to children. In order to bring about a psychological orientation favorable to families large enough to maintain a stable population, the values inherent in family life will need to be stressed and the satisfactions which accrue from rearing a family of three or four children must be weighed against the satisfactions that accrue from gratifying the personal ambitions of married couples. It appears, too, that the position of women in our society will have to undergo further change. Women in the future can scarcely be expected to bear enough children for family replacement unless they are afforded full opportunity to work and unless society makes it possible for them after marriage to participate fully in the civic, cultural, and recreational activities of the community and nation.

Measures designed to improve the quality of the population will be no less important than those developed to insure a satisfactory quantity. Here an important aim will be the redistribution of population in relation to economic and cultural resources. Existing regional and community differences in economic well-being and in opportunities for cultural and social advance are due in part to overpopulation in areas where the resource structure is weakest. Evidence already presented shows that the inequalities growing out of the present pattern of population distribution spell themselves out in the lives of a large percentage of American children and youth — in poor nutrition, poor health, inadequate education, and restricted opportunity to make a living. Luckily, the measures required to establish a better balance between population and resources and to insure at least a reasonable degree of equality of opportunity will be, in the main, the same measures required to stimulate capital investment, increased production, economic stability, and the national interest in general.

The cultural-intellectual status of parents reflects itself profoundly in the lives of their children. Despite the increasing importance of schooling in our society, it is probably still true that the family is

the most important educational institution. If homes that are the best carriers of the culture do not have enough children born into them for family replacement and if homes that are poor carriers of the culture have a surplus of children, the result may well be the spread of an inferior cultural heritage. As we have seen, throughout the nation high fertility is commonly associated with low economic-cultural status — with low income, poor housing, and meager educational attainment. It would seem that measures should be taken to reverse this situation. Certainly, it is not too much to expect that those who have attained an average economic-cultural status or better reproduce their own kind. It is equally important that those individuals who have adjusted least successfully to the environment be encouraged to have families smaller than the average.

Luckily, human attitudes, ideals, and values are rather largely the product of the culture. It ought to be possible, therefore, through one or another of the agencies in the culture to establish the desired attitudes toward family size. In this way an improved environment, having in it a psychological orientation favorable to larger than average families on the part of those who adjust best to the environment, might be expected to operate automatically to select, in some degree at least, those individuals best qualified to contribute to the improvement of the quality of the population. It would seem, then, that there are three major goals to be kept in mind in the development of a program for the improvement of the American family. They are: (1) improvement of the environment, (2) distributional reforms in favor of families with children, and (3) the development of attitudes favorable to larger than average families on the part of those who adjust most successfully to the improved environment.

Whatever solutions may be sought for the problems growing out of population change, it seems certain that these problems will become increasingly important and that they will lay upon the schools a twofold responsibility. First of all, it will be the duty of school and college to cultivate in youth and in adults as well an understanding of the effects of population change in all their varied relationships. Educational statesmanship will also find that it has a major responsibility in helping to formulate and to carry into effect a nation-wide population policy.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 15

1. What effects do you think future population changes in this country will have on the economic and social opportunities of youth?
2. Indicate what you think are the educational implications of:
 - a. The falling birth rate
 - b. The changing age composition of the population
 - c. Differential fertility
 - d. Internal migration
3. In what ways do population changes affect our policy with respect to the financial support of education?
4. Do you agree that there is a pressure of population on the land in rural America and that many rural youths will find it advisable to migrate to towns and cities? Give your reasons. Indicate the educational problems involved and suggest possible solutions.
5. Do you agree that differential fertility tends to cancel out the gains that accrue from our entire educational enterprise? If so, what do you think can be done about it?
6. Do you see any relation between population trends and (a) capital investment, (b) full employment, (c) increased activity of government in our economic life?
7. What are some of the educational problems growing out of internal migration?
8. Formulate what you think should be the essential elements of a national population policy.

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Chapter 16 ~ The Expansion of the Educational Enterprise

THE SOCIAL CHANGES described in the preceding chapters have had a profound effect upon the development of American educational institutions. They were responsible, in part, for the expansion of the educational enterprise to include within its services most children and youth as well as a large part of the adult population, for the enrichment of the curriculum, for the almost endless attempts to order the instructional program so as to give it system and co-ordination, for the development of new types of structural organization, for the changing relations of government to education, and for the improvement of the quality of instruction through the scientific study of education and the more effective education of teachers. These aspects of the history of American education in recent years will be treated in this and the following chapters.

SOCIAL FORCES AND THE EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE

For a number of decades following the Civil War, home and community life outside the school continued to provide youth with the larger part of the experiences required to fit them for competent citizenship. Moreover, the Civil War itself had been a disturbing influence and had retarded an educational development in both North and South that was already well under way. The closing decades of the nineteenth century, however, witnessed the beginnings of an educational expansion that was truly phenomenal. It is no exaggeration to say that no other nation in the world has ever developed an educational system so extensive and so freely open to its youth as that which has taken form in the United States.

THE SHIFT FROM AN AGRICULTURAL TO AN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

In an earlier chapter attention was called to the forces that in little more than two generations transformed America from a simple rural economy into one of the great industrial nations in the world. The record of urbanization serves as a rough index of industrial growth. By 1900 more than two-fifths of the population was living in urban communities. By 1930 approximately 56 per cent of the people were urban dwellers (Figure 38).

Life in the developing industrial towns and cities was in many ways different from what it had been on farms and in rural villages. The urban community did not afford, outside the school, the educational experiences that the old rural community had afforded. In pre-industrial America literacy was the main goal of the schools. In those days the typical American community was the semi-isolated village or town surrounded by its farms, rural schools, and churches. Most of the activities of life were comparatively simple and could be learned best by direct participation in them. In home, in field, in church, in village shops, and in political and other community meetings, children and youth were inducted into the ways of adult life. But with the development of industrial urban communities, the conditions surrounding children and youth were vastly changed. The

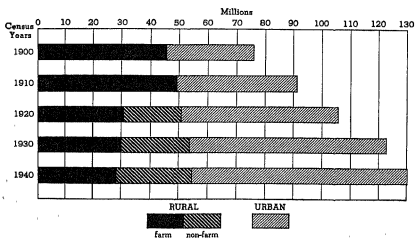


Figure 38. Population of the United States, Urban and Rural, 1900-1940

From RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES, p. 8. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933).

old carriers of the most worth-while educational experiences began to function poorly or not at all. Cities grew up and took form primarily to accommodate the demands of production and exchange, with little or no regard for the requirements of childhood. Inescapably the responsibilities of institutionalized education were vastly expanded. More and more the schools had to become the carrier of the experiences regarded as necessary for the socialization of youth whether in the area of manners and morals, health, recreation, vocation, or civic behavior. Urbanization not only meant an increase of education through vicarious experiences but it also meant longer years of formal schooling.

In still other ways the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy contributed to the expansion of education. The successful operation of the economy now required the mastery of an imposing volume of new knowledge and an array of new skills and techniques. Division of labor multiplied occupations by the thousands. Many new professions and more semi-professions developed. The pattern of life produced by industrialism was far more complex and at the same time more highly integrated than in the old days, and it stimulated the opening up of new avenues of knowledge in the social as well as the natural sciences. Sociologists, economists, political scientists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and physicians all produced new knowledge with respect to human behavior that the educational program could not ignore. The problems of social policy became amazingly complex. The workings of social, economic, and political arrangements could no longer be comprehended by the simple processes of observation and participation. If they were to be comprehended at all, they had to be comprehended through some form of institutional study. Thus the decline in the importance of home, community, and church as educational agencies, the need for the mastery of new knowledge and the acquisition of new skills, and the growing complexity of society tended to crowd into school and college an increasing number of young people.

THE INCREASE IN ABILITY TO FINANCE EDUCATION

Two forces were operating in industrial America to make it possible to support a more adequate educational program. As has already been pointed out, the burden of child care and education became relatively lighter as the number of young people in the

population declined in relation to the number of persons in the productive age group. It was possible to spend more for the education of each child without devoting to education an increasing percentage of the social income. More important still, perhaps, technological improvements were making possible a rapid increase in productivity per worker and a substantial rise in real income (Figure 39). The number of children under eighteen years of age per thousand adults twenty to sixty-nine decreased from about one thousand in 1860 to about five hundred in 1940.¹ During the same period the real income per worker increased from less than four hundred dollars annually to about fifteen hundred dollars. Obviously, American society was in a financial position to expand its educational facilities.

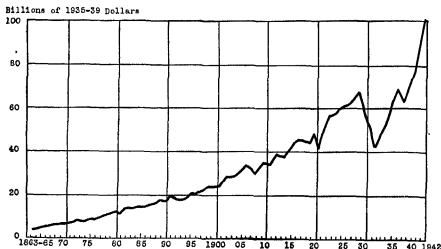


Figure 39. Real Income Produced, 1863-1942

From PAUL T. DAVID, POSTWAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT: A STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS, p. 4. Prepared for the American Youth Commission (Washington: American Council on Education, 1943).

THE GROWING SENSITIVITY TO THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

One of the most significant changes in our society during the past two generations has been the growing sense of social responsibility for children and youth. This increased sensitivity to the demands

¹ Newton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, p. 17. A Report to the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population. Second Series.*

of childhood has been reflected in child labor legislation, in compulsory school attendance laws, and in a changing attitude toward childhood and youth as a period of growth and development.

In the early days of industrial development in New England, children made up a very large part of the labor force employed in factories. Throughout the nation as a whole the industrial expansion of the closing decades of the nineteenth century drew into gainful employment a considerable percentage of children between the ages of ten and fifteen. The percentage of children in this age group gainfully employed increased from approximately thirteen in 1870 to eighteen in 1910 (Table 40). The employment of children in factories turned out to be something very different, insofar as the effect on the children themselves was concerned, from their working part time on the family farm. It is not surprising, therefore, that during the closing decades of the last century a strong sentiment began to develop in favor of excluding children and youth from industry and in favor of providing for them expanded educational opportunities. This growing consciousness of the evils of child labor reflected itself in legislation prohibiting children of certain ages from working in factories.

Many different conditions and motives stimulated the movement to exclude children from gainful employment. The humanitarian

TABLE 40. RISE AND FALL OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1930*

Year	Number and Per Cent of Children 10 to 15 Years of Age in Gainful Occupations					
	Number (in thousands)			Per Cent of All Children in this Age Group		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1870.....	548	191	739	19.3	6.9	13.2
1880.....	825	293	1118	24.4	9.0	16.8
1890.....	1095	409	1504	26.0	10.0	18.1
1900.....	1264	486	1750	26.1	10.2	18.2
1910.....	1353	637	1990	24.8	11.9	18.4
1920.....	714	347	1061	11.3	5.6	8.5
1930.....	461	206	667	6.4	2.9	4.7

* From Newton Edwards, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth: A National Responsibility*, p. 9. A Report to the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939.

motive was perhaps the strongest. Organized labor commonly supported restrictions on the employment of children, in part because their labor competed with adult labor and in part because of genuine humanitarian interest. A social and economic structure was developing that made it more difficult to utilize the productive energy of young persons. As children and youth became relatively less numerous, the responsibility for carrying forward the productive work of the world was assumed more and more by the older elements of the population. The introduction of more complicated machinery into manufacturing operations tended to make the employment of children less desirable and in many instances positively disadvantageous. In some cases industrial management groups not only dispensed with child labor voluntarily, but even urged uniform legislation prohibiting the employment of children. The net result of the operation of all these forces was the rapid decline of child labor after about 1910. In 1930, agriculture was the only major occupation in which persons under sixteen years of age constituted more than one per cent of the gainfully employed.²

It was a significant fact, too, that even before the depression of the nineteen-thirties the employment of youth at the upper age levels was declining. The proportion of the gainfully employed among those sixteen years of age declined from 40 per cent in 1920 to 25 per cent in 1930. During the same period, employment of the seventeen-year-olds decreased from 50 to 39 per cent. At the onset of the depression less than half of all youths sixteen to nineteen years of age were gainfully employed.³ The general tendency to remove youth from occupational life was, of course, an important factor in expanding the educational enterprise. This exclusion of youth from the experience of participating in the work of the world came to be regarded as a serious defect in the program of education.

Legislation excluding children from gainful employment was accompanied by statutory enactments requiring compulsory school attendance. In 1852, Massachusetts passed the first law to be enacted in this country requiring children to attend school. In time other states took similar action, and by 1918 all the states had some kind of compulsory attendance provisions in their statute books. Many of the early statutes were meager in their requirements and were poorly enforced, as indeed some of them still are. Nevertheless, the

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

enactment of compulsory school attendance legislation marked the modification of a long-established social policy and it indicated significantly society's growing sense of responsibility for the welfare of youth. Meanwhile, a better understanding of the meaning of infancy made it clear that there are good biological reasons why human infants require a prolonged period of growth and development. Research also revealed something of the problems and processes involved in the induction of the individual into his culture. As the needs of childhood became better understood, society came to regard the proper education of its youth as one of its most sacred obligations. It came to be recognized, too, that the values stressed in an industrial society were unfavorable to the interests of children and that positive measures needed to be taken through formal education to make good the deficit.

THE POPULARIZATION OF EDUCATION

In a previous chapter it was pointed out that during the decades preceding the Civil War, substantial progress was made in the development of state school systems. In the North and West common schools for the masses were emphasized and most children attended some kind of school for a longer or shorter period each year. In most rural communities and states in the North and West, however, the support of education was so meager that the maintenance of effective schools was impossible. In 1860, the expenditure per pupil enrolled for all types of education, elementary, secondary, and higher, was less than \$5 in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Maine, and New Hampshire and did not exceed \$10 in any state of these sections except Massachusetts where the average expenditure was \$10.02. Most of the Southern states were spending more money per free white person for educational purposes than the Northern and Western states. In fact, the South spent more per pupil enrolled at all educational levels — elementary, secondary, and higher. The South, as might have been expected from its aristocratic social structure, stressed the development of its colleges and academies to the partial neglect of its elementary schools. In 1860, in most Southern states less than half the free children of school age were in attendance at any type of educational institution.⁴ It is true, however, that the South during

⁴ Herman G. Richey, "Reappraisal of the State School Systems of the Pre-Civil-War Period," *Elementary School Journal*, XLI (October, 1940), 121.

the decades preceding the Civil War was making marked progress in the development of its lower schools. In all sections of the country educational efforts were strikingly similar. An appraisal of education based on measures of actual accomplishment in providing opportunity for the children reveals that, although differences existed in the adequacy of the provisions made by the various states and sections, these differences could be accounted for as easily in terms of conditions that characterized rural society, both North and South, as in terms of geographical location or social organization.⁵ It would be a mistake, however, to say that in any section effective systems of democratic education had been achieved. The battle for free public education may have been won in principle, but much still needed to be done to carry the principle into effective operation.

THE AFTERMATH OF CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1890

The Civil War temporarily checked the extensive development of state school systems, but it does not appear to have arrested the expansion of educational opportunities to the extent that has sometimes been supposed. The number of school children five to fifteen enrolled in public schools decreased from 73.2 per cent of the total number of free children in 1860 to 64.8 in 1870. This is not surprising when it is remembered that many Negro children counted as free in 1870 had been slaves ten years earlier. The number of children (white and Negro) enrolled in all types of schools increased from 82.5 per cent of the total number of white children from five to fifteen years of age in 1860 to 87.0 in 1870.⁶ When the decade of the Civil War came to an end, a larger percentage of the nation's children was attending school than had been the case when the war began. Some progress was also made in the support of education. The income of all schools per pupil enrolled (elementary, secondary, and higher) increased from \$6.34 in 1860 to \$13.23 in 1870.⁷ It must not be supposed, however, that many states, if any, had systems of education that were at all adequate. Support of schools was still often meager, teachers were seldom well prepared, and buildings and equipment were commonly crude.

⁵ Herman G. Richey, "The Persistence of Educational Progress During the Decade of the Civil War. I," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (January, 1942), 359.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁷ Herman G. Richey, "The Persistence of Educational Progress During the Decade of the Civil War. II," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (February, 1942), 461.

Large enrollments cannot be taken as evidence of adequate programs of education in states in which expenditure per person enrolled was \$5.38, as in Indiana, or \$6.80, as in Maine.

The next two decades (1870 to 1890) registered considerable progress, although the social forces that were to bring about a phenomenal expansion of the whole educational enterprise had not yet come into full play (Table 41). The number of children attending

TABLE 41. INDEX OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS BASED UPON STATISTICS
OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE, AND EXPENDITURES,
1871-1890*

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Index
1871...	36.94	48.70	132.10	.42	65.80	15.20	5.62	26.16	5.84	16.11	25.61
1880...	40.78	53.10	130.30	.75	66.30	12.71	5.18	22.72	3.61	16.27	25.38
1890...	43.97	59.20	134.70	2.49	73.44	17.23	7.58	32.18	5.97	21.03	29.57

1. Per cent of population, 5-17, attending school daily.
2. Average days attended by each child of school age (5-17 years).
3. Average number of days schools were kept open.
4. Per cent that high-school attendance was of total attendance.
5. Per cent that boys were of girls in high school.
6. Average annual expenditure per child attending.
7. Average annual expenditure per child, 5-17 years of age.
8. Monthly expenditure (12 months) per teacher employed.
9. Expenditure per pupil number of days attended for other than teachers' salaries.
10. Average monthly salary (12 months) of teachers.

* Adapted from Leonard P. Ayres, *An Index Number for State School Systems*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1920.

public elementary schools increased from about 6,871,000 to 12,519,000, a rate of increase greater than that which characterized the child population of elementary-school age. Enrollments in public high schools increased from about 80,000 to 203,000. The percentage of children five to seventeen years of age enrolled in public schools increased from 57.0 to 68.6. In 1871, 37 per cent of the population five to seventeen years of age was attending school daily; in 1890, the corresponding percentage was 44. By 1881, nineteen states and territories, all in the North and West, had passed compulsory attendance legislation.⁸ The support of the public schools when the

⁸ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, p. 161. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933.

nation as a whole is considered, however, showed very little or no improvement. For a full decade following 1877 the average annual expenditure per child attending school was lower than it had been in 1871. The monthly salary of teachers advanced only slightly, from \$16 in 1871 to \$21 in 1890.⁹ The school term was only three days longer in 1890 than in 1871. The index number (based on the ten components in Table 41) for the nation's school system did, however, rise from 25.61 in 1871 to 29.57 in 1890. It should be observed, however, that the index number was no higher in 1881 than it had been in 1871 and that it was not until the late eighteenthies that much gain was registered. It is clear, too, that the major gain was in school attendance at both the elementary- and high-school level.

Educational progress during the period 1865 to 1890 was uneven among the states and sections of the country. The Civil War and Reconstruction created conditions unfavorable to educational development in the South. Before the war most Southern states were improving their educational status even more rapidly than Western and Eastern states, but for many years now the South fell far behind other sections in the rate of its educational progress. When Lee surrendered at Appomattox, the human resources of the South had already been greatly impaired and physical resources had been all but exhausted. A Northern historian describes conditions in the South as follows:

Now wreck, ruin, starvation were on every side. The ground over which the contending armies had fought in Virginia was a waste. . . . The rich Shenandoah Valley had been stripped. Both Federals and Confederates had swept it from end to end repeatedly, the final hand having been Sheridan's. He and his "barnburners" were to render the country such a waste that "a crow could not fly over it without carrying his rations with him." Barns, mills and other buildings were heaps of ashes. A garden had become a desert. The country lying between Washington and Richmond was in the same condition. The villages were represented by solitary chimneys standing over cellars filled with the wreckage of fire. Churches were down, timber had disappeared, farming land, untended, had returned to pasturage. . . . Richmond was a mass of blackened ruins. . . .

⁹ Salaries figured on a twelve months' basis.

Sherman's army, on its way to the sea through Georgia and the Carolinas, had swept that part of the South so bare that it was almost without living reminders of human civilization. "You can have no idea of the desolation of this country," wrote a Northern visitor to South Carolina. The stores had been closed since 1861. The roads had known no recent attention and were unfit for teams. The railways had been torn up. The irons were twisted around trees and telegraph poles, and the sleepers had been burned. Everything edible had been eaten, and property had been stolen or destroyed from the Mississippi River to the seaboard. . . . The entire portion of Atlanta devoted to business, barring one block of buildings, had been laid in ruins. . . .

Charleston had been bombarded and burned. It was, said a visitor from the North in September, five months after the war ended, "a city of ruins, of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets, of acres of pitiful and voiceless barrenness. . . ."

In Mobile the planks had been torn from the tops of the levees to be burned for firewood. The wharves were rotting in the rain and sun. Buzzards hovered over them in clouds. Half the warehouses and shops were closed. Torpor and decay reigned on every hand. . . .

A New York *Tribune* correspondent found Galveston "a city of dogs and desolation." He thought "no other city of its prominence so utterly insignificant and God-forsaken in appearance." Houses and stores had been sacked, and ruin was written over everything.

So it was on every hand. The serpent slipped through the brush, the owl and the bittern cried over fields in which valuable crops had once been gleaned. . . .

Everywhere the same pitiful story was heard. Carpets were in tatters, or had gone to make army blankets. Pianos, which had not been cut to pieces with axes in the hands of Sherman's "bummers," jangled; they had not been tuned in five years. Clocks had stopped; there were no clockmakers to keep them in repair. Furniture was broken and sat unsteadily on its legs. Windows were uncurtained; the stuffs had been taken down and converted into articles of clothing. Not a complete set of dishes could be seen. Pieces were missing from cups and plates; others were shabbily held together by cement. Many were eating from gourds. Hair and tooth brushes long ago had worn out and the use of them had been abandoned. Pins and needles were so scarce that they were lent about and re-

turned. Few men any longer had pocket knives. Earthen mugs made out of local clays were seen instead of water glasses. When candles ceased to be procurable, light came from cups of pigs' grease with cloth wicks in them. Prongs were broken out of forks. In the hotels there were not enough chairs for the guests. They must sit down in turn. . . .

Everywhere plantations were offered for sale at preposterously low prices. . . . A hundred acres four miles from Macon were offered for fifty cents an acre, and any desired amount of land in that neighborhood could have been purchased for \$2 an acre. . . . For the "richest estates" in North Carolina the owners asked from \$1 to \$10 an acre. . . . Virginia lands, worth \$150 an acre before the war, could now be purchased for \$2.¹⁰

The war had shattered the social and economic system of the South and had silenced its voice in the political councils of the nation. The task of shifting from slave to free labor and from a plantation to a small farm economy was made difficult by the lack of capital and by the plan of Reconstruction adopted by Congress. Confederate money was, of course, of no value and funds were not available to buy the needed seed, stock, cattle, or to rebuild houses, barns, and fences. Scarcely anyone had enough to eat while planting and growing a new crop. Under these circumstances Southern leaders turned to Northern bankers for help which could be had only at a high price. Southern bankers borrowed money from banks in Baltimore and New York at a high interest rate. They in turn lent money to small-town and village merchants throughout the South, exacting high interest rates in order to pay their Northern creditors and to protect themselves against poor collections. The merchants in their turn extended credit to planters and farmers in the form of food, stock, and whatever was required to make a crop. The merchants took liens on the farmers' crops and usually required the farmers to devote most of their energy to the growing of cotton, the only crop for which there was a ready market. To protect themselves against crop failure and to pay the high interest rates exacted by the banks, the merchants charged extremely high prices for whatever they supplied the farmers. When autumn came and the cotton was sold, the merchant collected what was due him, leaving the farmer, more often than not, scarcely enough to live on until the planting season

¹⁰ Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War*, I, 56-62, 72. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926.

came around. Then the cycle started all over again. In this way the one-crop system was fastened more tightly on the South and the price of cotton dropped sharply as the result of overproduction. In the meantime tariff rates had been raised and Southern farmers found themselves paying tribute to Northern manufacturers as well as Northern bankers. Slowly, however, the South was able to accumulate some capital and by the close of the century an industrial expansion had begun which, aided by Northern capital, was to assume major proportions.

In the opinion of some writers the policies adopted by Congress for the reconstruction of the South proved nearly as disastrous as the Civil War itself. Be that as it may, political life in the South was long characterized by uncertainty, bewilderment, and frustration. One of the main objects of reconstruction policy was to insure that Southern representatives in Congress would favor a high tariff and other economic measures desired by Northern industrial and financial leadership. The Republican Party was to be established in the South and it was to draw its support from the newly enfranchised Negroes and from that part of the native white population which had long had a grievance against the slaveholding whites. The leaders of the Confederacy were disfranchised and the political power of Negroes, native whites (scalawags), and men from the North (carpetbaggers) was buttressed by military force. The new state governments established were commonly extravagant, and corruption and fraud on the part of officials were not infrequent. During the Reconstruction period, the Southern state legislatures piled up a debt of more than \$300,000,000,¹¹ a sum which represented a very large fraction of the total wealth of the region. Unfortunately most of this money was squandered and not used to rebuild the waste places of the South or to inject new life into the economic system. Irresponsible state legislatures levied taxes that were often confiscatory. In county after county a large fraction of the land was offered for sale to meet the demands of the tax collector.

The withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1877 and the legal end of Reconstruction by no means restored political tranquillity. The conservative leaders of ante-bellum days, the masses of small farmers (white), and the Negroes all made their bid for

¹¹ Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 468. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934 (new edition).

political power. After much confusion and bitterness, the leadership of the old conservative elements was discarded, the Negro was virtually disfranchised, and political power came to rest for the first time in the hands of the great mass of white yeomanry.

In the meantime educational development in the South was far from satisfactory, but more progress was made than might have been supposed. Constitutional and statutory provisions were now more specific and mandatory with respect to the maintenance of schools. Perhaps the most notable advance was the increase in the number of children attending school. In North Carolina the number of children enrolled in public schools increased from 49,302 in 1871 to 225,606 in 1880. In South Carolina the increase for the same period was from 67,098 to 134,072; in Georgia, from 39,766 to 236,533; in Kentucky, from 160,446 to 265,581; in Mississippi, from 98,600 to 236,704. For the first time schools in any large number were open to Negro children. By 1890 more than a million Negro children were enrolled in the schools of ten Southern states.¹² Available data indicate, however, that in most Southern states the length of the school term was actually shorter in 1880 than in 1871 as, for example, in North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Some Southern states during the decade registered material gains in the total expenditures for schools, although some, such as Alabama and Louisiana, were spending less than in 1871. The monthly salary of teachers declined generally throughout the South, as was the case in the nation as a whole.

The cause of public education in the South during the trying days of Reconstruction and later was materially advanced by the benevolence of George Peabody, a native of Massachusetts but at the time a resident of London. In 1867, he established a substantial fund to promote and encourage public education "in those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages, and not less disastrous consequences, of civil war."¹³ The fund, under wise leadership, became a powerful influence in the development of state school systems and its work in bringing about better facilities for the education of teachers was felt throughout the South. The period we are now considering (1865 to 1890), how-

¹² Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, p. 91. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

¹³ Edgar W. Knight, *Twenty Centuries of Education*, p. 91. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1940.

ever, came to a close with the South lagging far behind the other great sections of the nation in the educational opportunities it was able to afford its children and youth.¹⁴

THE GREAT PERIOD OF EDUCATIONAL EXTENSION, 1890-1940

Social forces already described began to make themselves felt in an accelerated rate of educational expansion during the closing years of the nineteenth century, and during each decade thereafter until the outbreak of World War II. A steadily increasing percentage of the children and youth of the nation was attending school; high-school and college enrollments expanded at a phenomenal rate; the school term was lengthened and attendance was more regular; education was given more adequate financial support; and the salaries of teachers were more than doubled (Table 42). The percentage of the population five to seventeen years of age attending school daily increased from 44 in 1890 to 67 in 1930. During the same period the school year for the nation as a whole was extended from 135 to 172 days, the average annual expenditure per child rose from \$17 to \$64, and the average monthly salary (twelve months) of teachers increased from \$21 to \$69.

All the major regions shared in the general advance, although progress was uneven and the adequacy of educational facilities varied from state to state and from region to region. At the beginning of the period (1890), the percentage of the school population attending school daily was highest in the Northeastern states and lowest in the South. In the Northeast the percentages ranged from 33.54 in Maryland to 67.17 in Massachusetts, and in the Southeast from 24.18 in Louisiana to 53.50 in Tennessee. In all the Northeastern states, however, except Delaware and Maryland, the percentage of children of school age attending school, according to census data, was smaller in 1900 than in 1890. Even as late as 1920, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania had a smaller percentage of their children attending school daily than was the case in 1890. The smaller percentages may be, in part, the result of more accurate statistics but, no doubt, the large number of immigrant children in the upper-age brackets not attending school accounted in part for the slow or negative rate of expansion in these states. In the other major regions

¹⁴ Leonard P. Ayres, *An Index Number for State School Systems*, pp. 32-33. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1920.

TABLE 42. MEASURES OF EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AND IMPROVEMENT, 1890-1940*

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6
1890.....	43.97	59.20	134.70	17.23	7.58	21.03
1891.....	44.49	60.38	135.70	17.54	7.80	21.83
1892.....	44.61	61.08	136.90	18.20	8.12	22.33
1893.....	45.04	61.58	136.30	18.59	8.37	22.75
1894.....	45.99	64.16	139.50	18.61	8.56	23.42
1895.....	46.72	65.18	139.50	18.41	8.60	23.83
1896.....	46.89	65.88	140.50	18.75	8.79	24.42
1897.....	47.62	67.62	142.00	18.68	8.90	24.58
1898.....	48.01	68.66	143.00	18.75	9.00	25.17
1899.....	47.12	67.38	143.00	19.38	9.13	26.00
1900.....	49.68	71.80	144.30	20.21	10.04	27.12
1901.....	48.75	70.06	143.70	21.24	10.35	27.67
1902.....	49.66	71.86	144.70	21.54	10.70	28.58
1903.....	48.79	71.82	147.20	22.88	11.16	29.17
1904.....	49.15	72.10	146.70	24.13	11.86	30.75
1905.....	49.05	74.02	150.90	25.40	12.28	32.17
1906.....	49.23	74.14	150.60	26.29	12.94	33.33
1907.....	49.16	74.61	151.80	28.24	13.88	35.00
1908.....	49.39	76.10	154.10	30.56	15.09	37.00
1909.....	52.33	81.26	155.30	31.66	16.57	39.08
1910.....	52.65	82.92	157.50	33.23	17.50	40.44
1911.....	52.02	81.56	156.80	34.71	18.06	41.58
1912.....	52.85	83.50	158.00	36.26	19.16	43.25
1913.....	53.20	84.10	158.10	38.31	20.38	44.08
1914.....	54.68	86.78	158.70	39.03	21.34	44.50
1915.....	56.63	90.26	159.40	40.47	22.92	45.58
1916.....	57.20	91.70	160.30	41.72	23.87	46.58
1918.....	56.20	90.40	160.70	49.11	27.58	52.00
1930.....	67.35	116.06	172.25	63.98	43.09	69.36
1940.....	73.95	129.40	175.00	105.74	79.65	130.36

1. Per cent of population, 5-17, attending school daily.
2. Average days attended by each child of school age (5-17).
3. Average number of days schools were kept open.
4. Average annual expenditure per child attending.
5. Average annual expenditure per child, 5-17-years of age.
6. Average monthly salary (12 months) of teachers.

* Adapted from Leonard P. Ayres, *An Index Number for State School Systems*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1920; Frank M. Phillips, "Educational Rank of States, 1930," *American School Board Journal*, LXXXIV (February, 1932), 25-29; United States Office of Education, "Statistical Summary of Education, 1941-42," *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, vol. II, chap. III. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944.

increase in the percentage of children attending school was fairly steady until 1920. During the decade of the nineteen-twenties scarcely any state in the nation failed to register a sharp increase in the percentage of its children in daily school attendance. Progress in this respect was especially notable in the Southern states.

The average expenditure per child attending school is another measure that may be employed to ascertain the educational progress of the several states and regions. Here again progress was generally consistent and especially so after 1900. It is a significant fact, however, that since the Civil War the Southern states have never been able to support their educational systems at a level comparable with that of other sections.

Two aspects of the expansion of education during the past half-century are of special importance: first, facilities have been made available to an increasing percentage of the nation's children; and second, enrollments have increased markedly at the upper educational levels, indicating the general tendency for youth to attend school for a longer period of years. A comparison of school attendance of young persons of various age groups for the four decades ending in 1940 exhibits in a striking way the trend toward a longer period of formal schooling (Table 43). The increase in school attendance of youth between sixteen and twenty is especially significant.

No phase of the development of American education since 1890 has been more striking or significant than the expansion at the

TABLE 43. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF YOUNG PERSONS OF VARIOUS AGE GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910-1940*

Age Group	Per Cent Attending School			
	1910	1920	1930	1940
5.....	17.1	18.8	20.0	18.0
6.....	52.1	63.3	66.3	69.1
7-13.....	86.1	90.6	95.3	95.0
14-15.....	75.0	79.9	88.8	90.0
16-17.....	43.1	42.9	57.3	68.7
18-20.....	15.2	14.8	21.4	23.6

* *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, I, 310; *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, II, 1044-45; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population*, III (Part I), 10; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population*, II: *Characteristics of the Population* (Part I), 33-34.

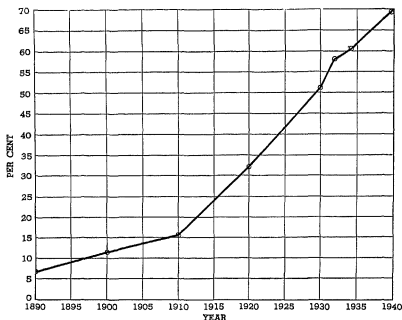


Figure 40. *Percentage of Children of High-School Age (14 to 17 Years) Enrolled in Public and Private Schools in the United States since 1890*

From NEWTON EDWARDS, *EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUTH: A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY*, p. 23. *A Report to the American Youth Commission (Washington: American Council on Education, 1939).*

secondary level. During each decade except one between 1890 and 1930 enrollment in public secondary schools increased by at least 100 per cent (Figure 40). In 1940, approximately 6,600,000 pupils attended public secondary schools, representing a gain of about 2,200,000 over 1930. As the nineteen-thirties drew to a close, public and private secondary schools combined enrolled approximately 65 per cent of all youth of secondary-school age. No doubt part of the increase in enrollment at this level was due to the difficulty young people were experiencing in finding gainful employment. To some extent at least, the secondary school was becoming a custodial as well as an educational institution — as the doors to work opportunity tended to close, the doors of the high school opened wider. In any event, the American people had come to regard the secondary school as the school for all adolescents in much the same way as the elementary school is the school for all young children.

The half-century between 1890 and 1940 also witnessed a marked increase in attendance in higher institutions (Table 44 and Figure 41). In 1890, only 3 per cent of the population eighteen to twenty-one years of age was in attendance in some type of higher institution, whereas in 1938 approximately 14 per cent of the correspond-

TABLE 44. COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS AND COLLEGE GRADUATION IN RELATION TO POPULATION GROUPS*

Year	Enrollment in Colleges, Universities, Normal Schools, and Teachers Colleges	Population 18-21 Years	Number Enrolled per 100 Population, 18-21 Years	Number of Graduates	Number of Persons 21 Years of Age	Number of Graduates per 100 Population 21 Years of Age
1942 {civillian	1,398,891	8,932,454	16	185,346	....	....
total	1,403,990	9,853,055	14	....	....	....
1938	1,350,905	9,679,000	14	164,943	2,405,000	6.86
1930	1,110,737	9,026,741	12	122,484	2,211,031	5.54
1920	597,857	7,343,794	8	48,622	1,821,712	2.67
1910	355,215	7,335,453	5	34,178	1,789,404	1.91
1900	237,592	5,930,765	4	25,324	1,426,849	1.77
1890	156,756	5,151,067	3	14,306	1,246,876	1.15
1800				10,353	998,964	1.04
1870				9,371	725,000	1.29

* United States Office of Education, "Statistical Summary of Education in the United States," *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1936-1938*, chap. I, United States Office of Education Bulletin 2, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941; "Statistics of Higher Education, 1939-40 and 1941-42," *Biennial Surveys of Education in the United States*, II, chap. IV. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944.

ing age group was in attendance in colleges, universities, normal schools, or teachers colleges. During the thirty-eight-year period, 1900 to 1938, enrollments in higher institutions increased 468 per cent, while the total population increased only 71 per cent, and the age group eighteen to twenty-one increased only 63 per cent.¹⁵ The number of college graduates increased from a little over 14,000 in 1890 to nearly 165,000 in 1938.

Great as was the increase in college enrollments, it failed, nevertheless, to keep pace with enrollments in secondary schools. Since 1900, at least, the percentage of high-school graduates attending col-

¹⁵ United States Office of Education, "Statistics of Higher Education, 1937-38," p. 8. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, chap. IV, Bulletin 2, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

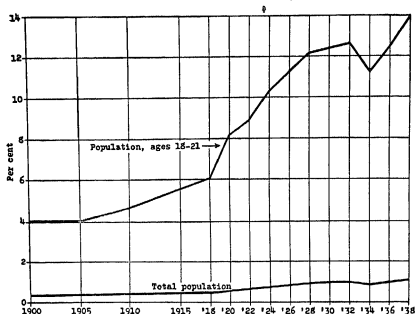


Figure 41. Per Cent College Enrollment Is of College and Total Population

STATISTICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 1937-38. By HENRY G. BADGER, FREDERICK J. KELLY, and JOHN H. MCNEELY. *United States Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, Bulletin 2, Chap. IV, p. 9. 1940.*

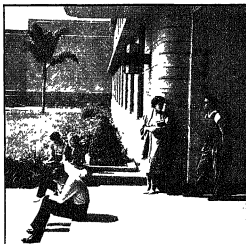
lege has been decreasing. In 1900, for each college student there were 2.9 high-school students. In 1938 the ratio was one to 4.6.¹⁸ These statistics bring out strikingly the fact that the American secondary school has lost its distinctly college preparatory character and has become more and more a terminal institution.

INEQUALITIES OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The evidence presented in the preceding sections of this volume indicates the devotion of the American people to the ideal of equal educational opportunity. A century ago Horace Mann voiced the abiding conviction of the common people of the United States when he asserted that education, above all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the condition of men. No other institution

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL OF THE EQUAL
CHANGE IS NOT YET REALIZED



High-School Students
Courtesy of Board of Education, Los Angeles



Son of a Share Cropper
Resettlement Administration (Lange)

has been so favorably regarded as a means for the achievement of social democracy. It must not be supposed that this emphasis on equality of educational opportunity grew wholly, or even mainly, out of a sensitive regard for the rights of the individual; it was grounded more fundamentally upon broad principles of public and social policy. Education was vested with a public as well as a private interest because it was felt that the very life of the democratic state was at stake in its program of civic education. Nor can it be said that the American people have failed to put forth great effort to realize the ideal of equal access to educational opportunity. Certainly, during the past half-century no other people in the world have done so much by way of providing educational facilities at the secondary and college level. And yet, despite all that has been accomplished, perhaps the most devastating criticism that can be justly levelled at the American educational system is its widespread failure to provide equality of opportunity. In a country of such vast extent and of such differences in economic condition and cultural pattern absolute equality of educational opportunity may not be expected. But the differences are not slight; they are of such magnitude as to create a challenge to social and educational statesmanship.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIALS IN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Rural America has always supplied the population reserves of the nation. In 1936, it was estimated that people then living in cities had borne and reared only about one half the then existing urban population.¹⁷ The other half had been born in foreign countries or in rural communities in America. In 1940, more than half the population under twenty years of age was living in rural communities. The prospect was that many of the children and youth reared on farms and in villages would in time take up gainful employment in towns and cities.

Despite the vital role the farm and village have played in the life of the nation, their children and youth, as a class, have always been handicapped by unequal educational opportunities. For a half-century and more following the Civil War the educational gains of the nation were registered primarily in urban communities where

¹⁷ Harold F. Dorn and Frank Lorimer, "Migration, Reproduction, and Population Adjustment," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXXVII (November, 1936), 287.

both wealth and capacity for adaptation to new conditions were greatest. The conditions of frontier life had left an almost ineradicable stamp upon the rural school. It was a significant, even a tragic, fact that for one generation after another the tides of progress swept over and around the rural school leaving it almost unaffected. The little red school house was made of tough stuff; it yielded little to the forces that were transforming the conditions of American life. While the urban school was obtaining more adequate financial support, improving the material equipment with which it operated, drawing from the normal schools and colleges the best-trained teachers, developing a trained administrative and supervisory personnel, and enriching its instructional content, the rural school remained much as it had been for generations. The small district type of organization persisted; the financial support of education remained comparatively meager; school houses were commonly inadequate; rural teachers were poorly trained, immature, and poorly paid; the curriculum consisted, in the main, of a formal drill in the three R's; and supervision was practically unknown. The net result was that in many ways rural boys and girls were poorly prepared to compete, as they must, with their better educated urban brothers and sisters.

The story of unequal opportunity between country and city could be documented almost without end.¹⁸ It is recorded in the reports of the superintendent of public instruction of every state in the nation, in the observations on American education made by foreigners, in the reports and surveys of national committees, and in common observation. In 1869 an official report on American education was made to the Canadian government by Doctor Adolphus Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Ontario. He found urban schools superior to rural schools. He commented on rural schools as follows:

Herein (that is, in the rural areas) most of the work of the States has begun to halt. There is no adequate provision to secure properly qualified teachers where schools are established. The result is that when you leave the cities and large towns and go into the rural parts of the State you will find our American neighbors are not so successful in their public-school economy and accomplish results far

¹⁸ See especially the excellent volume by Kate V. Wofford, *An History of the Status and Training of Elementary Rural Teachers of the United States, 1860-1930*. Doctor's dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, June, 1934.

below and short of the state appropriation for sound education of all the people. Such an imperfect state and deficiency of sound education could hardly be otherwise where the schools are kept open from four to six months in the year by boys and girls from sixteen to twenty years of age, themselves poorly educated. There cannot be a good school without a good teacher. In the neighboring states there is no state standard of teacher qualification, though in one instance there is a state board. There is no state program for the examination of teachers. The chief difficulties apparent in the American rural school are the deficiencies in the qualifications of teachers and the temporary employment of them.¹⁹

A commission of the French government sent to the United States to study the system of education in 1876 confirmed the impressions of rural education gained by the representative of the Canadian government during his visit a few years earlier. Said the commission in its report:

We are trying . . . to do justice to this great country, but we must not conceal the fact that the schools in the rural districts are poor and badly managed. The salaries of the country teachers are so low that our French teachers have no reason to envy them. The characteristic trait of the country school is the absence of regular organization. There is no uniformity whatever.²⁰

Reports from American sources confirmed the observations of foreign visitors. In 1880, the state superintendent of schools in New Jersey called attention to the fact that the local experience of teachers in urban schools was about three times that of teachers elsewhere in the state and the reports of other superintendents indicated that this condition was general throughout the country.²¹ In the same year the United States Bureau of Education estimated that about one fourth of the funds being spent on education was spent in seventy-one urban communities to provide schools for about one sixth of the nation's children.²² A careful study of some of the conditions of urban and rural schools in 1909-10 made by the United

¹⁹ Rev. Adolphus Egerton Ryerson, *Special Report on Popular Education of Europe and the United States of America*, p. 174 (Toronto, 1869), as quoted in Wofford, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁰ *Report sur l'Instruction Primaire à l'Exposition Universelle de Philadelphia en 1876*, p. 120, as quoted in Wofford, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²¹ *New Jersey, Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools, 1880*, p. 58, as cited in Wofford, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²² *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1880*, p. LXXXI. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882.

States Office of Education revealed that rural youth still stood in a disadvantageous position so far as opportunities for formal schooling were concerned (see Table 45). It is a striking fact that, although the rural areas provided 62.3 per cent of the total enrollment in elementary and secondary schools, urban teachers were receiving

TABLE 45. COMPARISON OF URBAN AND RURAL COMMON SCHOOLS, 1909-10*

Items	Per cent	
	Urban	Rural
Total population.....	46.3	53.7
Enrollment.....	37.7	62.3
Average daily attendance.....	41.5	58.5
Aggregate attendance.....	48.7	51.3
Teachers salaries.....	54.5	45.5

* Adapted from Harlan Updegraff and William R. Hood, *A Comparison of Urban and Rural Common-School Statistics*, pp. 15-16, 18. United States Bureau of Education Bulletin 21, 1912. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912.

54.5 per cent of the amount spent for teachers' salaries. Throughout the nation the school term was markedly shorter in rural than in urban areas (see Table 46). The average number of days the schools were kept in session in urban and rural communities was 184 and 138 respectively. Differences in the length of school terms in town and country were especially great in the Southern states. It is a fact of no little historical significance that the children of the rural South

TABLE 46. AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS SCHOOLS WERE KEPT DURING THE YEAR, 1909-10*

Geographical Area	Urban	Rural
United States.....	184.3	137.7
North Atlantic Division.....	188.5	159.7
South Atlantic Division.....	178.7	119.5
South Central Division.....	174.0	117.6
North Central Division.....	184.1	152.7
Western Division.....	180.7	145.0

* Adapted from Harlan Updegraff and William R. Hood, *A Comparison of Urban and Rural Common-School Statistics*, p. 28. United States Bureau of Education Bulletin 21, 1912. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912.

have long been denied educational opportunities at all comparable with those afforded children living elsewhere in the nation.

Early in the present century educational leaders began to manifest a growing awareness of the fact that most of the educational gains in the nation had been made in cities. It came to be recognized that the administrative organization of rural education was antiquated; that housing conditions were often pathetically inadequate; that the whole program of rural education was sorely in need of better financial support; that rural teachers, as a class, were young and poorly educated, poorly paid, and unstable of tenure; and that the curriculum of the rural school was commonly divorced from the realities of rural life.

During the past two decades, rural education has registered significant gains. Some progress has been made in bringing about more efficient types of administrative units. Measures have been taken to bring into some of the rural schools at least a measure of supervisory service. An increasing volume of state support has strengthened somewhat the financial basis of rural education. The school term in villages and the open country has been lengthened. Teachers colleges have commonly become sensitive to the needs of their rural constituency and have modified their curricula to provide a far better program for rural teachers. As a result of the slowing down of population growth in cities and the slackening demand for teachers, rural schools have had a better opportunity to obtain the services of the output of teacher education institutions. A higher type of educational leadership in rural education has led, in some communities at least, to a vitalizing of the educational program. Here and there — though far too infrequently — rural school programs are emerging which integrate school and community life, give attention to the personal and social problems of children and youth, and provide some facilities for occupational adjustment.

It must not be supposed from the foregoing statements that the problems of rural education have been measurably solved. Much more needs to be accomplished if the American people are ever to realize the ideal of reasonably equal access to education. On nearly every measure of effectiveness the rural schools still fall below the schools maintained in cities.

In most states the administrative structure of rural education stands in need of a thoroughgoing reorganization. The United

States Office of Education reported that in 1942 there were 107,692 one-teacher schools in the nation.²³ While some of these exist in communities where conditions are such as to make a one-teacher school reasonably necessary, many of them are to be found in communities where consolidation into larger attendance units is both possible and desirable. More serious still, many of these one-teacher schools represent a single administrative unit. Data on this point available for twenty-five states and the District of Columbia (1937-38) show that of the 44,015 administrative units for educational purposes, 26,587 are maintained for the employment of one teacher only.²⁴ Four states — Minnesota, Montana, New York, and Wisconsin — each have approximately five thousand or more administrative units maintained for a one-teacher school.²⁵ Even though a one-teacher school may be defensible in many communities as an attendance unit, the maintenance of a distinct administrative unit for a school of this type is highly questionable. Certain it is that rural education will continue to fail to achieve what it ought to accomplish unless its administrative structure is modernized in many states, notably in the Middle West, to enable it to meet the new social responsibilities placed upon it. In many states, especially in the South, considerable progress is being made.

Data presented in Table 47 indicate in some measure the differences in educational opportunity afforded rural and urban children. As a rule the school term continues to be shorter in rural than in urban communities. In 1937-38 the annual salary of rural teachers was \$864 as compared with \$1952 for urban teachers. In twenty-three states the average annual salary of the instructional staff in rural schools ranged from \$600 to \$899 and in three states it was less than \$600.²⁶ Current expenses, less interest, per pupil in average daily attendance on rural schools was only two thirds as great as in urban schools. These figures, however, do not truly represent the differences in the financial support of rural and urban schools. Many rural schools enroll less than ten children and in such instances per pupil cost is likely to be extremely high.

²³ United States Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1939-40 and 1941-42," p. 32. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938-40 and 1940-42*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944.

²⁴ United States Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38," p. 155. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, chap. II, Bulletin 2, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

TABLE 47. COMPARISON OF URBAN AND RURAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
1937-38*

	Urban	Rural
Population, 1930	68,954,823	53,820,223
Population 5-17 (both inclusive), 1930	15,685,345	15,885,977
Average length of school term	181.4	165.8
Number attending daily for each 100 enrolled	86.9	84.8
Average salary of instructional staff	\$1,952	\$864
Current expense, less interest, per pupil in average daily attendance	\$100.04	\$66.47
Estimated value of property per pupil enrolled	\$376	\$167

* Adapted from United States Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38," p. 57. By David T. Blose and Henry F. Alves. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, chap. II, Bulletin 2, 1940. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

Despite material advance in the improvement of the educational status of rural teachers, much more needs to be accomplished if rural schools are to be really effective. In 1935, approximately 7 per cent of the white and 46 per cent of the Negro teachers in one-teacher schools had received no more, and in many instances less, than a high-school education.²⁷ It is now generally recognized that all teachers should have at least two years of college education. The great majority of urban teachers meet this minimum requirement, but in 1938 only 38 per cent of the teachers in one- and two-teacher schools in the open country met it (Table 48).

Information made available for the first time by the United States

TABLE 48. TEACHERS HAVING TWO YEARS OR MORE OF COLLEGE
EDUCATION*

	Per Cent
Teachers in one- and two-teacher schools in open country	38
Teachers in three- or more teacher schools in open country	72
Teachers in villages of less than 2500 population	79
Teachers in cities of 2500 to 9999 population	88
Teachers in cities of 10,000 to 99,999 population	90
Teachers in cities of 100,000 or more population	91

* From Bess Goodykoontz, "Elementary Education. Is It All Settled?" *School Life*, XXIV (May, 1939), 231.

²⁷ W. H. Gaumnitz, *Salary and Education of Rural School Personnel*, p. 16. United States Office of Education, Pamphlet 85, 1938. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

Census for 1940 makes it possible to get a fairly comprehensive picture of the educational status of the American people twenty-five years of age and over. For persons in this age group the census indicates the number of years of school completed. These data, of course, reflect educational conditions prevailing over a long period of years as well as during the more recent past, and they reflect to some extent also the presence of a foreign-born element in the population. Nevertheless, they bring out contrasts in educational opportunity as well as differences in educational status.

At every educational level from the first grade through college the rural population, and especially the rural-farm population, over twenty-five years of age falls below the urban population in the number of years of school completed. Approximately 80 per cent of the population in this age class in urban communities had completed seven years of schooling in comparison with 64 per cent of the farm population. The most significant differences in the urban and rural-farm population groups appear, however, when the years of school completed at the high-school and college levels are considered. In the urban population 46 per cent of those twenty-five years of age and older had completed one year of high school and 30 per cent had completed four years of high school. The corresponding figures for the rural-farm population are 24 and 12. Twelve per cent of those living in cities had completed one year of college and 6 per cent had completed four years. In contrast, only 4.7 per cent of the rural-farm population had completed one year of college and only 1.3 per cent had completed the full four years.²⁸

It is a significant fact that throughout the nation, state by state, the educational attainment of the native-white urban population above twenty-five years of age is higher, and often materially higher, than that of the same age group living in villages or on farms (Table 49). For the native-white population of the United States, the median of school years completed is as follows: urban, 9.6; rural-non-farm, 8.6; rural-farm, 8.0. For individual states, however, the differences are often much greater.

Contrary to common belief, the educational attainment of the

²⁸ See Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "1940 Census Data on Number of Years of School Completed," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XX (October, 1942), 372. In comparing the rural and urban population it may be possible but by no means certain that the better showing of urban communities is due in part to the migration of the better educated rural youth to cities.

TABLE 49. MEDIAN OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED FOR PERSONS
25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY RACE AND RANK FOR THE
UNITED STATES, URBAN AND RURAL, 1940*

(Median not shown where base is less than 100)

State	Urban		Rural-Non-Farm		Rural-Farm	
	Native White	Negro	Native White	Negro	Native White	Negro
Mississippi.....	11.7	5.8	9.9	5.0	8.1	4.3
Utah.....	11.5	8.4	10.1	..	9.4	..
California.....	11.4	8.5	9.6	7.3	8.8	6.8
Nevada.....	11.3	7.6	10.5	8.2	9.0	..
South Carolina.....	11.3	4.8	8.2	3.8	7.7	3.5
Florida.....	11.0	5.8	8.7	4.3	7.8	3.8
North Dakota.....	11.0	..	8.8	..	8.1	..
Washington.....	11.0	8.2	9.4	7.9	8.6	7.6
Arizona.....	10.9	7.6	9.2	7.3	8.5	6.6
Wyoming.....	10.9	7.9	10.0	7.5	8.7	..
Idaho.....	10.8	7.5	9.0	7.0	8.7	7.4
Nebraska.....	10.8	8.0	8.9	7.5	8.4	..
Oregon.....	10.8	8.4	9.1	8.0	8.6	..
Massachusetts.....	10.7	8.2	10.4	6.9	9.8	2.2
Montana.....	10.7	8.0	9.1	..	8.5	..
South Dakota.....	10.6	8.6	8.8	..	8.2	..
Texas.....	10.6	6.8	9.3	5.7	8.0	5.3
Colorado.....	10.5	8.5	8.9	7.5	8.5	7.7
Arkansas.....	10.4	6.3	8.3	5.3	7.4	4.6
Oklahoma.....	10.4	7.6	8.3	6.3	7.7	6.0
Alabama.....	10.3	5.6	8.2	4.5	7.1	3.7
North Carolina.....	10.3	5.8	8.2	5.0	7.2	4.4
Vermont.....	10.3	8.1	9.0	..	8.6	..
Maine.....	10.2	8.2	9.5	7.6	8.8	..
Georgia.....	10.0	5.1	8.6	4.0	7.2	3.5
Iowa.....	10.0	8.0	8.8	7.1	8.4	7.7
Minnesota.....	10.0	8.4	8.7	7.8	8.1	..
Virginia.....	10.0	5.9	8.3	4.8	7.3	4.1
New Mexico.....	9.9	7.4	7.8	7.1	7.2	6.2
Kansas.....	9.8	8.0	8.8	7.5	8.4	7.7
Michigan.....	9.8	7.6	8.8	7.0	8.3	7.4
Delaware.....	9.6	6.6	8.9	5.6	8.0	5.1
Ohio.....	9.4	7.4	8.6	6.9	8.3	7.2
Tennessee.....	9.4	6.2	8.0	5.4	7.3	4.9
New Hampshire.....	9.3	8.1	9.2	..	8.9	..
Illinois.....	9.2	7.7	8.4	6.6	8.2	6.5
Louisiana.....	9.1	5.2	8.1	3.5	6.3	2.8
New York.....	9.1	7.8	8.9	7.2	8.4	7.0
Connecticut.....	9.0	7.5	9.6	7.9	8.8	7.7

* Adapted from Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "1940 Census Data on Number of Years of School Completed," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XX (October, 1942), 378-79.

TABLE 49 (continued)

State	Urban		Rural-Non-Farm		Rural-Farm	
	Native White	Negro	Native White	Negro	Native White	Negro
Indiana.....	8.9	7.6	8.5	7.3	8.2	7.5
New Jersey.....	8.9	7.2	8.7	6.7	8.3	5.9
West Virginia.....	8.9	7.4	7.7	6.1	7.3	5.7
Wisconsin.....	8.9	7.6	8.5	7.5	8.0	7.1
Missouri.....	8.8	7.4	8.3	6.5	7.9	4.9
Pennsylvania.....	8.8	7.1	8.3	6.6	8.1	6.5
Rhode Island.....	8.8	7.6	8.6	7.4	8.6	..
* Kentucky.....	8.6	6.7	7.8	5.9	7.2	5.2
Maryland.....	8.5	6.1	8.5	5.6	7.7	4.7
District of Columbia.....	12.1	7.6	..	..	..	..
United States.....	9.6	6.8	8.6	5.0	8.0	4.1

native-white urban population of the Southern states above twenty-five years of age, in so far as years of school completed is a measure, is materially above the national average. Mississippi and South Carolina have long competed with each other to escape the lowest rating on most scales measuring educational achievement or status. Yet the urban native-white population of these two states now ranks first and fifth, respectively, in the number of school years completed. Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee are the only Southern states in which the native-white urban population above twenty-five years of age does not surpass the national norm in the number of years of school completed. The relatively low rank of the urban population in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Mid-western states is due in part, no doubt, to the presence of a comparatively large foreign-born element in the population, although, as we shall show later, it is also due to the smaller per cent of youth attending high school and college.

Other data obtained from the National Health Survey conducted by the United States Public Health Service in 1935-36²⁰ support the view that the problem of unequal educational opportunity in the South, in so far as the white population is concerned, is primarily a

²⁰ This survey, *The Relief and Income Status of the Urban Population of the United States*, included approximately two and a half million persons in eighty-three cities of eighteen states. An attempt was made to include cities that were representative of the various geographical regions of the nation.

rural problem. In fact, the educational attainment of white youth in Southern towns and cities, in so far as school attendance is a measure, compares favorably with that of youth in other sections. In some respects the Southern states make a better showing than either the Northeastern or North Central states (Table 50). Table 50 presents

TABLE 50. CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, OF WHITE URBAN YOUTH, AGE 20-24, BY AREA AND SEX, 1935-1936*

Grade or Type of School	Percentage of Persons Who Attained Specified Grade or Higher							
	Male				Female			
	North-east	North Central	South	West	North-east	North Central	South	West
Kindergarten,								
Grade I or II...	99.9	99.9	99.6	99.9	99.8	99.9	99.7	100.0
Grade III	99.9	99.8	99.4	99.9	99.8	99.8	99.6	100.0
Grade IV	99.9	99.7	99.1	99.9	99.7	99.7	99.4	100.0
Grade V	99.6	99.5	97.7	99.8	99.5	99.5	98.6	99.9
Grade VI	99.1	99.1	95.3	99.7	99.0	99.1	96.9	99.8
Grade VII	96.8	98.0	91.7	99.4	96.7	98.0	93.9	99.5
Grade VIII.	92.1	95.8	82.7	98.6	92.0	96.0	86.8	98.9
High school.	70.4	79.3	79.1	90.7	70.4	79.0	83.8	92.1
College	15.6	18.0	18.8	26.7	10.7	12.9	17.0	21.3

* Adapted from Bernard D. Karpinos and Herbert J. Sommers. "Educational Attainment of Urban Youth in Various Income Classes II," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (June, 1942), 767.

data showing the educational attainment of white urban youth twenty to twenty-four years of age in four major regions, educational attainment being defined as the highest grade or type of school the individual had entered, although he may or may not have completed it. From the fifth grade through the eighth the attainment of Southern youth was somewhat lower than in other sections.³⁰ In the South, however, 79.1 per cent of the male youth in this age group had reached high school in comparison with 90.7, 79.3, and 70.4 per cent for the Western, North Central, and Northeastern states, respectively. The corresponding figures for females were: South, 83.8; West, 92.1; North Central, 79.4; and Northeast, 70.4. A larger percentage of male and female white urban youth in the South had attained some

³⁰ Attention should be called to the fact that the existence of many seven-year elementary schools in the South makes it difficult to compare attainment at the eighth grade level.

college education than in any other region except the West. In the South 18.8 per cent of the males had entered college as compared with 15.6 per cent for the Northeast and 18.0 per cent for the North Central region. The differences were more marked in the case of girls. The corresponding percentages for females were: South, 17.0; North Central states, 12.9; and the Northeast, 10.7. As pointed out already, these data suggest that in attempting to bring equal educational opportunity to the South attention needs to be centered on white rural youth and on Negro children in both city and country.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OF LOW-INCOME GROUPS

It must not be supposed, from the emphasis in the preceding section on the inadequate educational facilities for rural children, that the doors of educational opportunity open wide for all young people living in towns and cities. Too often the assumption has been made — and this is extremely important — that a high degree of educational opportunity is extended to youth when good schools are maintained in a community and all who may wish have the privilege of attending. The fact is that for both rural and urban children the occupation of the father and the income of the family are among the most important, if not the most important, factors in determining how far children will ascend the educational ladder (Table 51 and Figure 42). The Maryland Youth Survey revealed that in the state of Maryland seven out of eight children whose fathers were farm laborers did not go beyond the eighth grade, while only one out of thirteen whose fathers were engaged in the professions failed to enter some type of secondary school. The outstanding reason given by the youth included in the Maryland study for their having left school was the financial inability of the family to keep them in school. Approximately four out of ten indicated that they would have preferred to remain in school if the financial conditions of the family had made it possible. The author of the study makes the following significant comment on the effect of the occupation of the father on the educational attainment of the child:

Much has been said in the preceding pages about the profound effect that the occupation of the youth's father usually has upon his general social, economic, and educational status. In going through the data uncovered in all our areas of information, this reality, like

TABLE 51. RELATION OF FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS TO THE PROPORTION OF YOUTH WHO DID NOT GO BEYOND THE EIGHTH GRADE

Father's Occupation	Number of Youth Who Did Not Go Beyond 8th Grade
Professional-technical	1 out of 13
Office	1 out of 9
Sales	1 out of 7
Managerial	1 out of 6
Skilled	1 out of 3
Domestic-personal	1 out of 2.5
Semi-skilled	1 out of 2.5
Farm owner-tenant	1 out of 2
Unskilled	2 out of 3
Farm laborer	7 out of 8

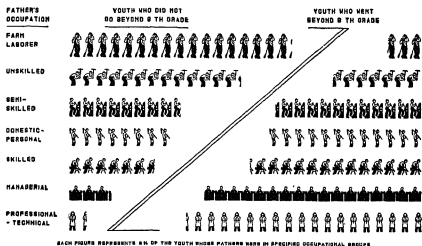


Figure 42. Relation of Fathers' Occupations to the Amount of Education Their Children Received

Table and figure from HOWARD M. BELL, *YOUTH TELL THEIR STORY: A STUDY OF THE CONDITIONS AND ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN MARYLAND BETWEEN THE AGES OF 16 AND 24*, pp. 59 and 60: Conducted for the American Youth Commission (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938).

a gloomy chorus in a Greek tragedy, has been an ever recurring theme.

With a little professional license, one might consider the factors that influence grade attainment as a miniature deck of cards. However this deck is shuffled, one card — one fact — will always be on top: the strongest single factor in determining how far a youth goes in school is the occupation of his father.³¹

Other studies support the conclusion that equal educational opportunity cannot be assured merely by providing schools and making them free to all who may care to attend. In his study of the factors influencing high-school attendance in Illinois, Richey found that counties enrolling the largest percentage of their total school population in high school were counties in which the plane of living was highest and the assessed valuation per child the largest. He found, too, a very considerable correlation between the percentages of the school children enrolled in high school and the indices of level of living.³² No doubt the higher percentage of youth attending high school in counties where the plane of living was the highest and assessed valuations were the greatest was due in part to the more attractive and better educational facilities provided by these counties. It seems reasonable to suppose, nevertheless, that the explanation of much of the difference in the enrollments of rich and poor counties must be based on the differences in economic status of the families in these counties. From data obtained from the National Health Survey, to which we previously referred, Karpinos and Sommers show conclusively that in the case of white urban youth the annual income of the family is an extremely important factor in determining the educational achievement of children.³³ The percentage of white urban males twenty to twenty-four years of age who attained the eighth grade ranged from 87.7 in the case of persons whose family received an income of less than \$1000 to 98.8 in the

³¹ Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, p. 63. The American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938.

³² Herman G. Richey, "Factors of High-School Enrollment in Illinois," *School Review*, XLVIII (November, 1940), 657-66.

³³ Bernard D. Karpinos and Herbert J. Sommers, "Educational Attainment of Urban Youth in Various Income Classes," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (May, 1942), 677-87; (June, 1942), 766-74. "Income of family" was defined "to include the combined salaries, wages, business profits, and net income from all investments received by all members of the family during the year preceding the survey." Educational achievement was defined as the grade or type of school an individual had ever entered, regardless of whether he had completed it.

case of those whose family income was \$3000 or more. The corresponding percentages at the college level were 10 and 43. Only 3.6 per cent of the persons whose families were in the relief group attended college (Table 52).

In all the major regions of the United States family income was an extremely important factor in determining whether white urban youth reached the upper levels of the educational system (Table 53 and Figure 43). In the Northeast, only 56.5 per cent of the male

TABLE 52. CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, OF WHITE URBAN YOUTH, AGE 20-24, IN VARIOUS INCOME CLASSES, BY SEX, 1935-36*

Grade or Type of School	Percentage of Persons Who Attained Specified Grade or Higher						
	All Incomes	Under \$1000 (Relief and Non-Relief)			\$1000- \$1999	\$2000- \$2999	\$3000 and Over
		Total	Relief	Non-Relief			
Male:							
Kindergarten, Grade I or II	99.8	99.7	99.7	99.7	99.9	99.9	100.0
Grade III	99.7	99.6	99.4	99.6	99.9	99.9	100.0
Grade IV	99.6	99.2	99.2	99.5	99.8	99.9	100.0
Grade V	99.2	98.7	98.2	98.9	99.7	99.8	100.0
Grade VI	98.5	97.3	96.3	97.9	99.4	99.7	99.9
Grade VII	96.7	94.1	92.0	95.6	98.2	99.0	99.6
Grade VIII	92.8	87.7	83.4	90.8	95.3	97.4	98.8
High School	77.1	66.4	55.7	74.1	81.3	87.0	93.0
College	18.2	10.4	3.6	15.3	18.6	25.8	43.1
Female:							
Kindergarten, Grade I or II	99.9	99.8	99.8	99.7	99.9	99.9	100.0
Grade III	99.8	99.7	99.6	99.6	99.9	99.9	100.0
Grade IV	99.7	99.5	99.3	99.5	99.9	99.9	100.0
Grade V	99.4	98.9	98.5	99.1	99.7	99.9	99.9
Grade VI	98.8	97.8	97.0	98.2	99.4	99.7	99.9
Grade VII	97.1	94.6	92.5	95.8	98.3	99.3	99.2
Grade VIII	93.5	88.4	84.3	90.8	95.7	98.0	98.4
High School	78.3	68.0	58.1	73.9	81.9	88.9	90.2
College	13.8	7.7	2.8	10.7	13.2	21.5	33.0

* The difference between 100 per cent and the percentage of persons who attained the lowest grade represents the percentage of persons who never attended school.

Source: Bernard D. Karpinos and Herbert J. Sommers, "Educational Attainment of Urban Youth in Various Income Classes, I," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (May, 1942), 681.

TABLE 53. PERCENTAGE OF WHITE URBAN YOUTH, 20 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE, WHO HAD ATTENDED HIGH SCHOOL OR COLLEGE, BY FAMILY INCOME, AREA AND SEX, 1935-36*

Region, Type of School, and Sex	Percentage of Persons Attaining High-School or College Level			
	Under \$1000	\$1000-1999	\$2000-2999	\$3000 and Over
<i>Northeast</i>				
High School				
Male.....	56.5	74.4	82.0	89.4
Female.....	56.4	73.8	83.8	86.4
College				
Male.....	7.5	15.6	23.0	37.7
Female.....	5.3	10.0	15.5	27.5
<i>North Central</i>				
High School				
Male.....	70.2	83.2	87.9	94.3
Female.....	70.1	82.4	89.6	89.8
College				
Male.....	11.0	19.2	24.9	40.5
Female.....	7.1	12.2	22.6	31.7
<i>South</i>				
High School				
Male.....	65.0	87.1	94.0	96.4
Female.....	71.4	90.7	95.6	96.6
College				
Male.....	7.8	20.0	32.2	53.7
Female.....	7.3	17.6	30.8	46.7
<i>West</i>				
High School				
Male.....	84.9	93.6	95.0	97.9
Female.....	87.7	93.9	96.8	95.8
College				
Male.....	20.1	25.8	31.7	54.9
Female.....	16.0	20.5	29.1	38.4

* Adapted from Bernard D. Karpinos and Herbert J. Sommers, "Educational Attainment of Urban Youth in Various Income Classes, II," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (June, 1942), 767-68.

youth whose family income was less than \$1000 attained some high-school education in comparison with 89.4 per cent of those whose family income was \$3000 and over. The corresponding figures for the other three major regions are: North Central states, 70.2 and 94.3; South, 65.0 and 96.4; and West, 84.9 and 97.9. Family income is a still more important factor in determining the percentage of

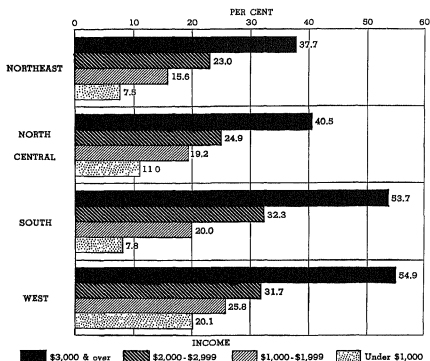


Figure 43. Percentage of White Male Urban Youth, 20 to 24 Years of Age, Who Had Attended College, by Regions and Family Income, 1935-36

Adapted from BERNARD D. KARPINOS and HERBERT J. SOMMERS, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF URBAN YOUTH IN VARIOUS INCOME CLASSES, II. *Elementary School Journal*, xlii, June, 1942.

youth who enter college. In the Northeast, 7.5 per cent of youth in families with incomes of less than \$1000 had attended college while 38 per cent of those whose family income was \$3000 had attained some college education. In the South, 7.8 per cent of the males and 7.3 per cent of the females in the low income group entered college in comparison with 53.7 per cent of the males and 46.7 per cent of the females in the highest income class.

It must not be assumed that children and youth in white urban families having an income of less than \$1000 comprise a small part of the total number of white urban children or that they are to be found in disproportionately large numbers in any one of the major regions of the nation (Table 54). A sampling of several hundred thousand youth indicates that in all four of the major regions of the

TABLE 54. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE URBAN YOUTH, AGE 15-24, ACCORDING TO ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME, BY AREA, 1935-36*

Annual Family Income †	All Areas	North-east	North Central	South	West
Number of persons	381,344	148,376	131,264	54,470	47,234
Under \$1000 (relief and non-relief) . . .	39.2	37.4	40.2	41.9	38.4
\$1000-\$1999	40.9	41.5	41.4	39.0	39.8
\$2000-\$2999	12.6	13.6	12.0	11.0	13.3
\$3000 and over	7.3	7.5	6.4	8.1	8.5

* From Bernard D. Karpinos and Herbert J. Sommers, "Educational Attainment of Urban Youth in Various Income Classes, I," *Elementary School Journal*, XLII (May, 1942), 680.

† Based on known income only.

United States, in 1935-36, approximately four out of ten white urban youth lived in families receiving an income of less than \$1000. The range was from 37.4 per cent in the Northeast to 41.9 per cent in the South. Contrary to common belief, perhaps, the highest percentages of white urban youth in families with the larger incomes were in Western and Southern cities. This condition is probably to be explained by the more even distribution of income in these two regions. At any rate, it is clear that in 1935-36 a large part of the white urban children of the nation were growing up in families with a low income and that the income status of the family was an important factor in determining how far the children would be able to climb the ladder of educational opportunity. Data are lacking for a comparable study of the income status of rural children, but there is reason to suppose that even a larger percentage of them fall in the low income group and that economic status is fully as important a factor in determining their educational achievement as was found to be the case with white urban children.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

During the past forty years the educational status of the American Negro has been materially improved. Each Census since 1900 has shown a significant gain in the proportion of Negro youth attending school. The per cent of the Negro population five to twenty years of age in attendance in some type of school increased from 31 in

1900 to 64.4 in 1940.³⁴ The 1940 Census revealed that 62.7 per cent of the non-white population sixteen years of age was attending school.³⁵ The United States Office of Education reported that, in 1938, 80.7 per cent of the Negro children of school age (five to seventeen) living in territory maintaining separate schools were enrolled in public schools.³⁶ The number of Negro pupils in high-school grades in the states maintaining separate schools and the District of Columbia increased from 33,341 in 1920 to 207,884 in 1938, an increase of approximately 500 per cent.³⁷

Improvement in the educational status of the Negro should not, however, be permitted to obscure the fact that this important element in the population has not had and does not have anything like equal access to educational opportunity. The relatively low educational attainment of the Negro population twenty-five years of age and over in 1940 reflects the failure of the nation over a long period of years to provide equal opportunity for Negro youth. (See Figure 44.) From the first grade through the last year of college the attainment of the Negro population was markedly lower than that of native whites. Only 37.8 per cent of Negro adults had completed seven years of schooling in comparison with 83.1 per cent of the native whites. Of the native whites, 29.2 per cent had completed four years of high school but only 7.8 per cent of the Negroes had done as well. Negroes made a still poorer showing at the college level. Table 49 indicates to some extent how far educational attainment of Southern Negroes falls below that of the white population in this region. In thirteen Southern states the median of school years completed for persons in the native urban white population twenty-five years of age and older falls below ten in only three instances; for urban Negroes it rises above six in only five of the states. It is, however, the Negro population living on farms that makes by all odds the poorest showing. For five states the median of school years completed by Negroes in the rural-farm population is less than four and in ten states it is less than five. In ten states the median of school years completed by Negroes on farms is less than half as great as the median for urban whites and in South Carolina, Florida,

³⁴ United States Bureau of the Census, *Population—Special Reports*. Series P-1943, No. 4.

³⁵ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population*, vol. IV, Table 14, pp. 39-41.

³⁶ United States Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38*, p. 52.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

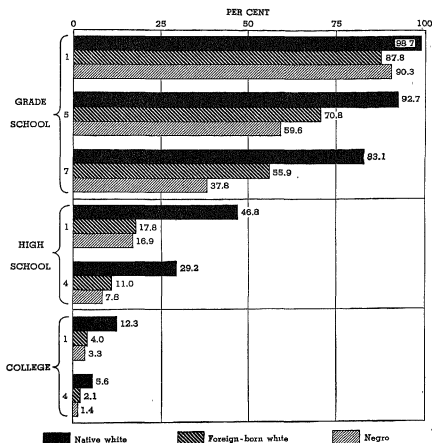


Figure 44. Years of School Completed by Persons 25 Years of Age and Over

From HENRY S. SHRYOCK, JR., 1940 CENSUS DATA ON NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, xx, October, 1942.

Georgia, and Louisiana it is less than half as great as the median years completed by the native whites living on farms.

The data presented in the preceding paragraphs reflect the accumulated effect of a long period of unequal educational opportunity for Negro youth. As already indicated, the educational status of the Negro has been improving markedly in recent years. In the Southeastern states the percentage of children six to thirteen years of age attending school in 1940 was substantially the same for both races: 84.6 per cent for non-whites and 84.7 per cent for whites. Of the non-white youth fourteen to seventeen years of age, 62.3 per cent

were in attendance at school; for white youth the percentage was 69.8. Overageness, however, is much greater among non-white than among white children. In the Southeast, 50.6 per cent of the non-white children in grades one to eight were overage one or more years in comparison with 25.9 per cent in the case of white children. Fifty-seven per cent of the non-white farm children in the elementary grades were overage two years or more. The corresponding percentage for white children was 29.8. In the states maintaining separate schools and the District of Columbia, 28.4 per cent of the children enrolled in public schools in 1938 were in the first grade. The first four grades accounted for approximately 65 per cent of the total enrollment.⁸⁸

Other facts could be presented to show that in the states having separate institutions for the two races the facilities provided for the education of Negro children and youth are usually inferior to those provided for the white population. Negro schools are usually less adequately financed, and many of them are taught by teachers whose professional preparation is strikingly inadequate. Many schools for Negroes are housed in buildings that are wholly unsuitable for the purpose and library facilities are often meager or lacking altogether. Opportunity for Negro youth to attend high school or college or to acquire adequate vocational training is materially less than for white youth. Moreover, it must not be supposed that Negro youth living in states not having separate schools are always provided with opportunities equal to those open to most white youth.

The expansion of the educational enterprise in the United States to meet the demands of a rapidly developing industrial society has been remarkable. It is safe to say that no other nation has accomplished as much. But many elements in the population have not shared equally in the educational advance. Much still needs to be done to make real the American dream of equal and universal access to educational opportunity. The conditions of American life also require further extensions of education upward and downward: upward to prepare for competent citizenship, for vocational efficiency, and for creative and satisfying use of leisure time; downward to meet the needs of early childhood.

⁸⁸ United States Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38*, p. 53.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 16

1. During the past half-century the school has greatly expanded and assumed new functions. Do present social conditions make a still further expansion of our educational enterprise desirable? Defend your position and, if your answer is yes, indicate the lines along which this expansion should take place.
2. To what extent, in your opinion, is the financial support of education a responsibility of (a) the local community, (b) the state, (c) the federal government? Support your conclusion by adequate evidence.
3. What percentage of the total cost of education is provided by the state government in your state? Do you think this is satisfactory? State your reasons for your opinion.
4. Do you believe that the urban population of the United States should be taxed to help support education in rural areas? Defend your position.
5. Evaluate the following propositions:
 - a. "A program of education adequately conceived and carried out is the most effective means society can employ to make real the ideal of the equal chance."
 - b. "The existing inequalities in educational opportunity in the United States constitute a threat to the whole fabric of democratic institutions."
 - c. "Equal access to education will remain an unrealized ideal unless means are provided whereby individuals in families with low incomes can take advantage of the educational facilities which the nation affords."

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Chapter 17 ~ The Quest for a Content of Education

THE EXPANSION of the educational enterprise was accompanied by ceaseless effort to construct and reconstruct a curriculum to meet the needs of American life as they changed and as they came to be more adequately understood. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer posed the query, "What knowledge is of most worth?" — a query which in later years took the form, what experience is of most value? The answers to these questions have been many and varied. They reveal strikingly the conflict of values and the confusion of purpose that have characterized the American educational system. But it could not have been otherwise in a democracy where decisions with respect to important matters of public policy were reached through free expression of opinion and unregulated experimentation. Fortunately, in the United States no central government has been in a position to control educational policy. Each community has been more or less free to formulate its own educational values and to implement them in such ways as it deemed best. This experimentation, however, has been carried forward within the framework of certain common ideals and has had as its common goal the discovery of a curriculum content — a body of experience — best suited to the changing conditions of American life. Conflict of values and confusion of purpose there have been, but much of this conflict and confusion must be regarded as the product of different ways of arriving experimentally at a common goal.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRICULUM

Many factors enter into the decisions of a people with respect to the experiences that are deemed suitable for an educational program.

Such has been especially true of the United States during the past three quarters of a century. The ideal of equal educational opportunity; accumulations of new knowledge in many fields; new demands for vocational education growing out of technological change; the need for a better understanding of the workings of political, economic, and social arrangements; the findings of scientific inquiry in the field of education; new concepts with respect to the essential purposes of education and the experiences necessary to achieve these purposes — all these have had their influence on the development of the curriculum.

THE IDEAL OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The answer to the question, who shall be educated and in what degree, goes far in determining the instructional program in any educational system. If the education of the masses is to be confined to the rudiments plus a modicum of vocational training, and if secondary and higher institutions are designed for the cultivation of an intellectual elite to fill the professions and other positions of social importance, the curriculum will be one thing. It will be something very different where the people are trying to realize the ideal of equal opportunity for all, where each individual is guaranteed the right to achieve according to his capacity and effort and to participate freely in the common enterprise of improving the conditions under which men live.

During the past half-century and more, the American people have been making steady progress in the realization of the ideal of equal educational opportunity. Yet as late as 1890 secondary education was highly selective; it was designed, in the main, to prepare a relatively few young people for entrance into the colleges where most of them would pursue studies leading to one or another of the well-established professions — the ministry, the law, medicine, teaching, or engineering. The problem of organizing a curriculum for this more or less homogenous group of young people was relatively simple. They came in the main from upper and middle class homes; their intellectual capacity and ability to deal with abstractions was relatively high; and their occupational and social goals were not too diverse. By the turn of the century, however, a new situation was developing. Each decade now saw secondary-school enrollments double: the secondary school was becoming the school for all adoles-

cents in much the same sense as the elementary school was the school for all children. Youth were now entering the secondary schools with the most diverse social and cultural backgrounds, with mental capacities ranging from the lowest to the highest, and with social and vocational destinations of the most varied kind. Some would go on to college but the percentage doing so was steadily decreasing; most would leave high school to take their place in the life of the community.

The democratization of the secondary school tore it away from its old moorings and forced it to redefine its purposes and to modify its curriculum. Traditionally the secondary school had fulfilled its mission by selecting and preparing youth for college. This responsibility it continued to meet, but each passing year the demands and needs of its new clientele were forcing it to take on the character of a terminal institution. It was no easy task for the secondary school to sever the bonds that had for centuries bound it to the college and to develop a program of general education adequate to serve the needs of youth in a society being transformed by technological revolution.

Writing in 1925, Professor Leonard Koos described in the following significant passage the new conception of secondary education which had come to be entertained by leaders in the field:

The profound nature of the differences between this older selective concept of the rôle of the American secondary school and present-day concepts at once becomes apparent when one attempts to summarize recent statements of the purposes which should dominate secondary education. The writer has essayed such a summary of the pronouncements of twenty-five leaders or groups of leaders . . . in materials appearing in print in recent years with interesting results. Over four-fifths of these statements propose training for social-civic responsibility, training for recreational and esthetic participation, training for physical efficiency, and training for occupational efficiency. That is to say, these leaders and groups of leaders are unanimous or well-nigh unanimous on the four large aims of an adequate education. Similar proportions urge a democratic secondary education which recognizes individual differences, while more than half propose a corollary purpose, affording opportunities for exploration and guidance. In striking contrast with these proportions are the small numbers contending that the secondary school should emphasize training for leadership and selection for higher education. Three writers only definitely propose a continuation of the per-

formance of these traditional purposes. Although fully two-thirds posit the necessity of affording the opportunities for college preparation, they tend to do so with the admonition that it should be accomplished for those only who should and can go on to higher levels of training or that it is to be only *one* of the functions of the American secondary school.¹

The gist of the matter was that the secondary school had become, for a large part of its clientele, a terminal institution. And to prepare youth for social-civic responsibility, for occupational efficiency, for healthful living, for recreation and creative use of leisure, and for homemaking, called for a new program of studies. As the secondary school moved to meet its new responsibility as a terminal institution, course offerings multiplied in great number. These course offerings were commonly organized into parallel curricula designated as college preparatory, general, commercial, industrial arts, household arts, fine arts, agriculture, and the like. In numerous instances special vocational secondary schools were developed to prepare youth for entrance into agriculture, commerce, or industry. Moreover, the secondary school, to meet more adequately its responsibility to provide an adequate general education, began to extend its work vertically to include the first two years of college and the last two years of the elementary school. The challenge to secondary education was now threefold: (1) to develop integrated programs of general education that would meet the needs of all regardless of social origins or occupational destinations; (2) to provide for those who would not go on to higher institutions special programs of vocational guidance and education; and (3) to give youth who would go on to higher institutions the opportunity to supplement the work of their general education by such special studies as seemed appropriate. Thus the ideal of equal opportunity for all and the democratization of secondary education that its realization entailed had gone far in changing the traditional curriculum.

The college curriculum was also affected by the general movement to democratize education. Beginning around 1890 the increase in college enrollments was little less spectacular than the increase of attendance in high schools. Young people now appeared on college campuses with extremely diverse interests. Some were looking for-

¹ Leonard V. Koos, *Trends in American Secondary Education*, pp. 8-10. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

ward to entrance to one or another of the old-line professions; some intended to enter agriculture, industry, or commerce; some were primarily concerned with preparation for homemaking; and some regarded a college education as a "natural sequence" to high school and exhibited no great concern about the more distant future. This influx of a new clientele was one factor influencing the rapid expansion of college curricula. In fact, the offerings of most liberal-arts colleges became so numerous and so specialized that it was difficult for the student to get an integrated view of any large area of human experience, past or present. The situation was all the more exaggerated by the widespread adoption of the elective system.

For a number of decades now, one of the major problems of higher education has been the development of a program of general education that would provide an escape from the splintered curriculum which resulted from specialization and the elective system.

THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the ancient languages, mathematics, philosophy, and theology had long held the center of the educational stage. Some attention had been given to the sciences, to modern foreign languages, and to the social sciences, but none of these occupied a position in the curriculum of very great importance. After about 1865, however, the curriculum began to show the effect of an expanding volume of knowledge. As new advances were made in the physical and biological sciences and new knowledge was translated into technology in both industry and agriculture, as medical research laid the basis for a more fundamental understanding of health and illness, as psychology and psychiatry opened the doors to a more adequate view of human behavior, and as the social sciences subjected man's history and the working of his contemporary institutions to a more searching analysis, new subjects began to force their way into the time-honored language-mathematics curriculum. Before the end of the nineteenth century, chemistry and physics, botany and zoology, physiology, physical geography, English language and literature, modern foreign languages, history, manual training, home economics, agricultural and business training, and art and music were all competing with the more traditional subjects for a place in the curriculum. In fact, the multiplication of new subjects and the adoption of the elective system in many col-

leges fragmentized the curriculum to the extent that it was difficult for anyone to attain a satisfactory general education. From the closing decade of the nineteenth century to the present, one of the major problems of school and college alike has been to select from the expanding volume of knowledge those elements that are essential for the education of all.

EDUCATION FOR VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY

Throughout the centuries, in both Europe and the United States, secondary and higher education had had as one of its main purposes the preparation of a select group of young people for entrance to one or another of the professions. In this country, some provision had been made from colonial days for the vocational education of youth who were to enter commerce or industry, but for the most part proficiency in the trades, commerce, and agriculture was acquired through apprenticeship or on the job itself. Nor did the swift transformation of the United States into an industrial nation during the decades following the Civil War lead, as might have been expected, to a marked increase in vocational education. The enactment of federal legislation (the Morrill Act of 1862) whereby federal lands were donated to each of the states for the establishment and maintenance of a college of agricultural and mechanical arts stimulated the development of vocational education at both the college and secondary level. Here and there private commercial and industrial schools and a few public schools met in part the growing demand for vocational training, but it was not until the passage of the Smith-Hughes Law in 1917 that a widespread program of vocational education was developed. During the past quarter of a century, however, vocational education has become increasingly important and the advocates of a liberal education as traditionally defined have been forced to yield an important place in the curriculum to the newer vocational subjects and activities.

THE NEED FOR MORE COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING

So long as the United States was essentially rural, the problems of social policy in community and in nation were comparatively simple. Not only that, it was an age when men placed their reliance on *laissez faire* and in more or less automatic adjustment in the whole area of social relationships. But with the advance of technology and

the transformation of America into a great industrial domain, the problems of social policy became increasingly complex. As the consequences of technological change were woven into the whole fabric of social relationships, old mores began to lose their sanctions and long-established institutions began to exhibit the need of modification. Science and invention, translated into technology, had come to be the great disturbers of the ways of men. It was no longer possible to rely on the processes of automatic adjustment; more and more, men were forced to cultivate the spirit of contrivance and experimentation in the whole area of social relations, whether of economy, government, or ethics.

The need of social technology — the shift from faith in automatic adjustment to reliance on social design — created for youth a vastly different world and for education a new center of interest. The concern and interest of youth was of necessity extended beyond the primary social relationships of home, school, and community into the relationships of the great society. If youth were now to meet the demands made upon them by social technology, if they were to play their part in social experimentation, they would have to enter adult life with a far greater understanding of the workings of economic, social, and political arrangements than their elders had ever done. One of the most pressing needs of youth came to be the acquisition of that breadth and precision of knowledge which would be required of them to play their part in social experimentation. Thus one of the most important obligations of the school was to prepare youth to pass sound judgment on fundamental matters of public and social policy.

THE FINDINGS OF SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY

For three or four decades following 1865 the content of the curriculum was determined almost exclusively on the basis of personal judgment. Lacking the benefit of scientific data, the leaders of each community included in the educational program the content and the activities that seemed to them desirable. By 1890 the curriculum of both the elementary and secondary school had become so overcrowded with new subjects and so disorganized that steps were taken by a number of national committees (Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies, 1891; Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Schools, 1893; Committee on College Entrance Require-

ments, 1895) to introduce a degree of order and standardization into the educational program at all levels. Although the conclusions reached in the reports of these committees and the policies adopted as a result of them were not based upon scientific studies, the reports were extremely important in determining the content of the curriculum for decades to come and had the effect of making it difficult to apply the findings of scientific study to curriculum reorganization.

About 1890, however, the scientific study of education in this country began to get under way. G. Stanley Hall, a former student in the psychological laboratory of Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig, had in 1884 established a center for the study of the mental development of children at Johns Hopkins University. Hall later became president of Clark University and made it a center of psychological study. The methods employed by Hall and his students were so unsystematic and so lacking in precision that no very significant body of scientific principles were uncovered. It can be said, however, that Hall and his followers called attention to the possibility of the scientific study of child development and that they succeeded in making the concept of adolescence a vital one in education.

During the closing decade of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, other leaders were subjecting the process of education to scientific analysis. J. M. Rice in 1897 initiated the testing movement by his investigation of spelling and it was not long before objective tests of many kinds began to appear. Soon after the turn of the century (1904), Edward L. Thorndike gave great impetus to the development of statistical methods in the area of education by the publication of his *Mental and Social Measurements*. In the years following, statistical methods were rapidly perfected and they afforded increasingly significant means of scientific enquiry. In educational psychology William James, Charles H. Judd, and Edward L. Thorndike were doing significant work. A large number of later investigators continued to increase the volume of knowledge about the nature of the learning process.

During the present century an immense volume of scientific research has been done in the field of education. Investigations of handwriting, spelling, reading, and arithmetic have been especially fruitful, but practically all the school subjects have been subjected to study. The curriculum at all levels has been profoundly affected by scientific research. It is true, as the Commission on the Social

Studies pointed out, that scientific method "cannot in itself dictate purpose, policy, or program for either statecraft or education."² Value is essentially reaction to experience. But philosophies and value systems are themselves in large measure the product of experience and they reflect the influence of science. Certainly, the scientific study of education has affected the selection of the content of learning, the form of organization it has taken, and the methods employed in the educative process.

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF THE PURPOSE AND CONTENT OF LEARNING

The curriculum is always influenced by the ends it is thought education should achieve and by the content of learning deemed most appropriate to attain these ends. Within the past seventy-five years or so, at least four major positions have been maintained by one group or another of educational leaders with respect to the essential functions of education. These four positions or concepts are not mutually exclusive, but each does have its own particular emphasis and its own special concern with respect to what constitutes the proper content of learning.

Adherents of the first position have regarded mental and moral discipline, or the training of the intellect, within the framework of universal and changeless values, as the essential outcome of education. To some of the adherents of this position, universal values are the gift of revelation and to others they are the gift of metaphysics. In either case the eternal verities by which men live are the touchstone of education. Indeed, education becomes a kind of exegesis, it undertakes to explain the world of nature and of man in terms of first principles. All the adherents of this position agree on the necessity of reducing whatever human experience is employed in the process of education to some kind of systematic organization; they are at one in denying that the content of learning lies primarily in the experience of the individual as he proceeds to solve the problems arising in his daily life. This point of view with respect to the outcome of education was commonly held before 1860, it still prevails among many who feel that education should serve religious ends, and it has been revived in recent years by some who are seeking to erect an educational structure on a metaphysical basis.

² *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission*, p. 3. The Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

Proponents of the second position have insisted that the chief end of education is mental discipline, or the training of the intellect. The purpose of education is to train the individual to think, to prepare him for all the beautiful adventures of the mind. The power to think, it is held, is not confined to any special kind of data but is of universal application. The individual who has cultivated the intellectual virtues, whose mind has been properly fashioned, can think precisely and correctly when confronted with any combination of physical or social data. In fact, those who have placed the major emphasis on the discipline of mind have placed relatively little emphasis on the understanding of factual data, either physical or social. This position was widely held during the last half of the nineteenth century and is still held by a considerable number who appear to be ignorant or contemptuous of the findings of modern psychology. Those who have held to the doctrine of mental discipline have always found the major content of learning within the capital of human experience, within the systematic organization of the cultural heritage. Like those who adhere to the first position discussed above, the devotees of the doctrine of mental discipline have not accepted the view that the major content of learning is to be found within the experience of the individual learner. In fact, they have been the strongest advocates of traditional school subjects.

A third group of educational leaders has insisted that an integrated interpretation of those elements of human experience essential for living in contemporary society is the most important objective of education. According to this view, those who make the curriculum are always faced with the task of identifying the elements of human experience, through all its sweep and depth, that the individual must come to understand if he is to adjust most satisfactorily to the society of his own day. To be effective, the educational program must employ appropriate means of helping the individual understand and interpret those accumulations of ideas, knowledge, values, and skills that constitute the capital of human experience. The school fails to accomplish its fundamental goal unless the individual in the end has arrived at a systematic understanding and interpretation of the essential elements of race experience. The individual who has not attained a systematic understanding of the significant achievements of the race, who has confined his intellectual outlook to the contemporary and the local, or who has built his knowledge and his

understandings around his personal needs and urges in the solution of his personal problems will never be able to participate effectively in many of life's common activities. The individual who has selected and organized his experiences largely in terms of his own personality development, who has been permitted to select and organize his own cultural heritage, will likely fail to arrive at an understanding of the forces operating in the world about him. Lacking any fundamental understanding of the moving forces in human history, he will have little sense of social direction and be unprepared to help formulate social policy. In short, the capital of human experience, it is said, is always the coin of the realm and to debase it too much is to insure intellectual bankruptcy and ineffectual social action.

Here, as with the other groups previously mentioned, the content of learning falls chiefly in the broad area of organized human experience. Subject matter organized in advance is regarded as essential to the educative process. The existing subject matter employed at any given time may have been unwisely selected and ineffectively organized, but failure on these counts does not invalidate the need for selection and organization. The major task of the progressive realist in education is to help each oncoming generation to select and reinterpret the essential elements of race experience.

Finally, the adherents of the fourth school of thought regard education as individual growth through self-direction and the continuing reconstruction of one's experience. Education is thought of as growth and the individual learner is always at the center of the process. In so far as the curriculum takes any definite form, it crystallizes around the interests, felt needs, and problems of the individual learner. The growing individual as he organizes and reorganizes his experience to resolve his own concerns and problems is the measure of all things; the individual must identify and organize his own cultural heritage and fashion it to his own peculiar needs in a changing world in which tradition and authority and accepted values have little place. The more sober adherents of this point of view maintain that although the content of learning falls mainly within individual experience, the individual will so reorganize and reinterpret his experience until in the end it assumes a form approximately the same as that in which organized race experience, or subject matter, is presented to the mature person. Others more radical have appeared to be concerned chiefly with personality development, have looked

upon the teaching of facts with a good deal of disdain, and have regarded the organization of human experience into any kind of school subjects as contributing to the intellectual self-effacement of the learner.

These points of view with respect to the content and organization of the curriculum have not been mutually exclusive. All have insisted to a degree on the necessity of making use of the knowledge and values that have emerged from human experience; only the most radical have been willing to leave to immature children and youth the sole responsibility of selecting the content of learning; the principle of organization has nowhere been completely abandoned; few, if any, have entirely lost sight of the goal of personal development; and all have more or less consciously oriented their educational program in terms of a system of core values. But the differences of emphasis indicated in the preceding paragraphs have been important in the development of the curriculum.

THE CHANGING PROGRAM OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Historically, elementary education may be defined as that education which is deemed essential for every citizen, whatever may be his destination. In simple societies, the program of elementary education is correspondingly simple; in more complex societies the functions of the elementary school are expanded and enlarged. In 1865, the elementary school in the United States aimed at three major accomplishments: (1) to develop in children some degree of competence in the use of the English language in spoken and written form, (2) to teach the rudiments of the number system, and (3) to socialize children and youth in terms of the prevailing mores and value system. A less important purpose was to give pupils some understanding of the world of nature and of the society in which they lived. The first major purpose was to be attained through emphasis on the traditional subjects of reading, spelling, writing, grammar, and declamation. The second purpose was to be accomplished, of course, through the study of arithmetic. A great deal of attention was given to "ciphering" and to mental arithmetic as well. The third purpose was accomplished to some degree through formal instruction in "manners" and proper modes of conduct, but more particularly through association between teacher and pupil. The whole

atmosphere of the school was conducive to the acceptance on the part of the pupil of the existing pattern of economic, social, and political arrangements. Relatively slight attention to United States history, geography, and "object lessons" opened the door only a little way to a view of the world in which the pupil lived.

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTENT SUBJECTS

From 1865 to the close of the century, the elementary-school curriculum was materially enriched by the revision of old and the addition of new content subjects — subjects designed to give the pupil a better understanding of the physical world about him and of the world of social relations. The work of a number of European educational theorists and reformers was influential in bringing about some of these changes. One of the most important of these theorists was the Swiss reformer, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.

Through his writings and through the schools that he organized and taught at Burgdorf and Yverdon, Pestalozzi attempted to define and demonstrate his educational principles. He was primarily concerned with freeing education from the deadly formalism that had long dominated it — from the teaching of facts and words that had little or no meaning to those who learned them. For the memorization of a body of formally organized content Pestalozzi would substitute the development of the instincts, capacities, and faculties of the growing child. He made sense impression the most important principle of instruction. He would have children observe, discuss, think; he would build up concepts and understandings by proceeding from the concrete to the abstract. He once said:

If I look back and ask myself what I really have done toward the improvement of the methods of elementary instruction, I find that, in recognizing observation as the absolute basis of all knowledge, I have established the first and most important principle of instruction. . . .³

Elementary science and home geography. During the latter part of the nineteenth century Pestalozzi's influence was of great importance on the development of content subjects in the elementary school. Two subjects especially, elementary science and home geography, reflected the influence of his ideas.

³ Henry Barnard, *Pestalozzi and His Educational System*, pp. 74-75. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen, 1854.

The followers of Pestalozzi in this country, notably Edward A. Sheldon in the Normal School at Oswego, New York, placed great stress upon object teaching. Children were put to observing and discussing a great variety of objects — paper, flowers, glass, lead, animals — with considerable emphasis upon the learning of scientific terms. Object teaching was hailed as a great step forward in getting away from formal memoriter work. Object teaching itself tended, however, to become extremely formal, the pupil merely committing to memory the qualities and characteristics of objects as described in the "object lesson." Moreover, the objects selected for study were not such as to develop any systematic pattern of thought or body of understandings. In time, especially after 1880, object lessons began to give place to a form of elementary science which stressed the learning of technical scientific classifications as the first step in scientific culture. The extreme emphasis on scientific classification proved to be inappropriate for young children, and after the turn of the century formal elementary science gave place to nature study, or "the simple observational study of common natural objects and processes for the sake of personal acquaintance with the things which appeal to human interest."⁴ More recently elementary science has come to stress the functional understanding of some of the principles and generalizations of science with emphasis also upon the acquisition of a problem-solving attitude. Thus the science program in the modern elementary school has come to be far different from what Pestalozzi and his followers envisioned, but it stems from their emphasis on object teaching.

The influence of Pestalozzi on geography as a school subject was also important. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century geography was of the "dictionary-encyclopedia" type. Children were required to commit to memory many definitions and to memorize a large mass of unrelated facts about places, the customs of various peoples, and strange natural phenomena in the different parts of the world. Considerable space was devoted to political and commercial facts. Geography appeared to be a fit place for the inclusion of any facts ascertained to exist throughout the earth and they were usually presented like pieces in a counterpane as though they had no special relation to one another.

⁴ Samuel Chester Parker, *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education*, p. 339. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1912.

As might have been expected, Pestalozzi's emphasis on sense perception led to the introduction of home geography as a new subject. Pupils now began their study of geography by observing their immediate surroundings. Often after observing the type forms in their home community, they undertook to make maps in clay models. The changes in geography instruction initiated by Pestalozzi were carried forward by the great German geographer Carl Ritter (1779-1859). It was the work of Ritter above all others that transformed geography from an unsystematic collection of facts into a science that formulated the general principles governing the relation of social development to physiographic conditions. A student of Ritter's, Arnold Guyot, came to the United States in 1848 and did much to introduce the ideas of Pestalozzi and Ritter with respect to the teaching of geography. Towards the end of the century (1889) Colonel F. W. Parker published his *How to Teach Geography*, a volume which applied the principles of Ritter and Guyot. Geography was now taking a place in the curriculum as an important content subject.

History and literature. By the close of the century history and literature were also becoming important subjects in the elementary school. In 1860 only 1.35 per cent of the pupils in the common schools of Ohio, probably more or less typical of the country as a whole, were pursuing history as a subject of study.⁵ By 1870, United States history had become generally accepted as a subject in the two upper grades of the elementary school, and here and there before 1900 history was moving down into the intermediate and primary grades. Soon after the turn of the century, history began to find wide acceptance as an elementary-school subject in the lower as well as the upper grades.

The followers of Johann Friedrich Herbart in this country were influential in bringing about a wider acceptance of history as a school subject. As early as 1831, Herbart, a professor at the University of Koenigsberg, Germany, began to build the foundations of modern experimental psychology. He was also concerned with the application of psychology to teaching. It was not, however, until about a quarter of a century after Herbart's death that his principles of education gained much popularity in Germany. In 1865 Tuiskon Ziller,

⁵ Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*, p. 108. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

a professor at the University of Leipzig, began to popularize Herbart's teachings. Somewhat later, Professor William Rein established at the University of Jena an important center for the study and application of Herbartian principles. During the eighteen-eighties, Charles De Garmo and Charles and Frank McMurry were students in Germany. They returned to this country extremely enthusiastic about Herbartian principles. In 1892 they were instrumental in the organization of the "National Herbart Society" which enrolled in its membership many prominent educators. Herbartian principles were introduced into many normal schools and became extremely popular in many parts of the nation, especially in the upper Mississippi Valley.

The chief end of education as the Herbartians saw it was the cultivation of moral notions among children. Education should develop personal character and prepare the individual for social usefulness. Naturally enough, history was regarded as the most effective subject for the accomplishment of these ends. The Herbartians were influential in winning for history a place of importance in the elementary school. Moreover, the values they attached to history tended to free it from the narrow confines of mental discipline and to make it a tool for the cultivation of a real understanding of the development of human society and institutions.

It is easy to overemphasize the influence of the Herbartians in the development of history as a school subject. Other influences were of very great importance. The Committee of Ten of the National Education Association in its report in 1893 recommended that history be taught as an important subject in the schools in each of at least eight years. The Committee of Fifteen — also a committee of the National Education Association — recognized in its report in 1895 the importance of the study of history in the elementary school. From time to time, other national committees, notably the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association (1908), threw the weight of their influence behind the teaching of history.

After about 1900, literature also began to be given an important place in the elementary school. Heretofore reading had been confined almost exclusively to oral expression with the result that the amount of material covered was amazingly small. In 1890, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University published the results of an investigation that strikingly revealed the very limited acquaintance

with literature which children in an average Massachusetts elementary school were getting during the last six years of their course. President Eliot reported as follows:

I turned next to an examination of the quantity of work done in the grammar school under consideration — and, first, of the amount of reading. The amount of time given to reading and the study of the English language through the spelling-book and the little grammar which are used in that school, and through a variety of other aids to the learning of English, is thirty-seven per cent of all school-time during six years. But what is the amount of reading in this time? I procured two careful estimates of the time it would take a graduate of a high school to read aloud consecutively all the books which are read in this school during six years, including the history, the reading lessons in geography, and the book on manners. The estimates were made by two persons reading aloud at a moderate rate, and reading everything that the children in most of the rooms of that school have been supposed to read during their entire course of six years. The time occupied in doing this reading was forty-six hours.⁶

Eliot and others, notably the Herbartians who regarded literature next to history as an effective means to moral education, began to urge the use of whole literary classics instead of the selections found in the readers of the day. In time, whole poems like "The Vision of Sir Launfal" and prose literary masterpieces like *Gulliver's Travels* found their way into the curriculum and literature became firmly fixed as an elementary-school subject.

In recent years, it should be added, the tendency has been away from literary masterpieces, prose and poem, toward reading materials better suited to children's interests. A vast body of children's literature has been developed which is imaginative and entertaining and which at the same time serves to cultivate an understanding of the world of nature and of social relations surrounding children. In the meantime, too, the language arts have shifted from a formal study of grammar to functional expression. The aim is to teach children to talk and write easily and correctly in whatever situation they may find themselves, whether it be answering the telephone, meeting a caller at the door, introducing friends, writing letters, or preparing a formal report.

⁶ Charles William Eliot, *Educational Reform*, p. 185. New York: Century Co., 1909.

THE KINDERGARTEN INCORPORATED INTO THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM

Fleeing the conservative reaction that followed the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, a number of German liberals sought refuge in the United States. Some of them were familiar with the ideas and practices of Friedrich Froebel, the originator of the kindergarten, and it was not long before institutions of this kind were being established throughout the country. It is said that by 1880 some four hundred kindergartens were in operation. For some years the kindergarten tended to be something of a special cult, more or less separate from the public school proper. In 1873, however, a kindergarten was opened as a part of the public-school system in St. Louis and by 1898, according to the United States Commissioner of Education, public kindergartens were to be found in 189 cities.

Two basic ideas have governed the work carried forward in the kindergarten: (1) self-activity and (2) social participation. Froebel held that the process of education is a natural unfolding of inner tendencies and drives, a continuing development of the inborn capacities of the child. He stressed motor activity and learning by doing. In his emphasis on child growth through more or less spontaneous activities, Froebel was reverting to principles advocated by Rousseau. Unlike Rousseau, however, Froebel insisted that the child grow up in a social environment and learn at an early age to participate in the processes of social co-operation. As Cubberley so aptly puts it, the kindergarten had "individual development as its aim, motor expression as its method, and social co-operation as its means."⁷ In more recent years increased knowledge about the growth and development of children has led to modifications in kindergarten practices but the basic principles of self-activity and socialization are still important.

THE ADDITION OF EXPRESSION SUBJECTS

Between the Civil War and the end of the century the elementary curriculum had been greatly expanded through the introduction or further development of content subjects—science, geography, history, civics, literature. At the same time the expression subjects—music, art, manual arts, domestic arts—were receiving attention in some of the more progressive city school systems. It is only within

⁷ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 459. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934 (revised).

the last two or three decades, however, that the expression subjects have found widespread acceptance in the elementary schools and a rich body of content developed for them.

FREEING THE CURRICULUM FROM THE GRIP OF FORMALISM

During the forty years following the Civil War the American elementary school became a highly formalized institution. As the graded system became commonly accepted, it was necessary to classify pupils into their respective grades and to grade the subject matter appropriate for the work of each year or even half year. Courses of study were developed which rigidly prescribed the subject matter to be mastered or the skills to be acquired. Textbooks were prepared, subject by subject, for each of the several grades and it was the duty of the teacher to see that the pupils "covered" the prescribed pages within the allotted time. Much of the pupil's time was spent in the sheer memorization of textbook facts which for most pupils did not add up to general principles or significant configurations of meaning. Little attention was given to individual differences. At the end of each grade the pupil was tested, and if he could meet the minimum standard prescribed for all he was promoted; if not, he repeated the work the following year. The formal character of the elementary school of this period is vividly described in the following quotation from Professor Edward H. Reisner:

The effect of all the factors surrounding the graded school of the generation following the Civil War was to develop a school machine. In contrast with the school conditions of a generation preceding there was a great deal more material included in the graded course of instruction, but the quality of teaching and learning was improved hardly at all. From the lowest grade to the highest the pupils followed an endless succession of book assignments which they learned out of hand to reproduce on call. The chief end of pupils was to master skills and learn facts as directed by a teacher who in turn was under the automatic control of a printed course of study, a set of textbooks, and the necessity of preparing her class to pass certain examinations on the contents of a specific number of printed pages. From the standpoint of discipline the physical cruelties of the earlier day had to a large degree disappeared, but the control exercised over the pupils was at least negative. The business of the school being what it was, any movement, any conversation, any communication, were out of order. The spirit of control was

military and repressive, not constructive and coöperative. Long rows of seats, military evolutions of classes, stated appearances for recitations, with the rest of the school time devoted to narrowly prescribed exercises, had for their moral equivalent being quiet, industrious at assigned tasks, and submissive to the rule of the drill-sergeant in skirts who unflinchingly governed her little kingdom of learn-by-heart-and-recite-by-rote.⁸

Numerous reform movements were directed at reducing the formal and institutional character of the traditional elementary school. Object teaching, sponsored by Doctor Edward A. Sheldon, of the Oswego Normal School, in the eighteen-sixties and seventies, was a definite attempt to substitute concrete experiences with common objects for the memorization of textbook content. The kindergarten movement with its emphasis on self-activity, the value of individual experience, and respect for the personality of the child, was influential in changing practice in the elementary school, especially in the lower grades. The Herbartian movement of the eighteen-nineties also constituted an assault against the prevailing organization of subject matter as well as the method of teaching. The importance attached to interest in the learning process, the central position assigned to meaning in the organization of instructional materials, and the willingness to abandon traditional subjects in the interest of correlation, all added up to an attack upon prevailing practice. Colonel Francis Wayland Parker, while he was superintendent of schools in Quincy, Massachusetts (1875-1880), and while he was principal of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago (1883-1899), led a movement to introduce the principles of Froebel into the elementary school. He was also a strong advocate of the concentration of instruction about a single core.

Toward the end of the century advances in educational psychology began to lay a basis for a scientific understanding of child nature and behavior. In time, the findings of experimental psychology opened up a wide field of new knowledge both with respect to individual differences among children and the nature of the learning process. When the findings of the scientific study of education on a wide front began to receive application in practice, much of the most objectionable formalism that had so long characterized the elementary school began to disappear.

⁸ Edward H. Reischer, *The Evolution of the Common School*, pp. 427-28. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The Progressive Education Association, formally organized in 1918, sponsored a philosophy and a variety of educational practices which had their origin in a long line of educational theorists who had attacked the formalism of the traditional school. Many of the ideas of the Progressives could be traced back to Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel, but the leaders in the movement looked to Professor John Dewey as the main source of their inspiration. In a number of publications — *The School and Society* (1899), *How We Think* (1909), *Democracy and Education* (1916), *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922), *Experience and Education* (1938) — Dewey laid the foundation for an educational philosophy which challenged sharply the practices of the traditional elementary school. The following quotations from Dewey will serve to indicate the nature of his criticism of the traditional school and will give some idea at least of the basic principles of his own philosophy:

The traditional scheme is, in essence, one of imposition from above and from outside. It imposes adult standards, subject matter, and methods upon those who are only growing slowly toward maturity. The gap is so great that the required subject matter, the methods of learning and of behaving are foreign to the existing capacities of the young. They are beyond the reach of the experience the young learners already possess. Consequently, they must be imposed; even though good teachers will use devices of art to cover up the imposition so as to relieve it of obviously brutal features.

But the gulf between the mature or adult products and the experience and abilities of the young is so wide that the very situation forbids much active participation by pupils in the development of what is taught. Theirs is to do — and learn, as it was the part of the six hundred to do and die. Learning here means acquisition of what already is incorporated in books and in the heads of the elders. Moreover, that which is taught is thought of as essentially static. It is taught as a finished product, with little regard either to the ways in which it was originally built up or to changes that will surely occur in the future. It is to a large extent the cultural product of societies that assumed the future would be much like the past, and yet it is used as educational food in a society where change is the rule, not the exception.⁹

⁹ John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, pp. 4-5. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.

Dewey goes on to formulate the essential principles of the philosophy of the progressive schools to which he himself had contributed.

If one attempts to formulate the philosophy of education implicit in the practices of the newer education, we may, I think, discover certain common principles amid the variety of progressive schools now existing. To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers, learning through experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal; to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world.¹⁰

It is impossible, of course, in brief space to make an adequate analysis of Dewey's philosophy of education. Basic to his thinking, however, is the role of experience, or perhaps one should say, experiencing, in the educative process. Education, he says "is a development within, by, and for experience." Thus Dewey finds the content of learning within individual experience rather than within the organized experience of the race. Appropriate subject matter, according to Dewey, is not systematically organized aspects of human experience; it is rather, as Wahlquist puts it, "what one needs to know in order to do what one is interested in doing."¹¹ The first step in the organization of subject matter, then, is to find the material for learning within the experience of the learner.

The next step is the progressive development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more organized form, *a form that gradually approximates that in which subject matter is presented to the skilled, mature person.*¹²

Dewey's insistence that the material for learning is to be found within the experience and interest of the learner logically leads him to oppose traditional school subjects; to affirm that education is life, not preparation for life; and to advocate greater freedom for children

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹ John T. Wahlquist, *The Philosophy of American Education*, p. 99. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1942. See also John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, chap. XIV. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916.

¹² Dewey, *Experience and Education*, p. 87. The italics are the authors'.

in the schoolroom than is usually found in the "traditional school."

The Progressive Education Association was extremely active in promoting the ideas of Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, and other leaders of the movement. It was not long until Progressive practices were being put into operation, to a greater or lesser degree, in many school systems. Although the Progressives looked to Dewey as their leader, there was great disagreement among them both with respect to philosophical principles and desirable school practice. Many of the professed followers of Dewey read conflicting meanings out of his writings. In fact it has been said that the only thing the Progressives could agree on was their dislike of the traditional school. This statement is scarcely accurate, however, because Progressive schools did, in general, exhibit a spirit of freedom; stress child initiative and self-activity; abandon logically arranged subjects in favor of projects and units of works developed around central themes or functions of social life; and emphasize self-expression and personality adjustment.

Progressive ideals and practices divided American educators very sharply. It was long the custom to classify school people as belonging to the Progressives on one side or to the Traditionalists and Essentialists on the other. As a matter of fact this classification was unfortunate and often inaccurate. Many school people simply did not belong to either of these opposing camps — they were willing to accept what they considered good in Progressive practice without abandoning what they regarded as the tested values of the more traditional school.

Criticism of Progressive education. Any significant reform movement in education finds it difficult to work out a distinctive philosophy and to apply the philosophy in actual practice. That such was the case with Progressive education appears from the following criticisms of it derived from an analysis of the more recent writings of Professors Dewey, Bode, and Rugg. The criticisms here presented were summarized by Pedro J. Orata.

(1) Progressive education has no distinctive philosophy of its own, the consequence being that its method consists mainly of *not doing* what is done in "traditional schools."

(2) The school builds two separate worlds for the child: the classroom, which is child-centered, and the outside world, which has no apology for imposing standards readymade.

(3) The work of the school lacks system and organization; this fact reflects itself in the pupils, who are, in general, scatter-brained instead of conscientious, independent thinkers.

(4) The belittling of the value of organized knowledge leads to tinkering with disconnected, ephemeral projects and activities, the usefulness of which does not go beyond the present satisfaction of the child's whims and caprices.

(5) The disregard of the guidance and instructional function of the teacher makes education a matter of hit-and-miss procedure that borders on chaos and anarchy.

(6) Activity that is limited to doing with the hands places the child in a position that makes him incapable of doing any kind of thinking that involves the use of the imagination.

(7) Progressive education is planless or random improvisation, and as a result it fails to develop personality and character that has stability and stick-to-it-iveness.

(8) Progressive education's identification of freedom with mere absence of external restraint results in the pupils' mistaking freedom for license — a free-for-all philosophy for a free-for-none education.

(9) The absence of a defensible and significant philosophy of experience as a basis of a sound and consistent philosophy of education results in activity for its own sake and accounts for the lack of continuity of experience in the pupils and the reconstruction of such experience by them in the interest of improving the quality of their subsequent experiences.

(10) Educators professing adherence to the philosophy of education as continuous reconstruction of experience fail to be faithful to it in practice.¹⁸

In 1944, the Progressive Education Association changed its name to the American Education Fellowship. No doubt effort to formulate a more satisfactory philosophy of education and to carry it out in practice will be continued under the auspices of the new organization.

THE EXPANSION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SECONDARY-SCHOOL CURRICULUM

From the close of the Civil War until about 1900, two significant changes were taking place in the instructional content of American

¹⁸ Pedro J. Orata, "Progressives Look at Progressive Education," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXIV (November, 1938), 576.

secondary education. These were: (1) the increase in the number of subjects offered, and (2) the standardization of the work of the public high school.

THE INCREASE IN SUBJECTS, 1865-1900

The public high school which was now beginning to supplant the academy as the dominant type of secondary school was especially responsive to those forces described in the opening sections of this chapter as influential in the development of the curriculum. The net result was a marked expansion in the number of subjects offered. It was now customary to retain the old subjects and to add such new ones as changing social conditions seemed to require. Among the new subjects the sciences led in numerical importance, although various subjects were added in the social sciences, industrial and manual arts, home-making, and occupational guidance. The extent to which new subjects were added during this period is illustrated to some extent by a comparison of Tables 55 and 56, which tabulate the frequency of appearance of subjects in twenty high schools for the period 1860-65 and in forty high schools for the period 1896-1900. It was often altogether impossible for a pupil to take all the subjects offered in a particular school and it became necessary to provide a number of courses from which the pupil might make his selection. An examination of the course offerings of sixty high schools for the period 1896-1900 revealed that twenty-five schools offered one course, twelve offered two, eight offered four, and one offered as many as seven. The courses were variously designated as Ancient Classical, Business and Commercial, College Preparatory, Shorter Commercial, Classical, English, English-Science, English-Latin, General, and Scientific. Altogether in these sixty schools no less than thirty-six different courses were offered.¹⁴ As new subjects were added to the curriculum and new course organizations were worked out to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse high-school population, the high-school program tended to become chaotic and confused. The fact was that the emerging high school had no model to serve it in giving order and system to its work. Each community proceeded along lines that seemed best to it, some maintaining a high school with

¹⁴ John Elbert Stout, *The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918*, pp. 49-50. Supplementary Educational Monographs, Vol. III, No. 3, whole No. 15, June, 1921. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1921.

TABLE 55. FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCE OF SUBJECTS IN TWENTY HIGH SCHOOLS, 1860-65*

Mathematics	English	Science
Arithmetic, 17	Grammar, 12	Physiology, 17
Algebra, 18	English Analysis, 11	Physical Geography, 17
Geometry, 19	Word Analysis, 4	Natural Philosophy, 20
Trigonometry, 12	Reading, 6	Physics, 1
Analytics, 2	Composition, 11	Chemistry, 17
Surveying, 8	Rhetoric, 18	Geology, 14
Engineering, 3	English Literature, 6	Astronomy, 14
	Literature, 1	Botany, 14
	Classics, 1	Natural History, 5
	Elements of Criticism, 4	Zoology, 4
	Elocution, 1	Geography, 2
	English, 1	
Social Studies	Foreign Language	Miscellaneous Subjects
Ancient History, 8	Latin, 16	Mental Philosophy, 12
Medieval History, 3	Greek, 7	Moral Philosophy, 11
Modern History, 6	German, 7	Logic, 5
United States History, 3	French, 4	Psychology, 2
English History, 3		Evidences of Christianity, 2
General History, 3	Commercial Subjects	Ancient Geography, 2
Universal History, 2	Bookkeeping, 3	Butler's <i>Analogy</i> , 1
Science of Government, 3	Business Forms, 1	Domestic Science, 2
United States Constitution, 8		Natural Theology, 2
Political Economy, 4		
History, 2		
History of Civilization, 1		

* From John Elbert Stout, *The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918*, p. 62. Supplementary Educational Monographs, Vol. III, No. 3, whole No. 15, June 1921. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1921.

a four-year program and some providing for a course of two or three years. The entrance requirements of the college served to bring some degree of unity into high-school programs, but the need continued to grow for a more highly standardized institution.

STANDARDIZING THE HIGH-SCHOOL PROGRAM

The conditions described in the preceding paragraph led the National Education Association to appoint the Committee of Ten in 1892 to consider problems confronting secondary education. The committee appointed nine sub-committees, or as they were called conferences, to consider the following subject fields: Latin; Greek; English; other modern languages; mathematics, physics, astronomy, and chemistry; natural history (biology, including botany, zoology, and physiology); history, civil government, and political economy; and geography (physical geography, geology, and meteorology). Each

TABLE 56. FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCE OF SUBJECTS IN FORTY HIGH SCHOOLS, 1896-1900*

Mathematics	English	Science
Arithmetic, 28	Grammar, 14	Physiology, 28
Algebra, 40	Analysis, 1	Physical Geography, 30
Geometry, 29	Word Analysis, 5	Natural Philosophy, 1
Plane Geometry, 12	Reading, 4	Physics, 37
Solid Geometry, 9	Composition, 17	Chemistry, 26
Trigonometry, 9	Rhetoric, 25	Geology, 9
	English Literature, 15	Botany, 33
	American Literature†	Zoology, 18
	Literature, 14	Biology, 4
	Authors, 1	Astronomy, 11
	Classics, 5	Natural History, 1
	History of English	Geography, 2
	Literature, 2	Physiology, 1
	Orthography, 2	
	First Year English, 17	
	Second Year English, 14	
	Third Year English, 11	
	Fourth Year English, 5	
Social Studies	Foreign Language	Miscellaneous Subjects
Ancient History, 15	Latin, 39	Mental Philosophy, 1
Medieval History, 2	Greek, 10	Moral Philosophy, 1
Modern History, 3	German, 23	Psychology, 9
United States History, 18	French, 4	Ethics, 2
English History, 20		Pedagogy, 6
French History, 4	Commercial Subjects	Drawing, 6
General History, 26	Bookkeeping, 29	Domestic Science, 1
Economic History, 1	Business Forms, 4	Manual Training, 1
History, 2	Commercial Arithmetic, 8	
United States Constitution, 2	Commercial Law, 9	
State Constitution, 1	Commercial Geography, 3	
Civil Government, 24	Business Correspondence, 1	
Civics, 10	Banking, 1	
American Politics, 1	Stenography, 5	
Social Science, 1	Typewriting, 5	
Political Economy, 16	Phonography, 1	

* From John Elbert Stout, *The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918*, pp. 67-68. Supplementary Educational Monographs, Vol. III, No. 3, whole No. 15, June, 1921. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1921.

† Number not indicated.

conference was asked to consider matters such as: (1) the amount of time that should be devoted to the subject in the high-school program, (2) the level at which work in the subject should be begun, (3) should the subject be accepted for admission to college, and (4) should the subject receive any different treatment for pupils going and not going to college.

Most of the conferences — all but those dealing with the classics,

mathematics, and geography — recommended that more time be given to their subjects in the school program and practically all of them outlined a four-year program for their subjects. Some of the conferences felt that their subjects should be begun in the upper grades of the elementary school and most of them recommended that work in their subjects be begun in the first year of the high school. On the last two issues there was complete agreement. All the conferences declared that "every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease." Each conference recommended that its subject be accepted for college admission.

The Committee of Ten, acting on the recommendations of the several conferences, made the following statement with respect to subjects appropriate for the high schools:

They are: 1. languages — Latin, Greek, English, German, and French (and locally Spanish); 2. mathematics — algebra, geometry, and trigonometry; 3. general history, and the intensive study of special epochs; 4. natural history — including descriptive astronomy, meteorology, botany, zoölogy, physiology, geology, and ethnology, most of which subjects may be conveniently grouped under the title of physical geography; and 5. physics and chemistry.

The committee also committed itself to a policy of extensive study, on the part of any individual pupil, of a relatively small number of subjects. On this point its report read:

Selection for the individual is necessary to thoroughness, and to the imparting of power as distinguished from information; for any large subject whatever, to yield its training value, must be pursued through several years and be studied from three to five times a week, and if each subject studied is thus to claim a considerable fraction of the pupil's school time, then clearly the individual pupil can give attention to only a moderate number of subjects.

The committee found it necessary to make recommendations designed to resolve the problem of an overcrowded curriculum. If the pupil, as recommended, was to confine his attention to only a few subjects at a time and pursue each subject for a number of years, it would require far more than four years to complete the high-school

course. Three recommendations were made with respect to the organization of the secondary curriculum: (1) Organize a number of different curricula, as, for example, classical, English-modern language, and scientific; (2) introduce the elective system; and (3) define a unit of instruction in terms of the number of hours of instruction given per week in the subject. On this latter point the committee suggested:

A college might say — We will accept for admission any groups of studies taken from the secondary school programme, provided that the sum of the studies in each of the four years amounts to sixteen, or eighteen, or twenty periods a week — as may be thought best — and provided, further, that in each year at least four of the subjects presented shall have been pursued at least three periods a week, and that at least three of the subjects shall have been pursued three years or more.

Evidently, the committee was suggesting to the high schools and colleges the adoption of a standard unit which would serve as a quantitative measure of secondary education. The adoption of such a standard unit that would serve as a national norm was further stimulated by the Report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1899). The report read:

What is to be desired, and what the committee hopes may become true, is that the colleges will state their entrance requirements in terms of national units, or norms, and that the schools will build up their programs of studies out of the units furnished by these separate courses of study.¹⁵

Somewhat later, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching adopted units of work done in high school as a standard by which it could classify higher institutions for the purpose of granting retirement allowances for professors. Institutions requiring fifteen units of high-school work for entrance might be acceptable to the Foundation, a unit of work being defined as "a course of five periods a week throughout an academic year." This definition of a unit became widely accepted. In this way a national norm was developed for organizing high-school instruction.

¹⁵ "Report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements," p. 672, in National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting*, held at Los Angeles, California, July 11-14, 1899.

The report of the Committee of Ten and the development of a quantitative measure of high-school work marked a turning point in the history of secondary education in the United States. The high school had now become a highly standardized institution. For at least four decades the subjects recognized by the committee as appropriate for the high schools held a prominent if not a dominant position in the high-school curriculum. The pattern of organization of the high-school curriculum established by about 1900 also proved exceedingly difficult to change. As time passed, the adoption of a quantitative measure of secondary-school work tended in many quarters to establish the attitude that one subject was as good as another; after all, a unit of high-school work was a unit. Thus, as Kandel has pointed out, the whole problem of value tended to lose its importance.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL CURRICULUM, 1900-40

In the early years of the present century the American high school confined its subject offerings, in the main, to those which had been regarded as appropriate by the Committee of Ten — English, ancient and modern foreign languages, mathematics, natural science, history, and geography. Such additional subjects as had been introduced were confined chiefly to those designed to prepare youth to enter into trade and commerce. The high-school curriculum, however, was soon to lose much of its strictly academic character. The demands of a society that was becoming more highly industrialized each passing year forced a significant change in the concept of the function of the secondary school. By 1925, most educational leaders were becoming conscious of the fact that the high school was for most youth a terminal institution. It was essential, therefore, that the old concept of the high school as an institution primarily concerned with providing intellectual discipline and college preparation for a select body of youth be abandoned or fundamentally modified. The new goals of secondary education, forced upon it by the impact of social change, were social-civic competency, healthful living, constructive use of leisure time, and occupational efficiency.

The introduction of new subjects. A number of statistical studies have been made which reveal the rapid increase in course offerings in the high school during the present century. By making use of an earlier investigation, Van Dyke was able to compare the number of

courses offered in thirty-five identical high schools in the North Central states at two different periods—1906-11 and 1929-30.¹⁶ During this quarter of a century, the total number of courses offered by these thirty-five schools increased from 53 to 306. The average number of courses offered increased from 23.7 to 48.1. There was a percentage increase in the number of subjects offered in all the subject groups, but the greatest increase was in the fine arts, industrial arts, physical education, household arts, commercial studies, social studies, and English. The least expansion occurred in foreign languages, science, and mathematics. Other investigations disclose trends similar to those revealed in Van Dyke's study.¹⁷

An examination of the percentage of secondary-school pupils enrolled in the various school subjects at various times between 1890 and 1934 also reveals some of the significant changes that have occurred in the number of subjects and in the relative emphasis on subjects. Table 57 presents the findings of the Office of Education with respect to the percentage of high-school pupils enrolled in the various high-school subjects at different intervals between 1890 and 1934. In the bulletin in which these data appear, the reader is cautioned to exercise care about drawing conclusions from them. The completeness of the data varied through the years. The data were gathered in this way: at different intervals a list of subjects was drawn up and the percentage of high-school pupils taking each of these subjects was ascertained. In the earlier years, some subjects were undoubtedly being taught that were not included in the lists. Even so, one can get from this table a fairly reliable picture of the expanding curriculum.

An examination of Table 57 will reveal the large number of subjects that have been introduced into the high school since 1905. In the main these are the non-academic subjects which the high school has introduced to serve pupils who are not preparing for college. It is clear, too, that considerable change has occurred in the percentage of pupils taking some of the older subjects. English, in 1934, continued to occupy the place of first importance among subjects and physical education held second place. Following 1905, history and

¹⁶ George E. Van Dyke, "Trends in the Development of the High-School Offering. II," *School Review*, XXXIX (December, 1931), 737-47.

¹⁷ A. K. Loomis, Edwin S. Lide, and B. Lamar Johnson, *The Program of Studies*. National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph 19. United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1932. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933.

TABLE 57. STUDENTS IN CERTAIN STUDIES IN PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS, 1890-1934*

Subject	Percentage of Pupils Enrolled in				
	1890	1905	1922	1928	1934
English.....	..	97.9	78.6	93.1	90.5
Latin.....	34.7	50.2	27.5	22.0	16.0
Modern languages.....	16.5	29.4	27.5	25.3	19.7
Algebra.....	45.4	57.5	40.2	35.2	30.4
Geometry.....	21.3	28.2	22.7	19.8	17.1
Arithmetic.....	10.5	2.4	2.3
Trigonometry.....	..	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3
Astronomy.....	..	1.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Physics.....	22.2	15.7	8.9	6.9	6.3
Chemistry.....	10.1	6.8	7.4	7.1	7.6
Physical geography.....	..	21.5	4.3	2.7	1.6
Zoology.....	1.5	0.8	0.6
Botany.....	3.8	1.6	0.9
Biology.....	8.8	13.6	14.6
Geology.....	..	2.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Physiology.....	..	22.0	5.1	2.7	1.8
Hygiene and sanitation.....	6.1	7.8	6.5
General science.....	18.3	17.5	17.8
History.....	27.3	40.9	50.7	46.5	42.7
Government.....	..	18.0	19.3	20.0	16.3
Sociology.....	2.4	2.7	2.5
Economics.....	4.8	5.1	4.9
Problems of democracy.....	1.0	3.5
Agriculture.....	5.1	3.7	3.6
Home economics.....	14.3	16.5	16.7
Industrial subjects.....	11.3	13.3	14.0
Bookkeeping.....	12.6	10.7	9.9
Shorthand.....	8.9	8.7	9.0
Typewriting.....	13.1	15.2	16.7
Commercial arithmetic.....	1.5	7.0	4.9
Commercial law.....	0.9	2.6	3.2
Commercial geography.....	1.7	4.8	4.0
Commercial history.....	0.4	0.2	0.2
Penmanship.....	1.7	0.8	0.3
Office practice.....	0.4	1.4	1.6
Elementary business training.....	3.0	6.1
Drawing and art.....	14.8	18.6	15.3
Music.....	25.3	26.0	25.5
Physical education.....	5.7	15.0	50.7

* Offerings and Registrations in High-School Subjects, 1933-34, pp. 28-29. United States Office of Education Bulletin 6, 1938. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

the other social studies registered a marked gain. The foreign languages — both ancient and modern — declined in relative importance. There was a definite shift in enrollments from most of the old-line sciences to general science. The percentage of high-school pupils enrolled in algebra declined from 57.5 in 1905 to 30.4 in 1934.

An analysis of trends in the work actually taken by high-school graduates affords perhaps a clearer picture of the changing high-school curriculum. Figure 45, reproduced from one of the studies of the National Survey of Secondary Education, shows the percentage distribution of work taken by graduates of six high schools at ten-year intervals between 1890 and 1930. English and the social studies registered a marked gain during the period. Foreign languages experienced a marked decline but they still outranked the social studies. Mathematics declined somewhat and science registered a marked loss. The non-academic subjects increased from 3.6 to 21.2 per cent of all work taken.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CURRICULA TO MEET INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

One of the means of making secondary education responsive to the needs of the individual pupil in a school population that was becoming increasingly diverse in its composition was the development of varied types of curricula. By the term "curriculum" is meant "the arrangement of courses or subjects taken by a pupil or a group of pupils during progress through a secondary school."¹⁸ As we have already seen, even before 1900 the expansion of the offerings had made it quite impossible for any one pupil to take all the subjects taught. It was necessary to arrange varied programs from which the pupil might make a choice. For a time some schools permitted free election of subjects by the pupil but this practice did not long prevail. Four main schemes were developed for the organization of the program of studies. In some instances, all pupils were still required to take identical work throughout the four years. This is what Koos has called the "*single-curriculum type*."¹⁹ In other cases, the pupils were permitted to select one from a number of curricula, with all the subjects in each curriculum prescribed. This was designated as the "*multiple-curriculum type*" in its pure

¹⁸ Leonard V. Koos, *The American Secondary School*, p. 516. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

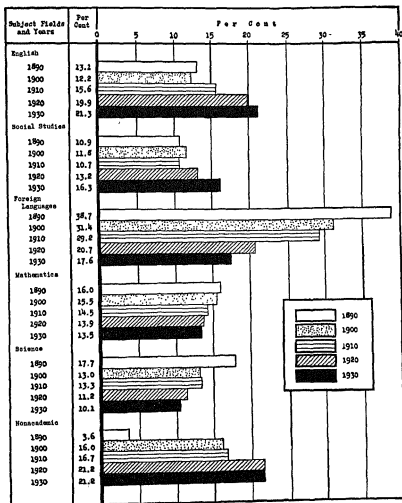


Figure 45. Mean Percentage Distribution of Work Taken by Graduates of Six High Schools, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930

From A. K. LOOMIS, EDWIN S. LIDE, and B. LAMAR JOHNSON, THE PROGRAM OF STUDIES. *National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph 19, p. 246. United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1932.*

form. A third practice was to require all pupils to take certain prescribed subjects, the remainder of the work to be elected from a list of subjects available for each year's work. This kind of arrangement was known as the "constants-with-variables type." Finally, provision was made for what was known as the "combination type" of pro-

gram. It combined some of the features of the second and third types. This plan called for two or more curricula, in each of which part of the work was prescribed and part elective. In these ways an effort was being made to adjust the work of the high school to the varied interests and needs of the individual pupil.

The desire to achieve this purpose is also evident in the number and types of curricula developed as well as in the types of programs of studies adopted. Soon after 1900 an increase in the number of curricula provided in high schools began to become apparent. An analysis of the programs of sixty high schools for the period 1906-11 revealed that the median number of curricula offered was 2.5. In thirty-five of these same schools about a quarter of a century later the median number of curricula being offered was 5.2.²⁰ "By 1920," says Koos, "for high schools in cities with populations ranging from 25,000 to 100,000, the most common numbers of curricula were four, five, six, and seven, with some schools listing as many as twelve to fourteen."²¹

The types of curricula also experienced a marked increase. When curricula first began to be differentiated, most of them were still academic. That is to say, most of the curricula were designated as "the classic course," "the Latin-scientific course," "the scientific course," or "the college preparatory course." As the non-academic subjects began to be given a place in the high-school program, however, the following types of curricula began to appear: commercial, industrial arts, household arts, and fine arts. An analysis of the programs of 150 schools located in communities ranging from 2500 to 100,000 and located throughout the nation, revealed that about 1925 no less than twenty-six different types of curricula were being employed. The various kinds of curricula in use and the frequency of their appearance in the schools of these cities may be seen by an examination of Table 58. These curricula, it should be noted, may be classified into three major groupings: (1) those designed primarily to prepare for college; (2) those designed to serve the needs of both college-going and non-college-going pupils; and (3) those organized around such special subjects as "commercial," "agriculture," "fine arts," or "music." According to Koos, who made

²⁰ George E. Van Dyke, "Trends in the Development of the High-School Offering. I," *School Review* (November, 1931), 660.

²¹ Leonard V. Koos, *Trends in American Secondary Education*, pp. 15-16.

TABLE 58. FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCE OF CERTAIN KINDS OF CURRICULA IN A TOTAL OF 702 CURRICULA FOUND IN 150 PROGRAMS OF STUDIES*

Kind	Number	Kind	Number
1. College-preparatory.....	73	14. History or social science.....	6
2. Classical.....	40	15. Technical (preparatory).....	23
3. Latin.....	13	16. Normal-preparatory.....	25
4. Academic.....	23	17. Nursing-preparatory.....	4
5. "Regular".....	2	18. General.....	72
6. Foreign language.....	6	19. English.....	12
7. French.....	2	20. Commercial.....	142
8. Spanish.....	1	21. Normal†.....	21
9. Modern language.....	9	22. Industrial or manual arts.....	63
10. Latin-scientific.....	8	23. Household arts.....	55
11. English-scientific.....	3	24. Agriculture.....	16
12. Scientific.....	66	25. Fine arts.....	6
13. Mathematics.....	4	26. Music.....	7

* From Leonard V. Koos, *The American Secondary School*, p. 523. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

† These curricula are planned to prepare for rural-school teaching, whereas the "normal-preparatory" curricula are mapped out to prepare for the normal school.

the investigation here reported, "in the first group were found 43.9 per cent of all curricula; in the second, 12.0 per cent; in the third, 44.2 per cent."²²

This long-time trend to organize the program of studies in the high school to make it serve more flexibly and effectively the individual needs of pupils is further confirmed by the following statement quoted from the summary monograph of the National Survey of Secondary Education published in 1934:

We have been experiencing movement in the curriculum — movement in definitive directions. The curriculum is dynamic. . . . The trends have been toward the diversification of the offering, which increases the opportunities to ascertain and to recognize individual differences among the increasingly diverse secondary-school population. The same trends also make possible the recognition of many more aspects of complete living than were served by the older offering; the more recent offering is to a larger extent cast in terms of immediate values instead of the remoter and deferred values of college preparation and the presumed pervasive mental discipline. Instances of this fact are found in the increased emphasis on training for participation in social and civic life, for maintenance of health, and for sharing in the aesthetic heritage represented in art and music.²³

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

²³ Leonard V. Koos and staff, *Summary*, pp. 172-73. National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph 1, United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1932.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE

Despite the rapid development of the United States into a great industrial nation during the decades following the Civil War, comparatively little progress was made in providing vocational education for American youth. The reason for this lack of interest in a program of vocational education may be explained in part by the fact that many skilled workers were migrating to this country from Europe. Moreover, American manufacturers had not yet entered into the most vigorous kind of competition for world trade and were not fully conscious of the role a highly trained working class may play in such competition. And finally, it was in the American tradition that occupational competency, below the level of the professions, could best be acquired through work on the job.

Between 1880 and 1917, however, when a national vocational education act was passed by Congress, some progress was made at the secondary level by way of providing agricultural, trade, and commercial training. The first publicly supported agricultural high school was established in connection with the University of Minnesota in 1888.²⁴ In some instances state or county agricultural high schools were established. Instruction in agriculture had been introduced into a considerable number of high schools by 1910. The number of high schools reported as affording instruction in agriculture increased from 19 in 1900 to 465 in 1910.²⁵ By 1900, too, a half dozen or more trade schools had been established. In 1906, Massachusetts enacted a statute providing for a state system of vocational education. The act provided for the establishment and maintenance of schools for the teaching of the industrial, agricultural, and domestic arts. These schools were to be under the control of the State Commission of Industrial Education created by the act. Legislation enacted some years later authorized the state board of education to maintain a system of industrial schools. Wisconsin in 1907 initiated a policy of authorizing the cities of the state to maintain industrial schools separate from the regular school system. Other states during this period, notably New York, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, adopted the policy of encouraging the regular local school authorities to provide work of an industrial nature.

In the meantime many manufacturers and certain educational

²⁴ Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 639.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 640.

leaders began to urge the enactment of legislation that would provide federal support for vocational education. Manufacturers interested in world trade now began to fear competition from countries which had more advanced systems of vocational education and a large body of skilled workers.²⁶ The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, organized in 1906, became active in urging upon Congress the enactment of bills providing for both agricultural and industrial education. Finally, Congress provided for a presidential commission to investigate the desirability of federal aid for vocational education. In its report, made in 1914, the commission contrasted the relatively slight provision for industrial education in this country with the provision made in certain other countries, notably Germany, and urged the establishment of an adequate national system of vocational education in the United States. In 1917, Congress passed a bill providing for federal aid for vocational education, popularly known as the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act. Federal funds were made available to the states accepting the Act to promote the teaching of agricultural subjects, the trades, home economics, and industrial subjects. The states were required to provide for vocational education a sum equal to that made available for this purpose by the federal government. The Act also created the Federal Board for Vocational Education, authorized to supervise and control to some extent state programs of vocational education. The states accepted the provisions of the Act and the enrollment in vocational subjects in federally aided schools has steadily increased.

In an earlier section of this volume it was pointed out that agriculture and industry have for a number of years absorbed a declining percentage of the gainfully employed, and that job opportunity has been expanding in such activities as transportation, trade, and clerical work. To provide a more adequate program of vocational education in these areas Congress in 1936 by the George-Deen Act made available to the states additional funds.

The problem of an appropriate institutional organization of vocational education has been an extremely difficult one. For a good many years some of the leaders in vocational education insisted upon a separate organization for vocational schools; they advanced argu-

²⁶ See Lloyd E. Blanch, "Federal Co-operation in Vocational Education." Unpublished Doctor's thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1923.

ments for the position that no genuine vocational education could be afforded in schools designed to provide general education. Experience indicated, however, that it was unsatisfactory to try to separate sharply general and vocational education at the secondary level. Where separate trade schools were established, it proved next to impossible to divorce general and technical education for any great length of time. Pupils were so insistent on an opportunity for a broader training than that provided by purely technical subjects that even technical schools modified their curricula in order to provide a place for general education. Moreover, it was the sense of the great majority of the American people that youth of high-school age should not be segregated into trade or technical schools where they would be denied the opportunity of a general education. On the other hand, it was equally clear that the curriculum at the secondary level should not be wholly academic, as many of the opponents of vocational education advocated. In recent years the principle appears to be more generally accepted that the secondary school must provide for the individual a curriculum that will insure a good general education as well as one that will make some provision for the cultivation of vocational and professional efficiency.

In the early nineteen-forties a movement got under way to establish technical institutes as separate institutions. They were to be, as a rule, two-year institutions, and their purpose was to prepare high-school graduates for work as technicians. American occupational life was so developing, it was said, that for every engineer there was a demand for four or five technicians. In the professions, too, there was a growing demand for technical experts with training below the strictly professional level. The proposed technical institutes would be, in the main, regional institutions. Again the question was raised as to the appropriate institutional organization for this kind of education. Should separate technical institutes be established or should this type of training be provided by a local junior college? It appeared that no categorical answer could be given this question. Much depended upon circumstances in the local community or region under consideration. As the junior college came more and more to conceive of its function as that of a terminal institution it was in a position to provide the kinds of programs required to train technicians. On the other hand, in some situations it appeared more feasible to establish a separate technical institute.

Another problem that developed in the area of vocational education had to do with the kind of training that was most appropriate. Should the schools provide training for specific jobs or should they aim at training in basic skills and general knowledge useful in a great variety of situations? The following quotation illustrates the position of those who advocated a more general type of vocational education.

The modern worker must be prepared to shift from job to job, from occupation to occupation, and even from industry to industry. . . .

These shifts in the skills and technical training required of the workers, based on technological advance and changes in the relative importance of different industries, emphasize the necessity of adaptability on the part of the present-day worker, with corresponding implications for vocational guidance and training. Such training, whether carried on in the school or the factory, should seek to develop in the worker the essential quality of adjustability to the variety of situations which he is almost certain to meet.

In the face of these changes, it is a mistake for the schools to teach the separate trades to any large number of pupils or to insist upon a narrow specialization. Factory workers today need fundamentally not so much a training in the handling of a particular machine as a knowledge of the skills and operations basic to industry as a whole. Instead of training for specific jobs or even for specific occupations or industries, emphasis should be placed on those operations and processes common to a number of occupations and industries. . . . Jobs involved in the production of such different types of products as milk and cast iron often have common denominators. A realistic program of vocational education will seek out the common denominators of industrial operations and processes and concentrate attention upon them.²⁷

Over against this position was that of those who insisted upon specific training for specific jobs. Within recent years we have apparently been moving in the direction of a compromise between these extreme positions with the general tendency to recognize that "it is idle to think that the schools will to any important extent

²⁷ Newton Edwards, "Social Development and Education," p. 215, United States National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

relieve industry of its major responsibilities and necessities in the field of specific vocational training for particular jobs." ²⁸

During the past three decades the changing conditions of American life and the new demands made upon secondary education have raised vocational guidance to a position of major importance in the secondary-school program. As America changed from a relatively simple rural to a complex industrial society, as new industries multiplied, as the division of labor segmented occupational life into an almost countless number of different jobs, each requiring a different capacity and equipment in skills, youth found it increasingly difficult to arrive at a satisfactory occupational adjustment. If the secondary school was to meet its new responsibility for preparing youth for entrance into vocational life, it could not avoid the establishment of guidance programs.

Vocational guidance in the schools is, however, of relatively recent origin. Beginning in Boston about 1907, the movement gained momentum gradually. Three years later, some thirty-five cities had worked out programs of guidance or were attempting to do so. Within the past two decades the need of effective guidance programs has come to be generally recognized and in the schools of most large cities guidance service is provided. As late as 1937, however, the Advisory Committee on Education found that "in at least half of the cities in the United States of 10,000 or more population there are no vocational guidance programs in the public schools." ²⁹ It was found, too, that in only rare instances had rural high schools been able to provide adequate guidance services. It is obvious that much still remains to be done before youth in the secondary schools are provided with the guidance services they so urgently need. Among other things, a much larger number of well-trained vocational guidance counselors will have to be provided. It is imperative, too, that counselors have at their command more adequate information with respect to occupations and occupational trends. The further development of an occupational outlook service is essential if vocational guidance is to function as it should.

²⁸ The Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of the Committee*, p. 112. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

HIGHER EDUCATION

EXPANSION OF COURSE OFFERINGS

Higher education has been especially responsive to the dramatic changes that have occurred in American life since 1865. The rise of vast new industries, the gains made in technology, the division of labor and the multiplication of occupations, the development of new professions, the vigorous assertion of the spirit of individualism, the value placed upon material well-being, the discovery of new knowledge in many fields, the increase in the number of young people going to college — all these had their influence on the college curriculum.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the three great subjects of the college curriculum were the ancient languages, mathematics, and philosophy. Other subjects, however, had begun to appear. By 1865, the proponents of modern foreign languages had secured for them what may be regarded as a regular, although not important, place in the curriculum. The study of English, long confined almost exclusively to rhetoric, had now come to embrace both literature and philology. Among the sciences, chemistry and geology had come to be the most important, although some attention was given also to physics, botany, zoology, and astronomy. The sciences, however, had not yet been accorded a position of high regard. The social sciences were even less well regarded. Chairs of history were to be found in relatively few colleges, and political science was almost wholly neglected.

During the closing third of the nineteenth century the subjects that had constituted the central core of the old curriculum began to lose in relative importance. The sciences were now making a vigorous bid for recognition and in the struggle that ensued between the classicists and the scientists the scientists won out. The increase of scientific knowledge, with its practical applications in industry and agriculture, made it possible for the advocates of the sciences to drive home their arguments with telling effect. Chemistry in its varied branches — physiological, physical, agricultural — physics, geology, botany, and zoology were by 1900 well-established subjects. At the same time, the social sciences and modern foreign languages were becoming not only respectable but important members of the academic community. History, political science, and economics had

become well entrenched; psychology and sociology were on the point of making a determined bid for recognition. German and French had, by 1900, become relatively important subjects and English had further strengthened its already strong position.

Since 1900 the increase in the number of subjects offered has been phenomenal. Table 59 indicates the number of courses announced

TABLE 59. COURSES ANNOUNCED IN THE CATALOGS OF TEN INDEPENDENT COLLEGES AND THE LIBERAL-ARTS COLLEGES OF TEN UNIVERSITIES, 1900-30*

College	1900	1910	1920	1930
Independent colleges:				
Amherst College.....	44	99	98	130
Carleton College.....	142	200	297	295
Central College.....	70	77	122	275
Colorado College.....	127	169	322	420
Grinnell College.....	67	225	271	296
Howard College.....	46	69	143	255
Knox College.....	86	103	154	229
Lafayette College.....	(2)†	256	249	371
Oberlin College.....	195	257	279	369
Pomona College.....	101	185	323	267
Liberal-arts colleges of universities:				
Harvard University.....	543	814	877	1114
Princeton University.....	253	355	508	674
Stanford University.....	373	417	710	1095
State University of Iowa.....	213	399	577	823
University of Alabama.....	46	104	158	437
University of Chicago.....	960	1439	1661	1897
University of Colorado.....	222	332	471	719
University of Virginia.....	75	115	205	315
University of Washington.....	134	363	561	980
University of Wisconsin.....	434	772	913	1143

* From *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 338. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933 (one-volume edition).

† Courses not listed.

in the catalogs of ten independent colleges and in the liberal-arts colleges of ten universities at intervals from 1900 to 1930. In many colleges today it would take a student a lifetime and more to take all the courses offered. Subjects have multiplied in the older fields of study and in the new fields that have been added, such as education, commerce and business administration, home economics, and social service administration. This expansion of course offerings

has taken place in response to society's demands that training be provided for the new professions and for almost any of the important activities of life.

CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION IN THE COLLEGE

Originally, the college provided a single course which was required of all. With the increase in the number of subjects offered, however, it became impossible for any single student to take all the courses provided. To meet this situation the elective system was developed. It had its origin under Jefferson's influence: the germ of the idea is in his plan for the reorganization of the College of William and Mary (1779), and its more extensive operation dates from the opening in 1825 of the University of Virginia, which he founded. By 1870, the elective principle had been adopted to some extent in a number of institutions. It was, however, President Eliot of Harvard who gave the greatest impetus to the movement. In his inaugural address in 1869, he vigorously urged the acceptance of the elective principle and in the years following prescribed work at Harvard was reduced to a minimum. The example of Harvard was widely followed by other institutions, most of which adopted the elective principle to a greater or less degree.

The elective system, when carried to an extreme, did not prove satisfactory. Immature students could scarcely be expected to choose from the several hundred courses offered the ones best suited to their needs and purposes. After about 1900, therefore, the general tendency was to plan the student's work more carefully and to return to some extent to the principle of prescription. Frequently, the student was required to select some department as a field of major concentration and take from a third to one half of his work in that field. At the same time he would be required to select a second subject field for less intensive concentration, some time being left for free electives. Another plan was to require the student to distribute his work over a number of fields such as the humanities, social sciences, and the natural sciences. The tendency in recent years has been towards a greater prescription of the student's program.

For the past two decades or so the college curriculum has come in for a great deal of criticism, much of which has been directed at its atomic character. It is said that specialization has gone so far, that the content of learning has been so splintered, that it is impossible

for the student to add up the courses he takes into any significant generalizations. What the student needs, it is urged, is a good general education before he begins his specialized professional training. Much disagreement has developed with respect to what a good general education is, but several experiments are being carried forward to try to find out. One of these experiments is with broad survey courses as, for example, in the humanities, the social sciences, the biological sciences, and the physical sciences. Another line of experimentation is to abandon altogether the traditional subject matter fields and to organize learning experiences along what is called "functional" lines. That is, the program of the student is organized around a number of the major problems of living such as home life, earning, citizenship, leisure, communication, consumption, health, and philosophy and religion. In still other instances the program is oriented around some whole civilization, such as ancient Greece, or is centered in the study of the great books.

CONFLICTING VIEWS OF CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION

Within recent years sharp conflicts in point of view have developed with respect to the organization of the curriculum at all levels. These differences stem from conflicting philosophies of education. The major issue appears to be whether education should aim to give the individual an integrated view of human experience which would serve as a guide to present and future living, or whether it should be a process by which the individual attempts to solve the personal and social problems he encounters in daily life. Stated in more concrete terms, the issue becomes, shall school subjects be retained or shall they be abandoned in favor of the "common problems of youth," "centers of interest," or the "areas of human activity and problems of life"? Those who believe that subjects of some kind have a place in the schools insist that progress lies in the direction of a continuing re-selection and reintegration of those elements in human experience which are essential for present-day living. Most of them are dissatisfied with both the selection and organization of subjects as presented today, but they are unwilling to abandon subjects as tools of learning. Those who favor abandoning "subjects" in favor of the "real problems" or "centers of interest" which young people face believe that their program is more functional and estab-

lishes situations in which learning takes place most readily. Since the curriculum lies at the center of the educational enterprise, all must welcome vigorous criticism of it and diverse experiments to improve it.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 17

1. What is now meant by the term "curriculum"? The course of study? All the experiences of children while attending school?
2. If you were to undertake to reorganize the curriculum in the social studies in a particular school how would you go about determining the objectives the curriculum should aim at achieving? How would you go about organizing a curriculum to achieve these objectives? How would you try to find out whether these objectives had been achieved?
3. In what ways, if any, do you think the elementary- and secondary-school curricula should be modified to serve better the needs of the individual student?
4. Do you think the work of the school in most communities is closely enough related to the life of the community? Make a study of some community with a view of determining how the school could make better use of community resources in its curriculum.
5. Do the schools with which you are familiar give adequate attention to the major problems in our society about which the citizen should be informed?
6. Do you favor a curriculum that is organized around "subjects" or around the "felt needs and interests" of pupils?
7. How far do you think the elective principle should govern the curriculum of general education?
8. Do you think that American education places too much emphasis on vocational and professional education?

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Chapter 18 Changing Patterns of Teacher Education

TEACHER EDUCATION IN 1860

THE SLOW but substantial expansion of the elementary-school curriculum and the extension of educational opportunity to a greater number of children created, in the period preceding the Civil War, a demand for more teachers and for teachers with higher intellectual attainments and more adequate professional skills. Although the early private teachers' seminaries, training classes in academies, and public normal schools developed in response to the new demand, it must be admitted that this demand rested, during the entire period, insecurely upon the efforts of relatively few educational statesmen and enthusiasts who were able only with great effort to prod a slowly yielding public into action.

The inertia of the general public is not difficult to explain. There had never been, except in isolated instances, serious questioning in America or England of the belief that the only necessary prerequisites of a good teacher were a knowledge of the subject matter to be taught and a will, backed up by physical strength and presence, to enforce a rigorous discipline. In all educational endeavor imitation of accepted practices was the trusted method and experience the exalted teacher. Such was the case in all fields. In agriculture, no systematic instruction was provided. Schools neglected the new technology almost entirely. Engineering students were instructed in abstract theories and given formulas, and then were left to learn their profession through experience. In the United States, there were some fifty medical schools, but they have been described as constituting a national and social disgrace. The comparatively few students attending these institutions were, in most instances, exposed to a little mediocre instruction which did not render them much more effective than the practitioners who obtained their en-

tire training through a system of apprenticeship. It was truly an era of learning by doing, particularly at the higher levels of professional training. Unfortunately, although the system provided for the multiplication of practitioners, little was accomplished in the way of their improvement.

If important and highly specialized professions such as agriculture, engineering, and medicine could be pursued after such meager preparation as practice gave, it is obvious that teaching little children the rudiments of knowledge would not be looked upon as a task requiring any special preparation. Teaching school, it was said, was at best a lowly undertaking which required little training, certainly not more than could be provided in the high schools and academies. The Committee on Education of the Massachusetts legislature which, in 1850, recommended the abolishment of the normal school, reported:

Academies and high schools cost the Commonwealth nothing; and they are fully adequate to furnish a competent supply of teachers. . . . Considering that our district schools are kept, on an average, for only three or four months in the year, it is obviously impossible, and perhaps it is not desirable, that the business of keeping these schools should become a distinct and separate profession, which the establishment of Normal Schools seems to anticipate.¹

In spite of the apathy of the public, fear on the part of teachers and others interested in preventing change, and the distrust and jealousy with which some colleges and universities regarded attempts to institutionalize the education of teachers, a little progress was made before 1860. Several academies had introduced one or more courses designed for the education of teachers and a few poorly attended public and private normal schools had been established.

TEACHER-TRAINING SCHOOLS IN 1860

By 1860, twelve normal schools supported by state funds had been established in Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, and Minnesota. Several private normals and a number of schools which had assumed the

¹ As quoted in Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools*, pp. 35-36. Washington: Published by the Hugh Birch-Horace Mann Fund for the American Association of Teachers Colleges, National Education Association, 1939.

name without justification had been organized. The city normal supported by the municipality of St. Louis had begun its long and useful career. In several other cities schools not exclusively normal, such as the Girls' Normal School of Philadelphia and the Girls' High and Normal School in Charleston, South Carolina, had been opened. In the unpredictable West, a normal department had been established in the University of Iowa.² Except for meager and generally mediocre teachers' courses in the academies, the foregoing institutions represented the efforts of a generation of educators and statesmen in spreading the doctrine that teachers' education was intimately connected with public elementary education and that the success of the democratic experiment in government depended not only upon the maintenance of schools for all boys and girls at state expense, but also upon the extent to which an adequate teaching force was provided by the state.

Before 1860, and for several years thereafter, normal schools were, for the most part, unpretentious establishments designed primarily to prepare teachers for the elementary schools in which the children of the masses received their schooling. At best, teaching in such schools was regarded as a stepping stone to more respected positions, a stop-gap to fill the interval between the end of schooling and marriage, as a means of supplementing income through seasonal employment, or in some instances, a missionary undertaking. At its worst, it was the refuge for incompetents. Neither prestige nor more negotiable rewards attached to the lowly calling of the school teacher.

The students who entered the normal schools in order to prepare themselves for service in the public schools had been, in the main, prepared in the district schools. Few were denied admission. If the applicant met the minimum age requirement (usually sixteen to eighteen years), was in good health, and could provide a certificate of good moral character, only an examination in the common branches stood between him and matriculation. To lower further the level of the work of the normal school, the examinations served more to indicate deficiencies to be removed after admission than to screen out applicants of little ability or preparation.

² Andrew Phillip Hollis, *The Contribution of the Oswego Normal School to Educational Progress in the United States*, pp. 11-12. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1898. Also see Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History*, chap. XI. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934 (revised and enlarged edition).

The emphasis in instruction was upon the branches of learning which the students expected to teach later. Seldom was the instruction above secondary level. The features which set the normal school apart from the academies of the day were the model school, the attempt to approach the elementary subjects from the viewpoint of the teacher rather than that of the child, and the greater emphasis placed upon the principles of teaching, for the study of which several books were available including Taylor's *The District School* (1834), Hall's *Lectures on School-keeping* (1829), Abbott's *The Teacher: Or Moral Influences Employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young* (1833) which had gone through twenty-five editions by 1860, and Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching* (1847).

Ill-prepared students were admitted to these modest schools for short terms. Although the courses were normally one or two years in length, most students attended only a few months or even weeks. A graduate of the Bridgewater Normal (established in 1840), who entered the school in the early sixties, later wrote that when he entered the institution it was twenty-three years old, but that he was in the sixty-first class.³

The faculties were small. In some instances the president also served as professor of pedagogy or didactics, the supervisor of teacher training, and the principal of the model school. Faculty members were sometimes college graduates, but more often had no more formal training than that given in the schools in which they taught. As a saving grace, many had added to this meager preparation some years of experience as successful teachers or administrators. The normal schools, few in number, never aspiring to collegiate rank, and enrolling poorly prepared students in short courses were, in 1860, more important for what they were to become than for what they were.

The normal school, which before 1860 had been hardly more than one of several agencies to provide improved means for teacher education, became, during the three decades which followed that date, an integral part of the American school system and deeply rooted in the public's esteem. The causes for their multiplication and for the great affection which the people came to have for them are to

³ For documents relating to the beginning of teacher training see Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States*, chap. XI. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

be found in the same conditions that gave rise to the expansion and extension of the common schools and to the enrichment of their programs. Closely related to this enrichment were a better understanding of the nature of the learning process and remarkable changes in the methodology of instruction. The acceptance of the normal school and its rapid growth in popularity must be attributed, at least in some measure, to the introduction of more vital principles of learning and teaching and to the development of a systematic methodology of instruction, both of which provided opportunity for greater usefulness on the part of teacher-training institutions. These new principles were derived largely from the theories and practices of Pestalozzi.

PESTALOZZIAN THEORIES CONTRIBUTING TO TEACHER EDUCATION

Although Pestalozzi's theories concerning the aim and content of education had their greatest influence on the development of the curriculum, it was largely his insistence upon certain principles of method that resulted in the increased stress which came to be placed upon teacher preparation. Pestalozzi grounded his method upon three main principles: (1) the "reduction of all subjects to their unanalyzable elements . . . and the teaching of these subjects by carefully graded steps"; (2) the "use of the object lesson" in which an attempt was made to appeal directly to sense experience rather than to learn to manipulate words; and (3) the "oral teaching of all subjects."⁴

The results of the application of these principles were sometimes unfortunate. The unanalyzable elements did not always constitute the most satisfactory aspects of learning for beginners in such subjects as reading, art, and music. Fashioning pothooks was not the best first step in teaching children to write. The emphasis upon sense experience led to the exclusion of books and the unreserved acceptance of the value of objects. Pestalozzi's fear of words blinded him to the educational values of history and literature. Oral teaching, although it banished the textbook and formal exercises previously so important in education, did not always eliminate verbalism. The acceptance of these principles implied, however, that teachers would be able to select and organize instructional materials into lesson units; that they would have not only sound knowledge of the subject matter and the ability to reduce it to teachable

⁴ Philip R. V. Curoe, *History of Education*, pp. 150-51. New York: Globe Book Co., 1921.

form, but that they would also have skill in questioning and in conducting drills and reviews. The teacher would be a person trained to stand alone without the assistance of a textbook. The stress on teacher education which resulted from this redefinition of the proper activities of the teacher has been one of the most significant results of the application of Pestalozzian theories.

PESTALOZZIAN INFLUENCE ON THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS BEFORE 1860

The expansion of elementary education was perhaps the most important factor influencing the development of teacher education during the period 1820 to 1860. Before 1860 only a small part of the improvement can be attributed to Pestalozzi's influence. His ideas which had transformed primary education in Prussia, and, to a lesser extent, in other German states, were not translated during this period into a system that could be applied in any large way to elementary instruction under prevailing conditions. Pestalozzian ideas, however, were known to the thinking few early in the century and, although never widely diffused, they exerted a small but increasing influence upon the curriculum and, less directly, upon teacher education.

Pestalozzianism reached America through a number of persons and agencies. Joseph Neef, formerly a co-worker of Pestalozzi in his school near Berne, in order to promote a private school which he was opening in Philadelphia, published a book in 1808 which outlined in some detail the ideas of his former master with respect to the teaching of speech, numbers, geometry, drawing, writing, reading, grammar, ethics, natural history, chemistry, natural philosophy, gymnastics, languages, music, poetry, geography, and lexicology.⁵ In 1813, he brought out his *Method of Instructing Children Rationally in the Arts of Writing and Reading*. At the time, interest in education was at a low ebb. New England was more or less content to bask in the glory of the educational attainments of earlier generations, and the remainder of the country, without even a tradition of good schools, was in the first flush of its excitement over the marching-club, mechanical, mass production methods of the monitorial

⁵ Joseph Neef, *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education, Founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties, and Natural Reason, Suitable for the Offspring of a Free People and for All Rational Beings*. Philadelphia: Printed for the author, 1808.

system. The influence of the two excellent treatises, however, was not entirely negligible.

Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi* (1821), a truly pioneering textbook, although it was neither so generally used nor so quickly adopted as has sometimes been stated, must have greatly influenced teaching in America and, indirectly, the nature of the preparation essential to the teacher of arithmetic. Pestalozzian ideas with respect to education, including teacher education, were introduced into this country by a number of visitors who visited the Prussian Pestalozzian schools and who observed Pestalozzi at work. Among these, John Griscom spent the year of 1818-19 in Europe and on his return published an account of his experiences, including many observations on education and an excellent description of his visit to Pestalozzi.⁶ William C. Woodbridge, who spent almost half of the third decade in Europe, published in the *American Annals of Education and Instruction* and other publications enthusiastic descriptions of the work of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg.⁷ He published two texts in geography to demonstrate the new method. Some persons became acquainted with the new ideas through Stowe's report on elementary education in Europe⁸ and by numerous articles and reports by Barnard, Julius, Bache, Brooks, Mann, and others.⁹ Some of Pestalozzi's writings were published in American journals and some found their way into print in book form during the period.¹⁰ Educators urged reform and the adoption of methods in accord with Pestalozzian theories through the press and from the platform. The American Institute of Instruc-

⁶ Selections from John Griscom, *A Year in Europe*, cited in Edgar W. Knight (Editor), *Reports on European Education: By John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930.

⁷ See "Pestalozzi's Principles and Methods of Instruction," *American Journal of Education*, IV (March and April, 1829), pp. 97-107. The *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, which succeeded the *Journal*, published during 1830 and 1831 a score or more of letters on Fellenberg and Pestalozzi.

⁸ Calvin E. Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Instruction," *Common Schools and Teachers' Seminaries*, pp. 1-81. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1839. This section is the "Report on Elementary Public Instruction," which was made to the General Assembly of Ohio, in December, 1837. Also see Calvin E. Stowe, *The Prussian System of Public Instruction, and Its Applicability to the United States*. Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1836.

⁹ Alex. Dallas Bache, *Report on Education in Europe, to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans*. Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey, 1839; Henry Barnard, *Pestalozzi and his Educational System*. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen, 1881.

¹⁰ Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Letters of Pestalozzi on the Education of Infancy: Addressed to Mothers*. Boston: Carter and Hendec, 1830.

tion, the lyceums, and the newly founded teachers' associations and institutes provided means for the informal dissemination of such information, at least among the more informed teachers and laymen.¹¹

Object teaching on the plan of Pestalozzi was introduced into the state normal school at Westfield, Massachusetts, in 1848, but did not catch the fancy of schoolmen before it was abandoned. Its failure to become popular at this time has been attributed in part, at least, to the lack of competent instruction.¹² Cubberley has pointed to the influence of Arnold Guyot, a Swiss, who, from 1848 to 1854, was an "Agent of the Massachusetts State Board of Education and State Institute Lecturer on the teaching of home and observational geography," and to that of Herman Krüsi, Jr., a son of one of Pestalozzi's teachers, who served in similar capacity for drawing and arithmetic between 1855 and 1857.¹³

In spite of the foregoing activities and attempts to acquaint America with Pestalozzian principles and practices, the fact remained that teaching or the training of teachers was little affected by them before 1860. Few teachers read the educational journals and perhaps fewer read or were able to understand the significance of reports made by Stowe, Barnard, Mann, and others. Not many of America's teachers were exposed to any professional literature at all and those who did study the more popular works of the day on pedagogy such as Hall's *Lectures on School-keeping*, Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, Abbott's *The Teacher*, and other books dealing with the principles of teaching and school management, did not come in contact, even at second hand, with the ideas of the great educator. As Hollis has stated, Pestalozzian principles in America up to 1860 "remained largely a matter of lectures and books among the initiated few. To the rank and file of the teachers of the land, Pestalozzi was but a name or an eccentric personality."¹⁴ Certainly neither teaching nor the training of teachers had been influenced in any large measure by Pestalozzian theory, although his own activities and the operation of the Prussian school system for a time at least provided the most outstanding example of a large-scale application of Pestalozzi's educational scheme.

¹¹ See *The Introductory Discourse and Lectures Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction*. These lectures were published annually beginning with 1830 under slightly different titles.

¹² Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³ Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, p. 385.

¹⁴ Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

EXPANSION AND EXTENSION OF TEACHER EDUCATION, 1860-1890

Normal schools, which in 1860 were few in number and insignificant in their contribution to the supply of teachers, became in the thirty years which followed firmly established and generally accepted as the most important agency for the training of teachers. The attainment of this well-defined place in the scheme of common-school education may be attributed not only to the enormously enlarged demand for trained teachers which resulted when the elementary curriculum was expanded and improved, but, also, to the development of a content and method of teacher education based upon an apparently sound philosophy.

AMERICAN PESTALOZZIANISM

As already indicated, the new content and method of teacher education was drawn from the teachings of Pestalozzi. The great wave of educational theory which swept the country between 1860 and 1890 did not, however, stem directly from his teachings, but reached America only after being subjected to the formalizing influences of English pedants who had seized upon and given great emphasis to certain aspects of Pestalozzian principles. The English followers of Pestalozzi gave some of his theories an interpretation which, in some ways, missed almost entirely the spirit of the teachings of the great Swiss educator.

Elizabeth Mayo, in England, and the American reformers who followed her lead, took as their beginning point the far from original assertion of Pestalozzi which reads:

Observation is the absolute basis of all knowledge. The first object, then, in education, must be to lead a child to observe with accuracy; the second, to express with correctness the result of his observations.¹⁵

Oral teaching from objects was clearly implied in Pestalozzi's state-

¹⁵ As quoted in N. A. Calkins, *Primary Object Lessons for a Graduated Course of Development: A Manual for Teachers and Parents, with Lessons for the Proper Training of the Faculties of Children, and Programmes of the Grades and Steps*, p. iii. New York: Harper & Bros., 1862 (fifth edition, revised).

Near the middle of the seventeenth century, Comenius wrote: "Instruction must begin with actual inspection, not with verbal descriptions of things. From such inspection it is that certain knowledge comes. What is actually seen remains faster in the memory than description or enumeration a hundred times as often repeated."

ment. The English and American educators acknowledged their great indebtedness to their master for having developed the principles of object teaching and set out to develop a system to implement those principles, a step which Pestalozzi himself had not taken, because, his disciples thought, he had lacked the practical sense required to translate his philosophy into practice.

Calkins, the author of the first important American book to be based upon the English conception of Pestalozzianism, paid tribute to the philosopher, but followed closely the work of his English contemporary and guide, Miss Mayo.¹⁶ The book presents twenty lessons on developing the idea of forms such as pyramids, triangles, cubes, spheres, and cones; eighteen lessons on distinguishing and naming colors; eleven on developing ideas of number; eight on developing ideas of size; four on weight; four on sound; twenty on developing ideas of the human body; eight on ideas of place; three on moral ideas such as the soul and "God as the kind Father"; and other sections on elementary reading and objects.

A typical object lesson which was to lead the child to learn from experience that sugar is sweet, soluble, and fusible follows:

SUGAR

Qualities — Sweet, soluble, fusible.

Distribute among the pupils small pieces of sugar, requesting them to hold and retain it; then ask them to tell what it is, and where and how it is obtained. In describing its manufacture, the teacher will probably find it necessary to communicate much of the knowledge necessary to complete the lesson. In doing this, pictures should be used to exhibit such operations as are not familiar to the pupils.

Take a piece of the sugar into your mouth and tell me how it tastes. "It is *sweet*." I will make the words *sugar* and *sweet*.

Observe me as I place a piece of sugar in this tumbler of water. What do you perceive? "The sugar has dissolved."

Here is some salt. I will place this in the water. "The salt has dissolved."

Now I will tell you what we say of a substance or any object when it can be dissolved in water or any other liquid: we say that it is *soluble*. Let me print this word on the blackboard; you may name the letters as I make them — Soluble.

¹⁶ Calkins, *op. cit.*

What does *soluble* mean? "May be dissolved."

What may you say of sugar and of salt? "They are soluble."

Look at me again; what am I doing? "Holding a piece of sugar over the flame of the candle." What do you observe? "The sugar melts." What effect has heat upon sugar? "It melts it."

I have another hard word for you to learn. When any object will melt by heat, we say it is *fusible*. I will print the word, and you may name the letters that I use — F u s i b l e.

Who will tell me what *fusible* means? Hiram. "May be melted with fire."

What may you say of sugar? "It is *soluble* and *fusible*."

What is its color? "White." Is all sugar white? "No, some of it is brown."

What is the use of sugar? "To sweeten things." What things are sweetened with sugar? "Tea, coffee, cake, pudding, pie, fruits," etc.

What have you learned about sugar? ¹⁷

This book, which was the forerunner of a multitude of such efforts, went through some forty editions before the object-lesson method lost its vitality. It probably owed its long life to the influence of E. A. Sheldon, whose own book on object teaching first appeared in 1862. For purposes of comparison, his procedure for teaching that sugar is white, sparkling, opaque, rough and hard, sweet, fusible, brittle, granulous, crystalline, vegetable, and manufactured, is presented in full.

Sketch of a Lesson on Loaf Sugar

Points. — Qualities as discovered by the senses. Less obvious qualities.

MATTER

I. Sugar is white, sparkling, opaque.

METHOD

1. Present a piece of loaf sugar, and ask the children to give the name, and tell what they can discover by looking at it. Compare it with a piece of crystal. Points of difference — one translucent, the other opaque. Points of resemblance — hard, white, bright. Compare the brightness of both objects — one is bright all over, the other full of little bright points. A thing clear, bright all over, is said to be *lucid*. A thing full of little bright points, is said to

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

2. Sugar is rough and hard.

3. Sugar is sweet.

4. Sugar is fusible, brittle, granulous, and crystallized.

be *sparkling*. Children name other objects that sparkle, and find by comparison that things that sparkle have usually a rough surface.

2. Bring out *rough* and *hard*, by asking children what they can say after feeling of it.

3. By taste.

4. Bring out *fusible*, *soluble*, *brittle*, and *granulous*, by direct observation and experiments. *Crystallized* developed by putting threads into strong solutions of salt or alum, which, after a few hours, will be covered with crystals. (a) Children compare the grains with each other, and find that they are all of the same shape. (b) Children notice that they are solid, by reference to the broken grains. Whether they find anything inside? (c) Produce some of the simplest solids, and some amorphous stones. Which do the grains most resemble? Why? Because they are all of the same shape. Show one part of a solid concealing the other part. What children expect to find on the other side — corresponding faces and edges. Will know that crystals are alike. Give the term *regular*. Tell children that substances formed in little grains, all of which are regular solids, are said to be crystallized. Refer to sugar as juice of a plant. Children state the origin and original form of sugar (liquid). Produce various specimens of crystals, and after drawing attention to them as such (being regular), tell them that every one of these was once a liquid, and has now become a regular solid. Examples found by children of a liquid that crystallizes (snow). Might be followed by lessons on the forms, into which many objects crystallize.

5. Sugar is vegetable, and manufactured.

5. Bring out *vegetable*, by reference to the sugar cane, of which show a specimen. *Manufactured*, by comparison of the cane with its product (sugar). Some information given as to the processes the article undergoes in the course of manufacture.

Points, as worked out, written on the board.

Summary. Erase "Matter." Children say which of the qualities they have considered have been discovered by sight; which by feeling; by taste; by experiment; and by reference to previous knowledge. Write the qualities, as the children shall dictate, in separate columns.

Qualities discovered by more than one sense, may be written in separate columns, thus:

Sense of Sight	Sense of Feeling	Sense of Taste	Experiment	Previous Knowledge
White	Rough	Sweet	Fusible	Cultivated
Sparkling	Hard		Soluble	Manufactured
Opaque			Brittle	Vegetable
Rough			Granulous	
			Crystallized	

Students in training construct a sketch of a lesson on "Bread," after the model of the one on "Sugar."¹⁸

THE OSWEGO MOVEMENT

Sheldon was a remarkable man. In 1848, he established, in Oswego, New York, a school for neglected children, much as Pestalozzi had done earlier in Switzerland. In 1851, he was elected superintendent of the schools of Syracuse, but in 1853 returned to Oswego to be that city's first superintendent. He proceeded to grade the schools and to organize a course of study. He was, then, an experienced schoolman when in 1859 he saw in Toronto a full set of the objects, models, "method-materials," and publications of the English Home and Colonial Infant Society. Much taken with these materials prepared for teaching according to the English version of Pestaloz-

¹⁸ E. A. Sheldon, assisted by M. E. M. Jones and H. Krüssi, *A Manual of Elementary Instruction, for the Use of Public and Private Schools and Normal Classes; Containing a Graded Course of Object Lessons for Training the Senses and Developing the Faculties of Children*, pp. 122-23. New York: American Book Co., 1862.

zianism, he set about reshaping the whole plan to fit American schools.

Sheldon imported books and apparatus and established a normal school in Oswego in 1861 to train teachers in the new method. Miss M. E. M. Jones, of the Society's Training College, was brought over from England and within a short time Herman Krüsi, Jr., the son of one of Pestalozzi's co-workers, joined the staff. For the next thirty years the Normal School at Oswego, under the direction of Sheldon, was the fountain head of the new Pestalozzianism in America.

Sheldon not only provided principles of teaching, but a methodology that could be taught to prospective teachers, who, by diligent application, could become skillful in selecting lesson materials and arranging them, and in framing questions and conducting the learning exercises. The subordination of textbooks and the greater emphasis placed upon perception, individual judgment, and generalization made necessary the development of a new type of teacher.

The rapid spread of the Oswego idea must be attributed in a large measure to the fact that numerous normal schools were being established, particularly in the Western states. It was also facilitated by Sheldon's expertness as a publicizer. In December, 1861, the leading educators of the country were invited to visit the Oswego Normal School and to examine its program. The report of this group was very favorable to the plan. In 1863, Sheldon explained his system at the annual meeting of the National Education Association. It was discussed at the 1864 meeting and after some adverse criticism of it had been made, a committee of the Association was appointed to make an appraisal of it. The report of the committee, made in 1865, was a complete vindication of Sheldon and his methods. In the words of the historian of the movement, Oswego soon became the Mecca of American education.¹⁰ The school was almost from the outset a national institution. The second graduating class was made up of members from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Michigan, and several sections of New York. It is stated that nineteen of the twenty-three members of this class taught outside Oswego—seventeen of them in other states including Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Kansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Ohio.

The Oswego school was made a state normal in 1866 and six addi-

¹⁰ Hollis, *op. cit.*

tional schools were established in New York State, all on the Oswego plan. The new state, private, and city normal schools, particularly those established in the West, generally followed the pattern set by Oswego. Graduates of Oswego were widely distributed throughout the country in the first quarter century of the school's history (Table 60). Many of these held key positions. Some organized and headed normal schools. It was a poor teacher-training institution indeed which did not number one or more Oswego graduates on its staff.²⁰

IMPORTANCE OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL AS A TEACHER-TRAINING AGENCY

Between 1860 and 1890, the number of normal schools mounted rapidly. By the close of the period they had become recognized and established as the most important source of trained teachers for the elementary schools. It is, however, impossible to describe quantitatively the expansion of the normal school. The Commissioner of Education collected data and presented compilations of them in his annual reports, but lack of authority on his part to compel institutions to report resulted in incomplete statistics. Furthermore, the definition of a normal school varied from time to time and classifications were not consistent. For example, in 1886, the commissioner reported only 36 private normal schools*as against 132 in the report of the preceding year. The decrease in the number reported did not result from any great change in the facilities for teacher education, but from reclassifying as secondary schools many institutions previously reported as normal schools. Consistency in classification was impossible until the idea of what constituted a normal school crystallized. For example, during most of the period, city training schools, whether full-fledged teacher-training schools or nothing "more than a fifth year of high-school work, made up mostly of pedagogical courses, together with observation and practice-teaching in the grades," were listed as normal schools.²¹ On the one hand, the teacher-training academies of New York numbering ninety in 1889, were not listed. On the other hand, many private institutions were listed, some of which were certainly nothing more than "short cuts to the teaching profession." Of these institutions, Dexter wrote:

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28, 80-111.

²¹ Edwin Grant Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*, p. 385. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904.

TABLE 60. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OSWEGO GRADUATES, 1861-1897*

State	Number of Graduates Taught in State, 1861-86	Number of Graduates, 1887-97, Teaching in State in 1897	State	Number of Graduates Taught in State, 1861-86	Number of Graduates, 1887-97, Teaching in State in 1897
Massachusetts	32	20	Arizona	1	..
Maine	10	1	Wyoming	4	..
New Hampshire	5	2	Montana	1	..
Vermont	35	16	Oregon	1	2
Connecticut	19	..	Washington	1	4
Rhode Island	3	..	Kentucky	9	2
New York	1276	505	Tennessee	4	2
Pennsylvania	70	14	North Carolina	8	1
New Jersey	72	55	South Carolina	6	1
Delaware	2	..	Georgia	8	2
Maryland	8	3	Alabama	7	1
Virginia	8	3	Florida	2	2
District of Columbia	5	1	Arkansas	4	..
West Virginia	1	..	Mississippi . . . . .	..	2
Ohio	60	10	Louisiana	7	1
Indiana	70†	5	Indian Territory	1	1
Illinois	94	10	Texas	1	1
Michigan	93	6			
Wisconsin	17	2			
Minnesota	66	12	Foreign Country		
Iowa	46	3	Canada	4	2
Missouri	24	2	Germany . . . . .	..	3
Kansas	20	..	Mexico	1	..
Nebraska	36	11	South America	6	..
Utah . . . . .	..	5	Japan	2	..
The Dakotas	3	..	Hawaii	3	4
South Dakota . . . . .	..	5	India	1	..
California	20	4	Persia . . . . .	..	1
Colorado	10	2	China . . . . .	..	1

* Adapted from Andrew Phillip Hollis, *The Contribution of the Oswego Normal School to Educational Progress in the United States*, pp 153-54. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1898.

† Entry in Hollis misprinted. This figure is from Ned Harland Dearborn, *The Oswego Movement in American Education*, p. 179. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 183. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

Usually no prerequisites to admission are made, other than sufficient maturity; the courses are undefined and short, and the accomplishments are superficial. Not infrequently such schools are but subordinate departments of commercial schools. From the standpoint of the teaching profession, their only excuse as a class, for being, is that the facilities for the training of teachers are as yet inadequate, and that even the training that the poorest of them give, is better than none.²²

But regardless of how the statistics may be interpreted, a remarkable expansion of teacher-training facilities during the period cannot be denied. From only 12 state and fewer private normal schools in 1860, the number increased to 22 state and a somewhat smaller number of private schools in 1865. In 1871, the Commissioner of Education reported the existence of 51 normal schools supported by 23 states with 251 teachers and 6334 pupils; 16 city normal schools with 112 teachers and 2002 pupils; 4 supported by counties with 83 pupils; and 43 others supported in various ways with 80 teachers and 2503 pupils; making a total of 114 schools, with 445 teachers and 10,922 students.²³ An examination of the list of schools, however, reveals that several of them were normal classes or departments in colleges or universities and others were institutions with very doubtful claims to normal-school status. In 1875, there were reported 73 state, 2 county, and 42 other (largely private) normal schools. Only 8 states, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, and Utah, of those then in the Union, were without such a school. By 1880, the number of public normal schools had increased to 84; by 1885, to 103; and by 1889, to 135. Enrollments and teaching staffs expanded accordingly. By 1895, it has been estimated, there were of all classes of training schools upward of 350, of which 155 were publicly controlled.

This rapid "growth went hand in hand with provisions for compulsory education of the nation's children, with organization of schools into graded systems, with the growth of state school funds and local taxation for schools, with the rapid growth of public high schools, and with the rise of supervision in states, counties, and cities." ²⁴

²² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

²³ United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1871*, p. 53. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872.

²⁴ Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Normal schools increased in number and importance in response to insistent social demands, but the leadership of the normal-school movement and the sound view which it held with respect to the nature and function of teacher training were responsible, in part, at least, for the fact that by 1890 the normals had "established for themselves the right to be considered the chief agency for the education of teachers of the common schools."²⁵

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Since 1890, the school for the preparation of teachers has been transformed from one of secondary rank to one of full "collegiate rank, and, in some cases to one of graduate standing."²⁶

In spite of the remarkable progress in teacher education made between 1860 and 1890, Pangburn, summarizing the situation as it existed at the latter date, wrote, after extensive investigation and with careful regard to the facts of her sources, as follows:

The institutions giving preparation for teaching in 1890 were normal schools, either state or private, certain high schools which maintained classes for teachers, departments of pedagogy, or normal departments in colleges and universities, and the New York College for the Training of Teachers. The normal schools admitted students of secondary rank and scaled their offerings to the ability of the students. They attempted to give command of elementary subject matter, academic secondary studies, and professional studies, including history of education, science of education, and methods in the elementary branches and mental science.

The majority of city normal schools at that time admitted only high-school graduates to a one-year course of narrowly technical nature.

Provision for the training of teachers in colleges and universities was in many cases of preparatory rank, and did not excel the training given in the normal school.²⁷

In spite of the enormous immediate demand for teachers to staff the expanding common schools, teacher-training schools were transformed into fully recognized degree-granting institutions requiring

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²⁶ Jessie M. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 1. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 500. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

high-school graduation as a condition of entrance and providing a course of four or five years. This development is evidence that strong social forces were operating to implement a new concept of education and a new attitude toward it.

FACTORS PROMOTING THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEACHERS COLLEGE

The teachers college evolved as an adaptation to meet the changing conditions of American life. Pangburn has called attention to the fact that the teachers college, like the normal school before it, is an outgrowth of public education and that it has been "subject to the same conditions that have operated to produce the school system of today."²⁸

Recognition of changes in the nature of education. With increasing recognition of the inadequacy of the old educational program to meet the needs of the rapidly evolving social order came, also, a growing recognition of the limitations of teachers whose cultural backgrounds were bounded by three, four, or five elementary-school disciplines and whose professional preparation was as meager as that provided in the short courses of the normal schools. States, long in the process of centralizing administrative authority for the conduct of the schools, began to require graduation from high school as a condition of granting certain certificates. By 1911, one state had made high-school graduation prerequisite for the lowest grade certificate. Eleven states had this requirement by 1919; 33 by 1928; and during the next decade, high-school graduation became the minimum academic requirement for certification in all states. To maintain their position in the field of teacher education, normal schools were obliged to raise entrance requirements and to build their programs upon a base of secondary education. The increasing recognition by the states of professional training as a condition for issuing certificates strengthened the position of the normal school in its struggle to maintain its position in the field of teacher education.²⁹

The development of the high school. The influence of the development of the high school in the transformation of the normal

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁹ See Pangburn, *op. cit.*; Benjamin W. Frazier, "Teacher Training, 1926-1928," United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1929. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929.

school into the teachers college cannot be overestimated. Of this, Pangburn, in her scholarly study, wrote:

Of all the changes in public education, the growth of the high school seems to have been most influential in bringing about the change of the normal schools into teachers colleges. In the typical community the high school was in reality merely an extension upward of the common school. This was especially true of the West, where in village after village, first the ninth grade, then the tenth, and finally the eleventh and twelfth grades were added to the elementary school. The increases in the numbers attending the high schools and in the number of teachers needed for them were so great that the insufficiency of the supply of teachers in that field was especially evident. Although college graduation was regarded as a minimum standard for the preparation of the high-school teacher, the annual output of the colleges was absorbed by the larger towns and cities, so that the graduate of the normal school was frequently the best teacher material the ambitious small community could secure for its embryonic high school. Recognizing this fact, the normal school modified its offerings to give the intending teacher the best preparation possible, in the limited time he could devote to training, for the work he would be called upon to do.³⁰

The normal schools were generally confident of their ability to train high-school teachers and, particularly in the West, insisted upon the right to do so. In this region, where the distinction between secondary and higher education had never been clearly drawn, normal schools, "colleges," and "universities" had long insisted that the level of the institution was to be judged in terms of the maturity of the students and the nature of the instruction rather than in terms of the content of courses. Having gained recognition as the chief agency for the preparation of teachers for the public schools, they, unlike some of the Eastern normals, were unwilling to abdicate any rights to which they pretended when the common school was expanded to include the high school.

Rise of accrediting associations. It was soon evident, however, that training restricted largely to professional courses and to work in the branches to be taught, even if this work was taught from the standpoint of a mature person who was to teach rather than from that of the pupil who was to learn, did not provide adequately the cul-

³⁰ Pangburn, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

tural background necessary for teachers of pupils who were, in increasing numbers, applying for admission to colleges and universities.

The threatened deluge of poorly prepared matriculants caused colleges and universities to take the lead in creating organizations of secondary and higher institutions. These associations set up standards for membership and the colleges agreed to accept the graduates of the member secondary schools. The premium which high schools came to place upon membership in one of these regional associations³¹ gave higher institutions a large measure of control over secondary education, a part of which, at least, was wisely exercised. One result of the accrediting activities of these organizations was to raise secondary-school standards in many communities. Also when, as in the case of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1902, one of these bodies provided that teachers of member high schools should be graduates of colleges or universities belonging to or recognized by it, normal schools of the region were placed under the necessity of being accredited if they were to continue to place their graduates in the better secondary schools. As stated by Pangburn, "this situation created a direct and powerful pressure upon the normal schools to raise their standards of scholastic preparation and to seek the degree-granting privileges."³²

Normal-school leadership. A number of motives and beliefs prompted presidents and other protagonists of normal schools to seek full collegiate status for their institutions. Among these were the ambition to make normal schools academically respectable, the fear that the loss of the function of training secondary-school teachers would be the deathblow to the normal schools, and the conviction that this type of institution was superior to the liberal-arts college for the training of teachers at all levels. Several strong presidents, largely of Western schools, were particularly aggressive in presenting the cause of the normal school. The influence of the Middle and Far West was, according to Harper, largely responsible for the action on the part of the Department of Normal Schools of the National Education Association, of drawing up in 1908 a *Statement of Policy for*

³¹ Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, organized as the College Association of Pennsylvania in 1887; New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1884; Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, 1895; North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1896; Northwest Association of Secondary and High Schools, 1918. See Pangburn, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³² Pangburn, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

the Normal Schools, "which became a veritable platform for transforming normals into teachers colleges."³³ The report recommended:

1. That the state normal schools make high-school graduation, or equivalent, a basis for admission to the standard normal course;
2. That the normal schools prepare teachers for the entire public service — elementary and secondary;
3. That the preparation of the elementary teachers be two years, and of the secondary, four years;
4. That the normal schools establish well-organized departments of research work leading to the solution of problems affecting education and life;
5. That while the normal school is not the only agent for the training of teachers, it is the state's chief agent, and as such it should set up standards of teaching, determine ideals, and train men and women whose call is to educational leadership;
6. That the colleges and universities should not dominate the courses of study of the high schools to the end of making them preparatory schools, thereby preventing these schools from being the best expression of the whole people;
7. That the curriculum of the normal school should be broad enough in scope to touch all phases of special preparation demanded by the broadening curriculum of the public schools.³⁴

The fact that the normal school had grown strong enough during a half-century of development to challenge the older institutions, but not so tradition-bound as to resist thorough reorganization, accounts in no small measure for its success in asserting its right to train teachers for the expanded and extended public schools.

STEPS IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEACHERS COLLEGE

To become teachers colleges, normal schools were obliged (1) to raise their entrance requirements, (2) to lengthen and enrich their curricula, (3) to obtain the right to grant degrees, (4) to gain the recognition of universities and colleges, and (5) to render a service not provided by the traditional liberal-arts college.

Raising entrance requirements. Although many normal-school

³³ Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

³⁴ National Education Association, "Report of Committee on Statement of Policy Regarding the Preparation and Qualification of Teachers of Elementary and High Schools," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting*, held at Cleveland, Ohio, June 29-July 3, 1908, p. 735. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908.

men voiced disapproval of fixing high-school graduation as a requirement of admission, because, they argued, such a procedure would prevent many worthy rural youth from attending and would staff even the rural schools with city-bred girls, courses were increasingly restricted, particularly in city normals, to high-school graduates. In 1890, the Albany Normal School made high-school graduation a condition for entrance and, in the years since, this requirement has come to be general.

Curriculum changes. The period of preparation has been lengthened not only by demanding four years of secondary-school work as prerequisite for admission, but also by lengthening the curriculum of the teacher-training school to four years. By 1943, 29 of the 183 institutions recommended for membership in the American Association of Teachers Colleges by its Accrediting Committee were classified as Graduate Teachers Colleges with, presumably, one or more curricula leading to the Master's degree.³⁵

The normal schools, more and more conscious of the necessity of extending the cultural background of prospective teachers and subjected to the pressure of accrediting agencies, added many liberal-arts subjects to their curricula, which earlier had been largely professional and practical in nature. Also a developing science of education and a new wave of educational theory were giving rise to professional literature in a volume unprecedented in history. The American Herbartian movement, which swept the country during the last decade of the nineteenth century, made itself felt in every teacher-training institution in the land. Through the writings and teachings of Frank M. and Charles A. McMurry, Charles De Garmo, Elmer Brown, C. C. Van Liew, and others, and through their influence upon teacher education, professional work was expanded in the light of new concepts such as apperception, assimilation, correlation, concentration, culture epochs, the five formal steps, and the doctrine of interest. The university study of psychology was likewise making contributions to the professional curriculum.

The expansion of the curriculum to include both the cultural subjects and the new professional materials resulted in its overcrowding which even its lengthening did not entirely relieve. The problem

³⁵ American Association of Teachers Colleges, *Twenty-Second Yearbook*, 1943, p. 124. Washington: American Association of Teachers Colleges, National Education Association, 1943.

was partially solved in differentiating and multiplying curricula. Instead of being differentiated only with respect to their length, as was generally the case in the normal school, the new curricula, nearly all four years in length, were differentiated on the basis of the type of preparation needed for particular positions in the schools — teaching the different subjects at various levels or supervising and administering the educational program.

Authorization to grant degrees. A bewildering variety of degrees, such as Bachelor of Elements, Bachelor of Elementary Didactics, Master of Pedagogics, and Licentiate of Instruction, were granted by normal schools of some states long before 1890, but none of them "represented the completion of a full four-year college course, and there seems to have been no intention that they should signify anything more than that a curriculum preparatory to teaching had been satisfactorily completed."³⁶ The first normal schools to confer degrees representing four years of college work were the Albany Normal College (Albany Normal School before 1890) and the Michigan State College at Ypsilanti. Albany was given authority to confer the Bachelor of Pedagogy and Master of Pedagogy degrees in 1890, but the curriculum, at the time, included only professional subjects. It was not until after the reorganization in 1905 that a four-year course leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree was established. Michigan State Normal College was fully organized as a four-year college requiring high-school graduation for admission in 1897, but did not grant a Bachelor of Arts degree until 1905. The state legislature of Illinois granted the four state normal schools the degree-granting privilege in 1907.³⁷ After 1915, the right to grant degrees was gained by school after school in rapid succession. The standard degrees have come to be Bachelor of Arts in Education, Bachelor of Science in Education, and Bachelor of Arts.

Gaining the recognition of universities and colleges. A vigorous, articulate, and sometimes overzealous normal-school leadership found the task of obtaining the degree-granting privilege much less difficult than that of becoming worthy of the privilege, or, if worthy, of overcoming the prejudice of the colleges and universities.

One of the greatest problems facing the teacher-training schools was the scholarship of their faculties. Ruediger in an investigation

³⁶ Pangburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

³⁷ Harper, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

covering twenty-eight schools found that, in 1895, only 37 per cent of the staff held degrees; the highest degrees held being the Bachelor of Arts degree by 13 per cent of the teachers, the Master's degree by 16 per cent, and the Doctor's degree by 8 per cent. By 1905, the percentage holding degrees had increased to 46. Seventeen per cent had only the Bachelor's degree, 18 per cent held the Master's, and 11 per cent had received the doctoral degree.³⁸ For a time improvement was slow, but during the thirties the teachers colleges came, in many instances, to rival the liberal-arts college with respect to the formal training of its faculty members.

As the normal schools raised their standards by improving the quality of the teaching staff, reducing the teaching load, providing more adequate facilities, and becoming teachers colleges, they slowly gained the recognition of accrediting associations and were, if perhaps grudgingly, accepted by the universities as of the same level as the traditional liberal-arts college. By 1920, many higher institutions accepted, without qualification, transfer students from teachers colleges, and graduates of these schools were being admitted in increasing numbers to the graduate schools and departments of the universities.

The teachers college in its evolution from a normal school was obliged to change from a school of secondary rank, which did not articulate well either with the elementary school or the college, to a liberal-arts college, the curriculum of which, said normal-school men, had not lost its medieval character. At the same time they had to continue to provide a unique service in order to justify their survival.

The teachers colleges of today have solved many of the problems of transition. Their staffs, buildings, libraries, and other facilities compare favorably with those of the liberal-arts college. They have organized their program in terms of the needs of the public schools. Their staff and facilities are selected with the teacher-training function first in mind. Although less than half as numerous as the liberal-arts college, they are providing considerably more than one half of America's teachers.

³⁸ William C. Ruediger, "Recent Tendencies in the Normal Schools of the United States," *Educational Review*, XXXIII (March, 1907), 271-87.

TEACHER TRAINING IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The last fifty years has witnessed, not only the transformation of the normal school into the teachers college, but also the development of university study of education — a development which has made possible the formulation of an educational science and the advancement of teacher education from practical training to professional preparation.

The first step toward making the study of education a matter of university concern was taken unwittingly when colleges and universities began to make special arrangements for training public-school teachers. The first efforts made by the universities for the preparation of teachers generally took place in the West. There were, to be sure, several isolated attempts to introduce teachers' courses in Eastern colleges. New York University, for example, established a chair of the philosophy of education for "educating teachers of common schools" in 1832, but it was shortly discontinued. Another early attempt by an Eastern institution was made by Brown University in 1850, when, on the recommendation of President Wayland, a normal department was established. In 1854, a state normal school was founded in Rhode Island. Since the purpose for which the normal department was organized had been attained, the university suspended its pedagogical work and Samuel Stillman Greene, Professor of Didactics, became Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering.³⁹ But in spite of these and other sporadic efforts to provide teacher-training courses, "it remained," says Judd, "for the state universities of the north-central states to effect a change in the whole situation."⁴⁰ Circumstances forced the West to modify old practices and to create new institutions.

In the East, normal schools had been established to meet the demand for elementary-school teachers created by the expansion of the public schools in the thirties and forties. These public schools, generally providing inferior opportunities at the most elementary levels, were, in many sections, attended by few pupils intended for the university. Certainly the university felt no responsibility for the lowly public school which was so far removed from it in "interests

³⁹ G. W. A. Luckey, *The Professional Training of Secondary Teachers in the United States*, pp. 63-64. Doctor's dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, 1903.

⁴⁰ Charles H. Judd, "The School of Education," *Higher Education in America*, p. 160. Edited by Raymond A. Kent. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1930.

and constituency.”⁴¹ It was entirely satisfied to leave the training of teachers of these inferior schools to the normal school which, in turn, aspired to nothing higher.

In the West, normal schools had not as yet been provided and the need for trained teachers subjected the Western colleges to a pressure not felt by Eastern institutions. Furthermore, the gap between higher and common-school education was often much narrower than was the case in the older states. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the Western colleges and universities accepted the responsibility for training elementary teachers with any great show of enthusiasm. Generally their first efforts “for the professional training of teachers did not take place in the universities . . . , but in their preparatory departments, or in separate normal attachments” under their supervision.⁴²

Normal classes or departments were provided in or in connection with the University of Indiana (1852), University of Iowa (1855), University of Wisconsin (1856), University of Missouri (1868), University of Kansas (1876), State Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky (1881), and by other institutions including the state universities of Utah, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming.⁴³

With the establishment of state normal schools and the rapid increase in the number of high schools, the universities discontinued their preparatory schools and normal departments.⁴⁴ Many universities would have retired from the field of preparing common-school teachers had not the rapid expansion of the common schools to include the high school created a demand for secondary-school teachers, the training of whom was everywhere considered a proper function of the university. With state normals insisting upon the right to train teachers for all grades of the common school including the high school, and, at the same time demonstrating that professional courses had value, the universities changed their normal departments to collegiate departments of pedagogics, or, if the old normal departments had been discontinued, created new arrangements for the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴² Luckey, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-99.

⁴⁴ Indiana University closed its normal department in 1873, three years after the establishment of the Indiana State Normal School at Terre Haute; the normal department of the University of Wisconsin was discontinued in 1866. In this same year, the Board of Regents of the Normal School opened the first state normal school at Platteville, and two years later one at Whitewater. See Luckey, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-99.

professional preparation of teachers, such as departments of pedagogy, chairs of didactics, and departments of education.

The first state university to establish a chair of education having continuous existence to the present time was the University of Iowa, but Michigan provides the best example of the new development, the background of which may be traced far back in the educational history of that state.

The founders of the University of Michigan had conceived of their institution as the head of the state school system of lower schools, secondary schools, and branches of the university located in various sections of the state. Each of the branches was to have three departments, "one for the education of teachers for the primary schools, one for the higher branches of English education, and one for classical learning."⁴⁵ John D. Pierce, first Superintendent of Public Instruction, in 1837 urged particularly the establishment of the department for the education of teachers:

It is certainly of much consequence to the public interests that these branches be pushed forward with vigor, and be adequately sustained. They form the all-important connecting link between the primary schools and the University. They are especially intended to fit such young men for the regular classical course of the University as may wish to enter the institution; also, to prepare some for the profession of teaching, that the primary schools may be fully supplied with competent instructors; and to qualify others for those numerous employments of life which require a more extended education than is usually to be obtained at the district school. Unquestionably then, they are essential to the successful and harmonious action of the system. Without them every part of it must suffer and the department languish. Without teachers, thoroughly educated and bred to the profession, what essential benefit can rationally be expected to result from general establishment of primary schools? But where can we expect to find such teachers without furnishing them the necessary means to fit them for their work; and where can we better do it than in the contemplated branches of the University? Without these, where can we find young men prepared to enter the classic course of the parent-institution? It is indeed of the first importance to the great interests of education, in our own state, that these branches be well appointed and vigorously sus-

⁴⁵ Allen S. Whitney, *History of the Professional Training of Teachers: At the University of Michigan for the First-Half-Century, 1879 to 1929*, p. 10. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1931.

tained. . . . What method so effectual, for the support of schools throughout the state, as furnishing them with able teachers?

The proposed branches occupy the middle ground, being connected, on the one hand, with the primary schools, by the establishment of a department in each for the education of teachers; and on the other, with the University itself, by the establishment in each of them of a preparatory course, and being thus equally designed for the benefit of both the University and district schools. It seems no more than right that they should be supported from the funds of each.⁴⁶

The efforts of Superintendent Pierce and his successors to provide professional training for teachers of the common schools through the university branches were not successful. Both regents and public were primarily interested in the branches as preparatory schools for the university and not as teacher-training agencies. Also funds were not available to establish and maintain the branches as originally planned. However, as Judd points out:

The break between the University and the public-school system of the state never became complete in Michigan, in spite of the difficulties which prevented the complete realization of the hopes of the founders of the university.⁴⁷

The failure of the House to concur in the action of the Senate, which adopted a bill in 1848 "to establish a branch at the University of Michigan as a state normal school," meant the loss of the teacher-training function as conceived by the founders. At the next session a bill was passed to establish a state normal school. This school was located in Ypsilanti and was opened for students in 1852.

Agitation continued at the university and President Tappan showed himself to be interested in the training of teachers. He knew well the Prussian school system and the Prussian program for the education of secondary-school teachers in universities. In 1858-59 the university catalogue announced a teachers' course in ancient languages. Doctor J. M. Gregory, Superintendent of Public Instruction (1858-64), argued insistently that the universities and colleges should co-operate in providing a supply of competent teachers "by offering specific professional courses for all students planning to

⁴⁶ As quoted in Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

enter the work of teaching." He offered to teach a course on the organization, administration, and instruction of schools. President Tappan accepted the offer and the course of lectures was given during the years 1861, 1862, and 1863. Whitney states that these lectures emphasized the following aspects of professional education:

1. The utilities of the course.
2. Educational philosophy.
3. The grades in education, or the proper organization and management of schools.
4. The teaching art, or methods of teaching appropriate to different branches of knowledge.⁴⁸

Apparently lectures ceased when Gregory relinquished office as state superintendent. But the issue of university education of teachers continued to be agitated. With respect to the course given by Gregory, Judd states that it marked the beginning of a new era of teacher training in this country.⁴⁹ President Angell in his annual report of 1874 recommended that instruction in pedagogics be provided and four years later renewed his recommendation. The regents acted on this recommendation, and in 1879 established a Chair of the Science and Art of Teaching and appointed William H. Payne to this chair. This action was generally approved by faculty and students and was commented upon favorably by *Harper's Magazine* and other journals.

The university did not change by this one stroke the beliefs of reactionaries, who continued to belittle the "fifth wheel to the wagon," and "the substitution of method for academic attainment." It was also confronted with the opposition of the normal schools, which were seeking greater recognition and larger appropriations from the state legislature.⁵⁰ President Angell set forth his views with respect to these criticisms in his annual report for 1879:

We desire it most clearly understood that we have no intention of invading the territory of our neighbors of the normal school. The line between their work and ours is very distinct. We wish simply to aid our undergraduates, who come here for collegiate study, to prepare themselves for the work of teaching, which they

⁴⁸ J. M. Gregory, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1863*, pp. 6 ff., as quoted in Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁵⁰ Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

are certain to undertake, whether we have this new chair or not. If our effort to give specific instruction of this kind and of a high order is successful, it will tend to aid the normal school by strengthening in the minds of our graduates and of the public the conviction that there is indeed a philosophy, a science, of education, which we are aiming to teach to such of our students as intend to become teachers, while the normal school is also teaching it to every one of its hundreds of pupils in the manner most helpful to them. We earnestly hope to co-operate with and to aid in every proper way all the other educational institutions in the state. There is work enough and more than enough for us all to do. The prosperity of each conduces to the prosperity of all the rest.⁵¹

William H. Payne, the Professor of the Science and Art of Teaching, made it clear that there was no intention of encroaching upon the field which the university considered as belonging to the normal school. Stated Doctor Payne: "As at present constituted, the normal schools are not fitted to dispense the professional education needed by head masters, principals, superintendents, or even first assistants in high schools."⁵²

The state normal school at Ypsilanti, which in 1878 had enlarged its curriculum and changed its practice of twenty-eight years to provide training for "assistants, principals, and superintendents in all classes of the public schools," probably disagreed, but Payne's statement represented the general view of the universities of the day.

Several universities were almost ready to establish chairs or departments of education at the time that the University of Michigan created its chair of the science and the art of teaching. University chairs, departments, or schools of university grade were established at the University of Wisconsin in 1881, Johns Hopkins, Missouri, and North Carolina in 1884, Cornell and Indiana in 1886, Clark University in 1889, Stanford and Chicago in 1891, California in 1892, Illinois and Minnesota in 1893, Nebraska in 1895, Ohio and Texas in 1896, and at Northwestern in 1898. Many of the early chairs of education, pedagogy, or didactics were created as a part of some established department, often philosophy, but a number of them were early made into independent units such as teachers colleges, colleges of education, or schools of education. In this later move-

⁵¹ *Proceedings of the Regents, 1879*, p. 415, as quoted in Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

⁵² W. H. Payne, *Contribution to the Science of Education*, p. 307, as quoted in Luckey, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

ment, the University of Michigan, for a generation the leader in promoting university training for secondary-school teachers and the university study of education, failed to keep pace with many institutions. A School of Pedagogy was organized by New York University in 1890 and a School of Education by the University of Chicago in 1901. Teachers College was founded in 1888 (chartered in 1889), became affiliated with Columbia University in 1893-94, and in 1898 became incorporated as an integral part of the university, exchanging its president for a dean, but retaining a separate board of trustees.⁵³

At a meeting of the National Education Association in 1890, it was reported that out of the 361 colleges and universities in the land, only 21 made any pretense at a pedagogical chair and that many of these were only on paper.⁵⁴ This, of course, does not present a complete picture of all the teacher-training activities of the universities. By 1890, 114 of the colleges and universities reporting to the United States Commissioner of Education enrolled 3414 students in teacher courses. Most of these institutions were located in the Mississippi Valley. Many of them were obviously on the verge of establishing chairs or departments of education.⁵⁵ From this point on growth was rapid. By 1891, professorships were reported in thirty-one institutions, chairs of pedagogics combined with another subject (usually philosophy) in forty-five more, and seven universities had established lectureships in education.⁵⁶

Many of the courses introduced were poor in quality and probably no more advanced than some found in normal schools. The courses, the chairs, and the instructors filling those chairs were generally looked upon as something which evil times had foisted upon the university. Faculties were inclined to keep the work in education as meager as outside pressure would permit and to keep the rela-

⁵³ Walter L. Hervey, "Historical Sketch of Teachers College from Its Foundation to 1897," *Teachers College Record*, I (January, 1900), 12-35; James E. Russell, "The Organization and Administration of Teachers College," *Teachers College Record*, I (January, 1900), 36-59.

⁵⁴ Levi Seeley, "Pedagogical Training in Colleges Where There Is No Chair of Pedagogy," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, Session of the Year 1890*, held at Saint Paul, Minnesota, p. 673. Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, Clifford C. Baker, 1880.

⁵⁵ United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1889-90*, II, 1020. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1891-92*, II, 725-26, as cited in Pangburn, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

tionship of the department to the university as distant as possible. In 1892, De Garmo urged that departments be given organic connection with the university and likened professors of education to educational Robinson Crusoes. Further, he spoke with some warmth of those who he felt were hindering the cause of education.

Even the gentlemen who sneer at their own conception of what the study of pedagogy is good for, acknowledge by their attentive presence at these national conventions that there are important unsettled matters in education, worthy of this great annual gathering, quite deserving the long, thoughtful study of our best minds. Even President Eliot, himself, finds it worth while to rouse all New England by his proposals for strictly educational changes in the grammar-school curriculum.⁵⁷

Eliot at Harvard was, however, in 1890-91 voicing his own and his faculty's distrust for pedagogics and urging the value of skillful teachers teaching by example.⁵⁸ Although Charles Kendall Adams, President Angell, and others, aware of the excellence of Prussian secondary schools and the contributions of the Prussian universities to educational development, urged the teaching of pedagogics in colleges and universities, Eliot was, no doubt, speaking for a majority of the colleges.

DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENCE OF EDUCATION

As long as our main efforts had been directed toward the establishment of a system of elementary schools and the improvement of education at the lower levels, universities felt little responsibility for the training of teachers or for the study of their problems. Teacher education developed in Europe and in America, particularly in the East, as an extension of elementary education and almost entirely outside the university.

Even after American colleges and universities had in considerable numbers taken on a measure of responsibility for the training of teachers of the expanding and rapidly multiplying high schools, they did little to improve the pattern or nature of instruction as it had

⁵⁷ Charles De Garmo, "Scope and Character of Pedagogical Work in Universities," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, Session of the Year 1892*, held at Saratoga Springs, New York, p. 773. New York: J. J. Little & Co., 1893.

⁵⁸ *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1890-91*, p. 1076, as cited in Pangburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

been developed in the normal schools. Here and there halting efforts were made to expand the scope of teacher education and to place it upon a more professional basis. These attempts were not very successful and, for the most part, failed to convince most administrators or faculties of higher institutions that the preparation of teachers involved professional work of really collegiate rank or that the problems of education were worthy of university study.

The reluctance on the part of the university to provide instruction and opportunities for research in education may be attributed, in part, to the fact that until the end of the nineteenth century the science of education had developed only a meager content. This is not to say that the contributions of American and European writers were unknown nor that the influence of a developing educational journalism and the writings of a succession of educational statesmen and schoolmen were negligible. It is only that the effort to make real the ideal of free universal education absorbed the energies of intellectual leadership. To provide the bare minimum demanded by the mounting numbers who sought the elements of an education strained severely the educational resources of the nation. The increasing magnitude of the educational enterprise, however, introduced new problems of instruction and administration and made more acute those which had been earlier recognized. Teachers and administrators, as the century progressed, were attempting to find the solution of their problems in the theories of philosophers and the practices of experts.

To meet the growing demand, educational literature increased throughout the entire period as the number of teachers and superintendents multiplied and their problems became more and more pressing. Newly founded journals made known to a steadily enlarging circle the educational achievements of the more advanced state and local systems, presented the views of educational leaders, and introduced many readers to the theories and practices of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Witherspoon, and numerous other writers. Barnard's *American Journal of Education* made known the works of many European scholars and described at great length the best of foreign practice. Several useful books appeared during the last years of the century, including some works on the philosophy of education, some treatises on method, a few descriptions of successful practices, a few accounts of the work of particular institutions, and a limited

number of expositions on the management of schools. An examination of the material available at the close of the period, however, reveals that education was not yet a science to be studied nor even, perhaps, an art to be practiced.

None the less, the beginnings of an educational science had been made. New theories were being developed which threw new light upon the purposes and processes of education. Scientific methods, developed in the other disciplines, were increasingly applied to the study of problems having profound implications for education. Scientifically trained scholars in America and in Europe were seeking a better understanding of the human mind and the condition of its operation.

HERBARTIAN MOVEMENT

The work of making the study of education attractive to university students, begun by Herbart in Germany, was continued by Rein at Jena and the Herbartian ideas expounded there were becoming an inspiration to a number of Americans who had turned to Germany for advanced training. Among these were Charles De Garmo, Charles A. McMurry, and Frank M. McMurry whose books on methods became standard textbooks in teacher-training institutions and remained popular over a period of twenty years. In 1892, twenty-four years after the first establishment of a Herbartian Society in Germany, the National Herbart Society was organized in America. Although much in Herbartian theory and practice failed to withstand the onslaught of keen minds turned to applying new techniques to the study of educational problems, this professional organization and its successor, the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education (later, the National Society for the Study of Education), has continued, as the early Herbartians did, to play an important part in the development of a science of education.

THE CHILD-STUDY MOVEMENT

Another development to make a contribution to educational science and to enrich the study of pedagogy was the child-study movement, initiated by G. Stanley Hall. After a broad training in theology, philosophy, neurology, psychology, and related studies at Williams, Union Theological, Harvard, Bonn, Berlin, and Leipzig,

under famous teachers such as James, Wundt, and Trendelenburg, Hall published in 1883 his pioneering study, *The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School*. As a teacher of psychology and pedagogy at Johns Hopkins (1882-88) and as president of Clark University (1889-1919), Hall and his disciples developed theories in education and psychology which helped to break the hold of the old scholastic psychology. Clark University became the center for the study of genetic psychology and child study, the results of which were to remain and enrich the science of education, even after Hall's assumptions, procedures, and doctrines had been outgrown and, to a considerable extent, discredited. Later child-study programs at Yale, Iowa, Teachers College (Columbia), Chicago, and other centers were probably influenced less by Hall than by other developments, but his work in arousing a scientific and experimental interest in children and in stimulating educational thought over a period of a generation should not be minimized.

EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the techniques of the accepted sciences were applied to the study of human behavior. In 1879, Wundt established at Leipzig the first psychological laboratory and began a long series of experimental investigations of the psychological processes involved in reasoning, judgment, memory, and in the senses of hearing, taste, smell, and vision. Students trained by him were to develop further experimental methods to study the problems of education. Through Judd, one of his American students, the method of the laboratory was to receive emphasis over a period of forty years. Judd and Thorndike, both of whom accepted the pragmatic philosophy of James and Dewey, developed, adapted, and applied the new methods of investigation to make educational psychology the most influential branch of psychological study. Experimentation under scientifically controlled conditions has developed rapidly since 1900 and today all university departments and schools of education are equipped with laboratories for the study of educational problems.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC MEASUREMENT

While the methods of the laboratory were being adapted to the study of human traits and educational problems, statistical prin-

ciples were also developed for the measurement and interpretation of phenomena observed in the laboratory and elsewhere. Galton (1822-1911), in his studies on nature and nurture (*Hereditary Genius*, 1869, and *Natural Inheritance*, 1889), suggested the measurement of human traits and contributed to the development of mathematical techniques highly useful in such investigations. His pioneering work in statistical methods was extended by Karl Pearson in England and by Cattell, Thorndike, and others in America. Thorndike more than any other person refined the techniques of measurement developed in biology and adapted them to education. He offered at Columbia University the first course in educational statistics in 1902, and in 1904 brought out a textbook on the measurement of mental traits which was to initiate a large number of vigorous minds, then turning to the study of education, into the mysteries of statistical methods.

THE TESTING MOVEMENT

Development of mental tests. The application of statistical methods to the measurement of mental and other human traits, as defined in the laboratory of Wundt and other psychologists and by investigators such as Galton, was one of the most important advances in the development of a science of education. Cattell through his writings made known in America some of Galton's earlier work.⁵⁹ Thorndike refined the work of his predecessors in his aforementioned *An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements*, published in 1904.

The first attempts to measure mental traits were largely concerned with such things as sensory discrimination, reaction time, and memory. The first extensive and practical work in mental measurement must be attributed to two Frenchmen, Alfred Binet and Thomas Simon. The first scale appeared in 1905, and the better standardized 1908 scale was revised and published in 1911. Binet developed the concept of mental age — a concept that has been generally employed since.

The most important of the several translations and revisions of this scale was Terman's Stanford revision, which, with subsequent refinement, has remained the best known and perhaps most used individual mental test.

⁵⁹ J. McK. Cattell, "Mental Tests and Measurements," *Mind*, XV (1890), 373-80.

Great impetus was given to the movement by the development of group tests which were introduced into schools following their widespread use in the armed forces during the first World War. Numerous group tests have been constructed, some of a non-verbal type, in an attempt to measure not only intelligence, but also such traits as character and moral judgment. Although many of these have failed to accomplish satisfactorily the ends sought, new techniques have been formulated in their development and have generally contributed to a better understanding of the human mind and its working.

Development of achievement tests. In 1897, Doctor J. M. Rice reported in *The Forum* the development of a scale for measuring achievement in spelling. This was perhaps the first modern-type achievement test. There had been earlier attempts to improve the measurement of achievement, but these were insignificant and made little impression. In fact, little could be accomplished in this area before quantitative methods were developed and the idea that human behavior could be studied quantitatively had been accepted.

The publication, in 1910, of Thorndike's Scale for the Measurement of Merit in Handwriting, based on the equal differences theorem, may be taken as marking the real beginning of scientific measurement of the products of the educational program. After 1910, development was rapid. Many persons were engaged in constructing, validating, and standardizing tests. Practical schoolmen, however, were much slower to accept the ideas of measurement than were scholars, such as Thorndike, Hanus, Ayres, and Courtis, but they too were, in time, won over. The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, which rejected measurement as a sound educational procedure by a small majority in 1912, adopted by a large majority a report favoring the movement in 1914. In 1918, the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education devoted its entire yearbook to measurement. At that time, however, Judd remarked that teachers generally stood aloof from the movement.

In the years immediately following, the movement gathered momentum. Hundreds of tests were devised for the measurement of numerous types of learning and learning products. Schools and school systems established bureaus to make continuing studies of

achievement. Techniques were refined and teacher-training institutions provided instruction in the proper use of tests.

More recently the emphasis has veered from testing achievement in school subjects to programs of evaluation involving the use of a wider range of measuring techniques, the measurement and description of a larger number of the results of learning and maturation, and the planning of educational programs on the basis of demonstrated progress toward the desired objectives.⁶⁰

THE SCHOOL SURVEY MOVEMENT

The school survey, it has been claimed, was a natural outcome of the testing movement. Intelligent efforts to improve the administration of the schools, no doubt, also contributed to its development. Early schoolmen had made lengthy and searching analyses of the condition of education. Barnard, in 1845, issued a report on the condition of education in Rhode Island based on a two-year study of the situation. Many superintendents' reports made during the nineteenth century went far beyond the presentation of statistics which constituted the bulk of a majority of such reports. The origin of the modern movement, however, commonly and perhaps correctly, has been traced to the investigation of the Montclair (New Jersey) schools made by Professor Hanus of Harvard in 1911. On the basis of his observations and expert knowledge, he wrote a report expressing his opinion concerning the educational situation which he had investigated.

In subsequent surveys by Cubberley, E. E. Brown, and Kendall (Baltimore, 1911); Cubberley (Portland, Oregon, 1913); Strayer (Butte, Montana, 1914); Ayres (Springfield, Illinois, 1914); and others, techniques were refined and procedures standardized. In the Ayres survey of the Cleveland schools in 1915-16, extensive use was made of tests and statistical procedures. Surveys were definitely coming to be based upon scientific appraisals rather than upon expert opinion. The standardization of procedures for treating objective data quantitatively brought the survey into the curriculum of university departments and schools of education. Courses were organized in numerous institutions to train in the application of survey techniques and in the interpretation of survey results.

The movement spread rapidly. Hundreds and hundreds of surveys

⁶⁰ Wilford M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942.

have been made. Some have been modest investigations of one or more aspects of the educational program; others have been large-scale comprehensive investigations. Some of both types have been superficial; others have been of great significance not only to the systems surveyed, but also to the developing science of education. Universities have organized divisions to direct surveys and to provide trained personnel needed in the conduct of them. Educational foundations have directed and financed surveys that otherwise could not have been made. The United States Office of Education, particularly during the twenties, carried on a number of investigations of state systems. This agency, as a part of its program to study education on a nation-wide scale, brought out during the first half of the thirties national surveys of the land-grant colleges and universities, secondary education, and the education of teachers.⁶¹

More recently new direction has been given to the nation-wide study of aspects of the educational program. The Commission on Teacher Education, appointed by the American Council on Education and financed by the General Education Board, has studied the "numerous and diversified problems in the education of teachers," drawing largely upon the experience and insight of institutions and associations already active in the field. Greater emphasis upon implementation of existing knowledge than upon fact-finding has characterized the work of this organization.⁶²

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The multitude of surveys helped reveal that during the nineteenth century the school had become a complex social institution. It was made apparent that the problems involved in the efficient management of the educational program were becoming more and more complicated. The rapid expansion of the educational enterprise was perhaps the most important factor contributing to the acuteness of the situation. There was the fact, too, that not only were greater and

⁶¹ Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, United States Office of Education Bulletin 9, 1930 (2 vols.); Leonard V. Koos and others, *National Survey of Secondary Education*, United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1932 (28 monographs); E. S. Evenden and others, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*. United States Office of Education Bulletin 10, 1933 (6 vols.)

⁶² *The Commission on Teacher Education. A Brief Statement of Its Origin and Scope*. Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, 1940; Maurice E. Troyer and C. Robert Pace, *Evaluation in Teacher Education*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1944.

greater numbers being drawn into the schools, but also that the function of the school was changing in such a way as to make management more difficult and expert management more necessary. Administrative problems involved in centralization demanded attention. Principles worked out in business and government were examined and Cubberley and others attempted to adapt these principles to procedures in staffing, supervising, and financing the schools. From all these activities and the survey movement, an extensive literature developed and the way was opened for the systematic training of educational administrators.

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

As the school became more clearly recognized as an important social institution, a consciousness of the significance of its past developed. Earlier histories of education had dealt almost entirely with theory and were based largely upon the writings of educational philosophers. As education was viewed in a new manner, different aspects of its past took on a new significance and a new type of history began to appear. It was recognized that the history of education was a part of social history and that a significant understanding of an educational program required a thorough knowledge of the social life of which the school was a part. Monroe and his students contributed a large amount of historical research to swell the growing body of scholarly educational literature. Later, Counts and others related the schools more definitely to the contemporary social order. There is at present every indication that the social significance of education will receive, in the future, as much attention from scholars as will its psychological aspects.

EDUCATION AS A PROFESSION

From the typical teacher's course of the nineteenth century, embodying a little history of educational theory, a meager philosophy, and an even less well-developed psychology along with some practical treatment of methods and classroom management, the curriculum in teacher education expanded to include new content developed in the areas of measurement, psychology, administration, supervision, and history. Before the end of the second decade, a science of education had been well defined. In 1918, Judd wrote:

The science of education aims to collect by all available methods full information with regard to the origin, development, and present form of school practices and also full information with regard to social needs. It aims to subject present practices to rigid tests and comparisons and to analyze all procedure in the schools by experimental methods and by observation. It aims to secure complete and definite records of all that the school attempts and accomplishes. The results of school work are to be evaluated by rigid methods of comparison and analysis. To direct studies of the school the science of education must add full studies of the social life of which the school is a part and of the individual nature which is to be trained and molded through the educational processes. In the light of such studies the science of education is to suggest such enlargements and modifications of school practices as seem likely to promote the evolution of the educational system.⁶³

The developing science of education forced its way into the college and university. In 1890, there were less than a dozen chairs of education or pedagogy in higher institutions, but by 1900 the study of education was finding its way into a much larger number of institutions. By 1920, more than four hundred colleges and universities were providing some kind of program in education and, in each instance, the program reflected the findings of the new science. Expansion since has resulted in the organization within practically all universities of departments or schools of education of standing equal to the other professional divisions, colleges, and schools. In some of these, such as Chicago, Columbia, Stanford, and a number of state universities, the emphasis upon research promises much for the continued advancement of teaching as a profession and the development of education as a science.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 18

1. How do you account for the fact that we established the normal school for the education of teachers as an institution separate from other educational institutions? Do you think this was a defensible practice?
2. What were the forces that brought about the development of the normal school into the teachers college?

⁶³ Charles H. Judd, *Introduction to the Scientific Study of Education*, pp. 305-06. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1918.

3. Should teachers colleges confine their work to the education of teachers or should they also serve as regional liberal-arts colleges?
4. In what ways do you think the education now provided for teachers might be improved?
5. Should the "general education" of teachers be the same as that of other professional groups in our society?
6. Should the professional education of teachers include work in the social sciences organized especially to meet their needs? If so, suggest how this might be done.
7. Do you agree that a profession of education must be built on the foundation of a science of education?
8. Show how the education of teachers has been affected and should be affected by the scientific study of the problems of education.
9. Select some problem in education and show how the scientific study of it has affected its solution.
10. Give your reactions to the following statement:
"The education of teachers has been centered too much around the concept of education as psychological process and too little around the concept of education as public and social policy."

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Chapter 19 ~ Reshaping the Structural Organization of the Educational System

THE STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION of the school system of the United States has evolved from origins inherited from Europe. In the progress of its development it has reflected changes in American life, changes in the aims and purposes of the school as conceived by succeeding generations, and changes in points of view concerning the extent to which an adequate education should be provided for all.

In general, the trend has been toward reorganization in harmony with the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity. In the process, all levels of education have been affected. Both elementary and secondary education were redefined and extended, and, in order that the benefits deriving from their extension be more equitably distributed, attempts were made to standardize elementary and secondary education — to promote a reasonable measure of uniformity in the programs of schools of like grade. The college was so reorganized as to change it from an aristocratic, religious, linguistic, and highly selective institution into one for the education of a much-enlarged student body which was becoming increasingly heterogeneous in ability, educational background, cultural interests, and vocational aims.

Each unit — elementary, secondary, and higher — was so reorganized as to bring about greater uniformity throughout the country. Also, better articulation among the various units was effected. The trend was toward an arrangement of the several units into an articulated single whole which would provide a program extending unbroken from the kindergarten to the university.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE INHERITED EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

Such a system could neither develop nor function in the century-old European class-structured society that had been transferred to America. This aristocratic society did not deny the desirability of educating all children. However, the aims and purposes, and consequently the program, of education differed greatly from class to class. From the time of the Protestant Reformation there had existed, at least in theory, a basis for mass education, but only an occasional philosopher seriously contemplated anything more than the most rudimentary schools for the children of lower-class parents. On the other hand, the need of the directive classes for a more extensive education of a very different type was clearly and generally realized.

The earliest American educational institutions differed little from their European prototypes. The early colonial colleges and the transplanted secondary schools — the Latin grammar schools — were established largely for the purpose of training a religious leadership. Historically, they had no connection with the common elementary schools originally organized to provide a very modest academic training for a class of children not represented in or aspiring to college. The relation of the college to the secondary school was not organic, but since the Latin school directed its efforts, in the main, toward preparing boys for collegiate study, a form of articulation and a basis for closer relationship did exist. Together these schools formed a single system and performed a well-defined function, but between them and the elementary schools, which performed a totally different function, there was no connecting link.

The development of a democratic system of education involved the uprooting of this aristocratic dual system, the expansion of curricula, the creation of new and the modification of old administrative units, the development of standards, the establishment of a measure of uniformity throughout the land, and the articulation of the units at the various levels into a well-integrated whole. In the process time-honored and well-defined institutions were replaced by a variety of new ones — generally ill-defined and more often than not of poor quality. The more or less uniform practices of the traditional system gave way to a multiplicity of practices, some good and some only expedient. It was in the confusion resulting from the

breakup of the old class system of education that the integrated uniform system of modern America had its beginning.

FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE TREND TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE

The trend toward a democratic structure of educational organization must, therefore, be described in terms of the redefinition of educational goals, the reorganization of institutions, the integration of new units, and the development of standards and uniform practices.

MOTIVATION TOWARD INTEGRATION

At first there appeared to be little in the situation that promised to weld the two systems (the one for the masses, the other for the directive classes) into one or to bring them into closer relationship. However, as indicated in earlier chapters, forces were operating from the beginning to reshape society and to modify its institutions. As the essential features of the European social heritage failed to withstand the impact of the leveling forces released in the subjugation of a virgin continent, new political and social ideals emerged. The common man took on significance to accord with his importance in the new order. The same forces that were responsible for his rise thrust up more and more children through the lower schools and created a demand for the extension of their training to the point where all opportunities, including a college education, were open to them. Improved articulation and greater uniformity resulted from continuing efforts to meet this growing demand.

Improved articulation was effected in several ways. For example, during the colonial period, when the Latin schools raised their requirements with respect to common education (reading, writing, simple computation, and the like) as a condition for entrance, they were not only recognizing the fact that their students could obtain a larger share of their preparatory training in common schools, but also were taking a step in the direction of effecting a greater measure of articulation between the two schools. As time went on and more children destined to receive a higher education were provided preliminary training in the common school, the non-Latin schools were replaced by the district or ungraded schools, which, in many instances, provided not only instruction in the elements, but included

in their program subjects required for college admission. The attempt to serve the needs of children varying so greatly with respect to age, achievement, and educational aims in a single school must have resulted in the establishment of some relationship between the elementary and college-preparatory programs. The academy, the secondary school of the early national period, furthered the movement by accepting children from the elementary or ungraded schools and sending them on to college.¹

With the development of the public high school, the relationship existing between the elementary and secondary levels became more nearly standardized. The articulation of the two was not perfect, but the fact that the high school had been created to extend added educational opportunities to children not intended for college was never entirely forgotten, even after the performance of this function came to be much neglected in favor of college-preparatory work.

The high school, financed by public funds and admitting youth of preparatory-school age, was bound to be drawn into a relationship, even if sometimes remote, with the rapidly developing colleges and state universities.² This was particularly true in the West which was less bound by tradition, less well supplied with good private secondary schools, and in which the different functions of secondary and higher education were not always clearly recognized.

The passage from a society based on classes to a democracy based on the principles of equal obligations and opportunities was long and tortuous and, in fact, has not been yet completed. The task of fashioning a democratic school system, free and open to all, extending from the first grade through the university, was no easier to achieve than were modifications in other fundamental social institutions and arrangements.

MOTIVATION TOWARD STANDARDIZATION AND UNIFORMITY

As already indicated, the motivation toward redefinition and articulation of elementary, secondary, and higher education sprang from an upsurging democracy. Closely related forces which encouraged standardization of the educational program and greater uniformity in educational institutions and practices throughout the

¹ William A. Smith, *The Junior High School*, pp. 22-31. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 34-41.

country were the continuing mobility of the people and the increasing integration of a rapidly developing industrial society.

As the individualism of the simple group life of pioneer days disappeared and local loyalties expanded to state loyalties, certain functions were transferred from the smaller to the larger group. In spite of the fact that the pioneer philosophy was constantly rejuvenated by the conditions of the expanding frontier, there was a transfer of functions and responsibilities from the local community to the state and, in a somewhat lesser degree, to the nation.

When the educational program was consciously made an instrument for promoting social integration, it was pointed toward civic rather than toward religious and purely individual ends. Education, for the first time in history, became the right and obligation of every person — in short, a political necessity. The education of youth became, during the nineteenth century, a generally recognized responsibility of each of our states. At all levels, the state now felt compelled to participate in providing education in order to secure its own welfare. This increasing participation in education by the state led, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels, to the development and maintenance of standards with state-wide application. The transfer of educational responsibility to the state was underway in all of the states before the Civil War.

The struggle over states' rights which found its most violent expression in the Civil War indicated that we were not ready for the federal government to share obligations and functions with the states. However, with the growing complexity of social relations and with the improved means of communication, it became clear that we were a single people living together, not as states, but as a nation, and that greater uniformity in social arrangements including those for education was a necessity if the goals of an evolving democracy were to be attained. Many functions, once generally regarded as belonging to the state, were urged upon the federal government. Resistance to the transfer has been strong and, on the whole, so far as education is concerned, successfully maintained. A federal Office of Education was created in 1868, but as yet it has not been permitted to develop into much more than an advisory agency and one for the dissemination of information. The desirable uniformity which might have been secured through more active participation on the part of the federal government has been achieved,

in a large measure, by other means — the development of a science of education which has imposed its authority upon practice, educational statesmanship of a high order, and the work of great voluntary educational associations.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE 8-4-4 SYSTEM

By 1880, the American educational system had taken form and the organization and arrangements which had evolved were not greatly modified for many years. The emergence of the eight-year elementary school and the four-year high school and the expansion of opportunities for higher education, even though the colleges responded but slowly to the public will, provided the main outline of a complete system of education. The presence of the three institutions, however, did not insure the establishment of a unified and well-graded system. In fact, as the patterns of these institutions became more firmly fixed, new problems of articulation arose.

THE GRADED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The early elementary or common school was the school for the children of the lower classes who were expected to be satisfied with the attainment of a low level of literacy and who, for the most part, aimed no higher. Such a school might serve the needs of the underprivileged in an aristocratically organized society. It could not survive the passing of the class-structured social organization. It lost purpose and function when stripped of the social setting in which it had developed.

Long before the beginning of the national period, elementary education was in the process of being taken over by the district school, an ungraded school which accepted pupils of all ages ranging from infancy to adulthood and provided them instruction in the elements of learning and, in some instances, the higher branches. The nature of this school is revealed by a statement by Henry Barnard, who wrote:

Our law does not enforce, or practically recognize, different degrees of instruction, by providing for schools and teachers of different grades. This omission, both in the law and in practice, is a radical defect, as it destroys any thing like system in the arrange-

ment and methods of each school, and affects injuriously, both the quantity and quality of the instruction actually given.

The studies pursued are spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, in all of the schools, and the rudiments of geography, history and grammar, in nearly all. Bookkeeping, natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, algebra, geometry, surveying, and other branches, are pursued to some extent.³

This school was simply organized; it was democratic; it was subject to a large measure of local control. For a widely scattered rural population, the district school did not serve too badly. In the growing towns and cities, however, conditions developed that made it next to impossible for the ungraded district school to function at all adequately. In urban communities hundreds of children were often assembled in a single building. Insistent demand was made for the extension of educational opportunities to new elements of the population, and steps were being taken to introduce new curriculum materials. Under such conditions, the ungraded district school had to give way to some new type of organization. It was late in the nineteenth century, however, before it was entirely superseded, even in our cities, by a graded system.

Judd has presented a considerable body of evidence in support of the position that the district school was replaced by a graded school patterned after the German *Volksschulen*. There can be no doubt that the men most active in promoting the grading of schools were familiar with the German, particularly the Prussian, system and had the greatest admiration for many features of it. It is unlikely that their thinking and efforts were uninfluenced by their knowledge and understanding of the German institutions and practices.

Whether the graded elementary school of eight years was a German importation or a natural evolution is an interesting and significant problem, but to understand the relation of the school to the social order, it is perhaps more important to trace the halting advance of the graded system and to examine into the conditions which made possible and seemingly desirable substitution of the eight-year graded school for the district or ungraded school of more or less indeterminate length.

³"Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut together with the Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board," *Connecticut Common School Journal*, II (June, 1840), 207.

Recognition of weaknesses of the ungraded school. In spite of foreign example and American ingenuity, the district ungraded school persisted after its defects were widely recognized and after its failure to serve adequately the needs of an increasingly democratic and industrial society had been demonstrated.

Barnard,⁴ Mann,⁵ and others protested against the practice of assembling children of "ages from four and under to sixteen and upward" of both sexes, in all studies from the "alphabet of knowledge up to the higher branches of mathematics," in a single room to be taught by a single master.⁶ In 1835, an article reprinted in the *American Annals of Education* emphatically condemned the most common feature of the district school.

Such is the arrangement, that our schools are composed of all ages and of every trait of character. In fact, no regard whatever is paid to the ages of pupils, or their intellectual development. The district schools of New England, generally, are made up of pupils of every age, from the man of twenty-five, down to the infant that can hardly lisp the name of its parents. If this is not the true state of every school, it is not because the system does not admit of such things; for it is a well established fact, that every child *may*, in most places, attend a district school *as soon and as long*, as the parents think proper.⁷

The editor in commenting upon the article restated the chief argument against the ungraded school. Said he:

Here we have a just and forcible picture of the conditions of our district schools. . . . There is such a variety of ages, studies, progress, and moral character . . . it is almost impossible to introduce those important improvements in methods of instruction, which we could wish to see.⁸

Attempts were made to remedy the more serious defects, but fundamental changes or extended improvements were not to be accomplished within the framework of the existing structure.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Second Annual Report of the Board of Education together with the Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1839*, p. 29.

⁶ "Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut," p. 207.

⁷ "Classification of Pupils in Common Schools," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, V (September, 1835), 401-03.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

Attempts to remedy the defects of the district school. Many suggestions for remedying the evils of the ungraded system were offered. Barnard declared that if these schools continued to neglect the primary branches in favor of the more advanced studies, "the variety of studies in any school, under a single teacher, should be limited by law."⁹

In many local communities, efforts were made to keep the size of the school within manageable limits. For example, in 1831, the School Committee of Gloucester, Massachusetts, ruled:

No child under seven years of age will be admitted to a district school, kept by a master, between the last of November and the last of March. *Provided however*, that children five years old may attend such school, in a district not containing sixty scholars; in which case male children shall have the preference. Whenever there are in any such school, more than sixty pupils over seven years of age, the youngest shall be dismissed, until the number be reduced to sixty.

No child under four years of age shall be admitted to a district school, kept by a mistress; nor under six years where the number of scholars exceed sixty; in which case female children shall have the preference.¹⁰

Even before the beginning of the nineteenth century, the classification of pupils of the district school was recommended. In 1799, a Code of Regulations drawn up by the president of the Association for the Improvement of Common Schools in Middlesex County, Connecticut, stated: "Scholars equal in knowledge ought to be classed. Those whose progress merits advancement, should rise to a higher class, and those who decline by negligence should be degraded every month."¹¹

Other sections of the regulations indicate that their author had in mind only two or three classes, each to be divided into sections. The recommended plan provided for much less grading and classification than was common in the Latin Grammar school, but the application of the plan to the district school was probably not too common. By

⁹ "Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut," p. 207.

¹⁰ "Regulations of the School Committee of Gloucester, Mass.," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, III (June 1, 1832), 289.

¹¹ "Forty Years Ago," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, VII (January, 1837), 17-20.

1831, however, when Northborough drew up a set of regulations providing for the organization of classes within the district school, the provision that each school should be divided into four classes and, if the teacher found it expedient, these should be divided into sections, did not provoke comment from the editor of the *Annals* in which the regulations were published. If the practice was not common, neither was it unique.¹²

Achievement of a measure of grading through the introduction of new units. The early attempts to group children with respect to age and intellectual attainment gave rise to much confusion. In the cities particularly the splintering of the district school resulted in the establishment of departments and schools designated by a bewildering variety of titles. Below the rapidly multiplying high schools, several units, each covering only a few years of the elementary-school period, were established. In cities in which high schools were not found, the upper units provided instruction in secondary subjects much as had been provided by the district ungraded schools. Many of the departments and schools organized to replace the district schools persisted to the close of the nineteenth century. In the late sixties, Barnard outlined the practices in a large number of cities. His findings with respect to a few of them may be summarized as follows:

In Columbus, Ohio, the schools were graded into primary, secondary, and intermediate schools each two years in length; grammar schools including three grades; and a high school of four years.¹³ In Dayton, there were district (ungraded) schools, a four-year high school, and other schools or classes designated as "senior, junior, first and second intermediate, first and second secondary, and first, second, and third primary."¹⁴ Primary, intermediate, and high schools, each four years in length were listed for Indianapolis.¹⁵ In Madison, Wisconsin, the schools were classified as primary, intermediate, grammar, senior-grammar, and high, each school with a two-year program with each year divided into three terms.¹⁶ In Kingston, New York, the terms primary, junior, and senior were

¹² "Regulations for the Free Schools of the Town of Northborough (Mass.), adopted November 4, 1831," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, II (July 1, 1832), 384-86.

¹³ "Public Schools in the District of Columbia," Special Report of the Commissioner of Education, pp. 13-144. Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, III (entire series, XIX), 1870, 89-90.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

used to designate the three departments of the elementary division. The high-school period was called the "academic."¹⁷ In Oswego, New York, the schools were divided into four distinct grades, "primary, junior, senior, and high, each covering a period of three years."¹⁸ The course of study in the primary and intermediate schools of Providence was "arranged for five years — two years and a half in each." The full course in the high school was four years in length, except in the classical department in which pupils remained only three years.¹⁹ The public schools of San Francisco were "known as ungraded, primary, grammar, and high schools."²⁰

The situation found in Troy, Wheeling, Wilmington, St. Paul, Syracuse, Terre Haute, St. Louis, Rochester, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Louisville, Detroit, Erie, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and many other cities is further evidence of the confusion which existed with respect to the organization of the school system, the names by which departments or schools were known, and the time allotted to the various units.

Although the situation appeared to be almost chaotic, order was developing. High schools in different communities were accepting children of about the same age and preparation, and the total period of elementary schooling tended to approximate eight years. A statement made in 1874 by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Chicago is evidence that the confusion was being resolved and indicates one motive for the attempt to achieve greater uniformity.

While in the matter of General Statistics we are able to compare our work with that of other cities, having a gradation somewhat similar to our own, it is found impossible to compare in detail, for the reason that our systems of gradation are as various as the cities themselves. At a meeting of City Superintendents held in Cleveland last Fall, it was determined to attempt a more uniform gradation, that we might better understand each other. It was ascertained that the requisites for admission to the High School were the same in the cities of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit and Cleveland; that the age for admission to the public schools was very nearly the same, and that the average age of those admitted to the High School varied but very little. It was also ascertained that the average time spent by pupils in the lower schools, from the lowest primary grade to the High School, is just about eight years. A divi-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

sion of our work into eight parts, each part representing one year in time, would therefore furnish a fair basis for detailed comparison. Whenever the time comes for a revision of our Course of Study, I would recommend such a change as will assign to each grade the work of one school year, and we shall thus reduce our own grades from ten to eight.²¹

By 1880, the primary, intermediate, grammar, and other schools which in cities had superseded the ungraded elementary school were being rapidly reorganized into graded schools of seven, eight, or nine years. The eight-year course was preferred in the Northern and Western sections of the country. In the South, a seven-year course was becoming popular and, in parts of New England, the preference was for the nine-year school. The schools of the different sections, however, were following somewhat the same pattern in their development. Separate schools of different levels were becoming departments and departments were losing their identities to become grades, leaving the terms by which they had been designated to indicate roughly the level of elementary education with which the original unit had been concerned.²² Curricula were taking on a semblance of uniformity; the period of elementary education was becoming fairly well defined; and instruction in secondary subjects had been almost entirely moved out of those grammar schools in which it had been provided. Within these more or less uniform elementary schools, a high degree of articulation had been achieved.

A better-trained teaching staff, improved facilities, more satisfactory textbooks, longer terms, added years of schooling, improved attendance, and an integrated program greatly increased the possibilities of the elementary school. More and more children were being brought into it and were receiving a richer education than had been available at any earlier time. The expansion of the elementary school and the enrichment of its program resulted in greater numbers seeking the added opportunities which the high schools offered. Without the popularization and enrichment of elementary education, the remarkable development of the high school beginning a decade or two before the close of the nineteenth century could not have occurred.

²¹ *Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Education*, for the year ending June 20, 1874, p. 36. Chicago, 1874.

²² Frank Forest Bunker, *The Junior High School Movement — Its Beginnings*, p. 120. Washington: W. F. Roberts Co., 1935.

THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL

The high school, as earlier indicated, was not created to provide the middle rungs of an educational ladder whereby one could mount from the lowest grade of the elementary school to the most advanced courses of the university, but more as a people's college — an extension of the elementary school. Except for the continued rise of the common man it might well have retained its terminal character. The organic connection between the elementary and high schools would have insured, no doubt, the development of a well-articulated total program had the function of the latter remained that of completing the education of elementary-school graduates. Public demand, however, was making the high school a connecting link in a complete system of education.

As early as 1874, Judge Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan succinctly stated the philosophy underlying the state's interest in secondary education. In a decision rendered on an action brought by a citizen seeking to prevent the school board from using public money to support education, secondary in character, Judge Cooley argued well the case for the public high school as a preparatory as well as a terminal institution.

The instrument [the state constitution] submitted by the convention to the people and adopted by them provided for the establishment of free schools in every school district for at least three months in each year, and for the university. By the aid of these we have every reason to believe the people expected a complete collegiate education might be obtained. . . . The inference seems irresistible that the people expected the tendency towards the establishment of high schools in the primary-school districts would continue until every locality capable of supporting one was supplied. And this inference is strengthened by the fact that a considerable number of our union schools date their establishment from the year 1850 and the two or three years following. . . .

If these facts do not demonstrate clearly and conclusively a general state policy, beginning in 1817 and continuing until after the adoption of the present constitution, in the direction of free schools in which education, and at their option the elements of classical education, might be brought within the reach of all the children of the state, then, as it seems to us, nothing can demonstrate it. We might follow the subject further and show that the subsequent legislation has all concurred with this policy, but it would be a waste

of time and labor. We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, or in our laws, do we find the primary-school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose.²³

The situation in Michigan from which Judge Cooley argued was not typical throughout the other states of the nation and it is not correct to state that the right of the high school to a place in the system of public education went henceforth unchallenged or that there was general agreement that the high school should lead to the university. It became clear during the years which followed, however, that the high school was fast becoming a favored institution and a symbol of an evolving democracy — a society which thought to make the conditions of the unfavored bearable and to minimize the social consequences of the existence of such conditions by keeping open a way by which the worthy might rise to a position among the favored. The belief of Horace Mann and others of his generation in education as a means of elevating the individual and of curing social ills was becoming the faith of the people.

By 1880, the high school existed, not only to give the older and more advanced children of the community a course of instruction appropriate to their age and needs, but was becoming, particularly in the West, the most important institution preparing for the university. The high school had taken over the preparatory function without extending its period, generally four years, and, although the college continued as formerly to provide in its program work which was preparatory in character, it soon became apparent that the high school could not successfully provide a satisfactory preparation for college in the years allotted to it.²⁴ In the meantime, the more firmly established elementary school resisted changes in its curriculum or organization in the direction of introducing secondary work before the completion of the eighth grade.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COLLEGE PROGRAM

The college, during the half-century preceding 1880, was not entirely unaffected by the increasing public demand that satisfactory

²³ *Stuart v. School District No. 1 of the Village of Kalamazoo*, 30 Mich. 69.

²⁴ Leonard V. Koos, *The American Secondary School*, p. 45. Boston. Ginn & Co., 1927.

means be found whereby the American ideal of giving every boy and girl a chance to rise to the top might be realized. However, the college was more successful in resisting change than either the elementary or high school, both of which stood in a more direct relationship to the general public.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, and, in fact until much later, the general practice was for the college to prescribe an almost uniform program for all students. Justification for this practice was found in the theory of mental discipline and the conviction that the prescribed course contained only the content which was essential to a thorough education.²⁵

Articulation between the program of the secondary school and the college was imperfect to the extent that admission to the college or the courses offered by it presupposed a preparation not provided in the lower school. Before the popularization of secondary education the problem was not a serious one. Then, most Latin school students, in the main a rather select group, found themselves at the completion of their course in a position to go on to higher studies. After the program had been broadened to include many subjects not related to the college curriculum, pupils who in increasing numbers selected the more "practical" subjects were unable to proceed to college without further preparation. For these young people the secondary school did not constitute the connecting link in a program of complete education.

Colleges could not entirely ignore the demands of a developing industrial society for subjects more valuable for making a living nor the insistence of a growing democracy that all types of students be accepted. Attempts to provide for the needs of more youth by adding content to the prescribed course largely failed to accomplish the end sought and resulted in greater superficiality. The first fundamental change in the organization of the college curriculum in response to the growing demands of the young democracy was the introduction of the elective system. The idea had been put into practice to a limited degree before the middle of the century but was not generally adopted until Eliot became president of Harvard in 1869.²⁶ He moved rapidly to extend the elec-

²⁵ R. Freeman Butts, *The College Charts Its Course: Historical Conceptions and Current Proposals*, pp. 116-28. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939.

²⁶ Butts, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-97.

tive system. Seniors were freed from prescriptions in 1872; only themes were prescribed for juniors after 1879; and after 1882, sophomores were freed from all prescribed work except rhetoric and themes. After 1894 the only prescribed course in the university, for students who had proved themselves proficient on admission in both French and German, was a three-hour course in first-year English. However, Harvard was more liberal than most colleges and less fearful concerning the integrity of its degree. Furthermore, the phenomenal expansion of Harvard's staff made the introduction of a wide range of electives possible. Not all colleges could have followed Harvard's lead had they been disposed to do so. Also, many were not unmindful of the defects of the elective system.²⁷

Although colleges generally did not accept, to any considerable extent, the elective principle until late in the nineteenth century, greater freedom of choice was provided earlier by the introduction of professional and scientific courses paralleling the liberal-arts course and leading to new degrees such as the bachelor of law, the bachelor of philosophy, and the bachelor of science. Each parallel course was largely prescribed, but the student was permitted to choose one of the two, three, or more courses offered.

The organization of these parallel courses within the framework of the traditional college was only one response to the demand for a more utilitarian education. New institutions approximating college grade and generally authorized to grant some kind of a degree sprang up. Among the better technical and scientific schools of this class are Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (1824), Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute (1854), Cooper Union (1859), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1860), Worcester Polytechnic Institute (1865), Rose Polytechnic Institute (1874), and the Case School of Applied Science (1881). Scientific schools were also established in connection with the traditional colleges as, for example, the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard (1842), the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale (1847), and the Chandler School of Science and Arts at Dartmouth (1851).

As a general rule Latin and Greek were not required for admission to the new courses or to the technical and scientific schools. Thus were the doors of educational opportunity opened to a greater number and, to a certain extent, a different type of youth. A number

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-115.

of high-school courses — English, scientific, and others — as well as the classical now prepared students for the advanced work of the college or other school of collegiate grade.

By 1880, the way had been opened from the first grade through the college for children of different educational backgrounds and aspiring to widely varying educational and vocational ends. Much, however, remained to be done. Many areas within the United States were still almost untouched by the main currents of reform. The quality and level of instruction varied from section to section and from school to school. Standards for college work were as poorly established as were those for the high school. Improvement in the co-ordination of the educational program required standardization of the work, particularly at the secondary and higher levels.

DEVELOPMENT OF INSPECTION AND STANDARDS

As the number of children completing high school mounted and more and more of them sought to continue their education, requirements for admission to college became the prime determiners of what the high school should teach. The failure of the college curriculum to keep pace with the more rapidly expanding high-school programs of study added to the difficulty of articulating the work of the two levels. In the absence of means for resolving their differences, the colleges criticized the offerings of the high schools and the quality of their product and the high schools resented the restrictions placed upon them by the varying requirements of the many colleges. With the exception of Stanford, established in 1891, and perhaps a few institutions of lesser note, admission requirements were generally inflexible until after the beginning of the twentieth century. Through examinations for admission the college dictated to a considerable degree the curriculum of the high school and also imposed, in no small measure, the methods of instruction employed in it.

BEGINNING OF STATE AND UNIVERSITY ACCREDITING OF HIGH SCHOOLS

Under President Angell, the University of Michigan in 1871 initiated a program of accrediting high schools. Graduates of the approved schools were permitted, on the recommendation of the principal, to enter the university without examination. Schools

were admitted to the accredited list after a committee of the faculty found them satisfactory with respect to organization, teaching staff, equipment, and quality of instruction.

In Indiana, a system of accrediting was established in 1873 with the State Board of Education instead of the University serving as the examining and accrediting agency. In the states of the Middle West and West, the lead of Indiana and Michigan was generally followed.²⁸

As Kandel states, accrediting of the high schools "removed some of the barriers between the high school and the college" and, at least to a limited extent, relieved the high schools of a measure of the domination exercised over them. Accrediting was successful also in standardizing the work of the high schools but only, of course, within the separate states. Admission requirements and bases for accrediting differed from state to state and high schools, in their programs, reflected these differences.

ORGANIZATION OF STANDARDIZING ASSOCIATIONS

As early as 1879, steps were taken in New England toward developing standards with more than state-wide application. The New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory (beginning with 1914, Secondary) Schools was established in 1885. A year later there grew out of this organization the Commission of Colleges in New England on Entrance Examinations. In 1902 there was established the New England College Entrance Certificate Board charged with the task of drawing up a list of schools, the graduates of which might be admitted to co-operating colleges without examination. The Board did not inspect high schools, but approved them on the basis of the college records of their graduates.²⁹

Out of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, established in 1892, there grew, near the beginning of the century, the College Entrance Examination Board which soon became independent of the parent organization and extended its scope throughout the United States and even to foreign countries.

Regional associations. In the Middle West, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was established in

²⁸ Koos, *The American Secondary School*, p. 36.

²⁹ Kandel, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

1894 on a somewhat broader base than concern over admission requirements. It was not indifferent to this consideration, but placed greater emphasis upon the development of closer relations between the college and the secondary school. It fixed the requirements for admission and through its Commission on Accredited Schools, organized in 1901, defined the standards for approved programs of secondary education. It published a list of accredited schools in 1904. In the South, the Association of Colleges and Preparatory (changed in 1912 to Secondary) Schools was established in 1895, and in the Far West, the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools was organized in 1918.³⁰

Regional associations, on the whole, have played an important part in defining the program and developing the organization of secondary schools. Individually, they have contributed to the improvement of standards with respect to such matters as the quality of instruction, the length of the school year, the length of the class period, class size, pupil load, preparation of teachers, size of staff, salaries, and physical facilities. On some issues such as the function of the secondary school and the content of secondary education they were not in complete agreement. Only in limited fields did it appear that there was the prospect of co-operation among them.

Since the influence of regional associations and state departments was largely confined within geographical boundaries and since the federal government exercised no direct control over education, the definition of education at the various levels and the development of standards with nation-wide acceptance was left to another agency. The task was assumed by the National Education Association.

STANDARDIZING INFLUENCES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

As a step toward resolving the confusion which extended to all levels of education, chiefly the secondary, the National Education Association appointed, in 1891, the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies.³¹ The significance of the work of this committee for the standardization of the curriculum has been discussed in a preceding chapter. It clearly recognized the training-for-life function of the high school, but no differentiation of work in terms of the aims of

³⁰ Kandel, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-70.

³¹ *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies. With Reports of the Conferences Arranged by the Committee.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893.

preparatory and non-preparatory students was recommended. They stressed the importance of continuing the study of selected subjects over a considerable period. So far as the organization of the school system was concerned, however, the most important recommendation of the committee was that such subjects as natural science, algebra, geometry, and foreign languages should be introduced earlier or, as an alternative, that the high-school period be lengthened to six years by adding to it the last two years of the elementary-school period.

Further definition of the high-school program and improvement of the articulation of the work of the secondary school and the college was the special task of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements, appointed in 1895 by the National Education Association. Its final report, presented in 1899, recommended the adoption of a six-year high-school course, higher standards for secondary schools, and the recognition by the college of a wide range of electives offered by the high schools. Although the principle of election was recognized, the committee urged that a large part of the high-school program be made up of a common core of courses.³²

The committee's presentation of an over-all course of study from which curricula and programs might be fashioned, the importance that it attached to requiring a goodly number of constants, and its workable definition of a unit of work went far to establish a measure of uniformity on a national scale. The hope of the committee that requirements would be stated in terms of national units and that secondary schools would build their programs out of the recommended courses of study was, within a few years, to be realized.

The *Report*, although somewhat conservative, contributed to the establishment of more harmonious relations between the high school and college. Together with the *Report of the Committee of Ten*, it fixed, perhaps too firmly, the character of secondary education. The weight of these pronouncements was so great that they became real obstacles to further adjustment. Although the conclusions of these committees served a splendid purpose in the contemporary scene they were an inadequate guide for the development of future high-school programs as new social and economic arrangements displaced the old.

³² "Report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Education Association*, pp. 656-68.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE 8-4-4 SYSTEM

By 1890, efforts to weld the three units of the educational system into a single whole were partially successful, but it was becoming clear that the widely accepted 8-4-4 plan of organization was an obstacle to the improvement of articulation and to fundamental revision of the curriculum. It had become, in short, an important factor in the failure of the school to discharge the added obligations which social change was placing upon it.

It is true that no unbridgeable chasms cut the educational highway, but there were obstructions which slowed the progress of all and proved impassable barriers to many. Articulation, particularly within the lower school, had been greatly improved, but defective co-ordination of the elementary and secondary programs and of the work of the high school and college continued to be especially important causes of the inefficiency and waste which characterized the educational system. It is also true that the curriculum had been expanded and was in the process of being revised. The 8-4-4 system of organization, however, was a hindrance to the early introduction of differentiated courses and placed very definite limitations upon curriculum revision, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels.

The social conditions in which the accepted system had evolved had changed. Rapid industrialization, particularly after 1890, led to increased wealth and the concentration of population. Increased utilization of machinery lessened the need for child labor. With the chances of youth to find employment greatly reduced, the realization of the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity became more possible. As already indicated, high-school enrollments expanded so enormously that children continuing beyond the lower grades became more heterogeneous with respect to academic ability, educational aims, and cultural background. Less marked but similar trends were found in the enrollments of higher institutions and in the composition of their student bodies. Even the character of the elementary-school population was changing. More children were attending school for longer periods and the increasing number, denied first-hand contact with the educational activities of farm, shop, and a self-contained home life, was creating the need for a modified elementary program.

The schools were slow to change. The results of the failure to adjust to changing social conditions or to make full use of the developing educational science were noted with growing concern. It was pointed out that too many children left school on or before the completion of the elementary program; that many failed to make normal progress; and that many were denied the opportunity to develop their special abilities or to realize fully their potentialities for growth. These considerations led to demands that the entire system be re-examined and reorganized in the light of emerging concepts of democracy and in harmony with the new knowledge concerning the nature and methods of the learning process, human variability, and the social, mental, and physical development of the child. Following these insistent demands for reform, efforts were made to provide enriched and differentiated curricula, to improve instruction, to eliminate failures, and to make provision for individual differences by introducing greater flexibility into the promotion procedures, by sectioning classes on the basis of mental ability, by providing for coaching classes and remedial work, and by other means. In the years since, a few of the many programs growing out of these efforts that have attracted attention for a greater or lesser time have been the Gary (platoon, or work-study-play) plan; the Winnetka plan of individual instruction; the Pueblo plan; the co-operative group plan; the New Cambridge plan of parallel elementary-school courses; the child-centered school; and the Baltimore differentiated-course plan.

As admirable as most of these innovations were, their contributions, as a rule, would have been much less important had there not been under way a supporting movement toward the redistribution of the time allotted to elementary and secondary education. This movement, as already indicated, was not new. During the nineties it was repeatedly argued that waste of time in the elementary school and the lack of adequate time in the high school were largely responsible for the inferiority of the secondary-school product. Attention was called to the fact that although the elementary-school program had been expanded over the years, the concept of the eight-year school as a terminal institution had not been fundamentally altered. The schools had added subjects which had little relation to the interests or needs of the children. To fill in time, teachers had resorted to reviewing in the seventh and eighth grades the work of earlier years. Little had been accomplished in the way of introducing secondary

subjects before the ninth grade. This delay had resulted in the misuse of time, harmful both to those who went on to high school and to those who did not. It was urged, therefore, that the elementary-school curriculum be purged of irrelevant materials and enriched with vital content — largely in the natural sciences, mathematics, and foreign languages — or that it be shortened to permit the extension of the secondary school to include the years that should be devoted primarily to secondary work.

THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

More than twenty years after the first urgings of Eliot and after continued recommendations of the Committee of Ten (1895), the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1899), the Committee of Five (1907, 1908, 1909), and other committees of the National Education Association, several cities, which became aware of the seriousness of the general indictment of the 8-4-4 arrangement began to reorganize their educational systems.³³

At first there was no clear idea as to the scope of instruction nor the grades which should be included in the units of the reorganized system. In some cities, the units of the system continued to embrace the same grades as formerly with the non-essential content and reviews of the elementary school replaced by secondary courses in the seventh and eighth grades. In other cities, attempts to redistribute the time allotted to elementary and secondary education resulted in a variety of plans of organization such as the 6-6, 7-5, 7-4, 6-2-4, and 6-3-3 plans. In general the trend was toward an equal distribution of time between the two levels and the most common arrangement of reorganized systems came to be a six-year elementary school, a high school reduced to the three highest grades, and an intermediate school — the junior high school — made up of the seventh and eighth grades of the traditional elementary school and the ninth grade of the four-year high school.³⁴

It is perhaps impossible to date the origin of the junior high school. Richmond, Indiana, organized its schools on the 6-2-4 basis as early as 1896 and in the decade which followed several variations

³³ Francis T. Spaulding, O. L. Frederick, and Leonard V. Koos, *The Reorganization of Secondary Education*, pp. 27-28. National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph 5. United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1932. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29, 38-44.

appeared in other cities. The schools of Columbus, Ohio, were reorganized in 1908. Superintendent Bunker reorganized the program of the Berkeley schools in 1910 and established a 6-3-3 system, the middle unit of which is referred to by some writers as the first junior high school.³⁵ Grand Rapids, Michigan, Los Angeles, and several other progressive centers made similar changes shortly thereafter.

Although opposed by strong forces, the movement for reorganization gained rapidly after 1910. By 1917, 272 towns claimed to have junior high schools. By 1922, approximately 11 per cent of all public high schools reporting to the United States Bureau of Education were classified as reorganized schools—junior high, junior-senior and undivided, and senior high schools. Corresponding percentages for 1930 and 1938 were 26 and 39. In 1937-38, these reorganized schools enrolled 56.6 per cent of all high-school pupils (seventh and eighth grades of reorganized schools included)³⁶ or about one third of all pupils enrolled in grades 7 to 12.

Table 61 gives some indication of the growth of the movement for reorganization. It cannot reveal the influence that reorganized

TABLE 61. NUMBER OF TYPES OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS BY
FOUR-YEAR PERIODS, 1922-1938*

Type	Year				
	1922	1926	1930	1934	1938
Junior high	387	1109	1842	1948	2372
Senior high	91	414	648	755	959
Junior-senior and undivided ..	1088	2003	3287	3936	6203
Regular	12490	14184	16460	16574	15056
Total reporting	14056	17710	22237	23213	24590

* Adapted from the United States Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education, 1920-22, 1924-26, 1928-30, 1932-34, and 1936-38*.

schools have had upon the programs and policies of schools which, though changed in many ways, continue to cling to the traditional units of eight and four years.

On the whole, reorganization has contributed fundamentally to

³⁵ Bunker, *op. cit.*

³⁶ "Statistical Summary of Education, 1937-38," p. 21. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1936-1938*, United States Office of Education Bulletin, 1940, No. 2, chap. 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

the improvement of the educational program and to the democratization of education. In 1870, two out of three high-school graduates went on to complete college; in 1938, only one high-school graduate in seven continued through college.³⁷ Greater numbers of children not destined for college are receiving whatever benefits derive from secondary education.³⁸ The contributions of the junior high school have been great. It has led to increased retention of pupils and has attempted, with marked success, to serve each pupil as fully as possible, regardless of ability or educational aims — a responsibility of the school clearly recognized in the reports of several committees of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (appointed in 1913) and in the many reports of other influential committees and commissions of more recent times.³⁹ Although reorganization, particularly at the intermediate or junior-high-school level, has resulted in greater democratization of secondary education, the high school remains too selective. Further improvement of the educational program and the extension of the 6-3-3-2, or perhaps even better the 6-4-4, plan of organization to all communities would, no doubt, increase secondary-school enrollments. At present, however, it is not the aim, organization, or program of the secondary school but rather the economic and social status of the family which places the most severe limits upon high-school enrollment.

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE

Long before there was any considerable agitation for the downward extension of the secondary school, suggestions were made that it be extended upward by transferring to the high school that part of the work of the college which was secondary in character. The advisability of such a transfer was suggested by President Henry P. Tappan of the University of Michigan in 1852.⁴⁰ In 1869, President W. W. Folwell, of the University of Minnesota, spoke in favor of transferring the first two years of college work to the high schools.⁴¹ Others expressed an interest in "lopping off the bottom" in order

³⁷ "Statistical Summary of Education, 1937-38," p. 13.

³⁸ Spaulding, Frederick, and Koos, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

³⁹ See Koos, *American Secondary School*.

⁴⁰ Walter Crosby Eells (Editor), *American Junior Colleges*, p. 11. Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

⁴¹ William Watts Folwell, *University Addresses*, pp. 37-38. Minneapolis: The N. W. Wilson Co., 1909.

to promote "growth at the top" but these early pronouncements seem to have had no permanent effect.

Near the end of the century, President Harper sponsored the reorganization of the college of the University of Chicago into two units, the lower one embracing the freshman and sophomore years. This unit, first christened "academic college," was later renamed junior college. Harper enthusiastically urged the establishment of such colleges, not only in connection with universities, but also as institutions organically independent of them.

The arguments advanced by Harper for the organization of the junior college as a unit of the American educational system were many. It was argued that many students whose best interests would be served by leaving college at the end of the two-year program would do so; that many would undertake the shorter course who could not afford the longer one; that many persons who enrolled for the two-year course would remain to complete the longer one; that high schools and academies would be improved through the acceptance and discharge of the added function; that the possibility of remaining at home during the first two years of college would lead to greatly increased enrollments for these years; and that many colleges poor in resources could become good junior colleges.⁴²

Many educational leaders, notably David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford University, and Professor A. F. Lange, of the University of California, convinced that the first half of the college program was concerned with secondary rather than higher education, vigorously urged the junior-college idea. Several junior colleges, all privately controlled, were established before 1900. The first public junior college to survive was organized, fittingly enough, through the influence of Harper, in Joliet, Illinois, in 1902.

In their development, junior colleges have been organized in several ways. The first two years of four-year colleges have been made into distinct units; the high-school program has been extended upward to include two years of college work; and two-year schools of collegiate rank have been established independent of either traditional colleges or high schools. Some colleges have been reduced while some high schools have been raised to the status of junior

⁴² *The Report of the President of the University of Chicago, July 1898-July 1899*, pp. xx-xxi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900.

colleges. Some have been organized as affiliates of universities; some have been organized without such connections.

Before 1910, development was slow. Conditions obtaining in California, Missouri, and Texas led to more rapid growth in those states. By 1920, the movement had gained considerable momentum. The following table adapted from Eells's presentation summarizes the growth of the junior college during the last quarter-century.

Of the 74 junior colleges listed by Eells for 1915, 55 were private and 19, or 26 per cent, were public institutions.⁴³ In 1939, 258 junior colleges in 32 states and the Canal Zone, with an enrollment of approximately 140,000, were publicly controlled; 317 in 42 states and the District of Columbia, with an enrollment of some 56,000, were privately controlled.⁴⁴ In 1945, 261, or 45 per cent, of the 584 junior colleges listed were under public control.⁴⁵

TABLE 62. INCREASE IN ENROLLMENT AND NUMBER OF JUNIOR COLLEGES, 1915-1945*

Year	Number of Junior Colleges	Enrollment
1915	74	2363
1922	207	16031
1927	325	35630
1932	469	97631
1937	528	129106
1940	575	196710
1945	584	249788

* For 1915-1940: Eells, *American Junior Colleges*, p. 18; for 1945: Eells, "Junior College Directory, 1945," pp. 17-39.

Legislation permitting junior-college organization was passed by California in 1907. At present, laws authorizing the establishment of publicly controlled junior colleges are found in more than half the states. They exist without express legal authority in other states. In 1945, only four states had no junior colleges, public or private.⁴⁶

⁴³ *American Junior Colleges*, p. 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁵ "Junior College Directory, 1945" (compiled by Walter Crosby Eells), *Junior College Journal*, XV (January, 1945), 17-39.

⁴⁶ For a full discussion of legal and regulatory provisions affecting secondary education in the several states as of 1933, see Ward W. Kocsecker, *Legal and Regulatory Provisions Affecting Secondary Education*, National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph 9. United States Office of Education Bulletin 17, 1932. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933.

Probably the most significant recent development in American education at the junior-college level is the organization of the "General College" at the University of Minnesota — a college paralleling the first two years of the regular college. This new establishment is designed for persons with capacities, interests, and vocational aims quite different from those of students enrolled in the freshman and sophomore classes of the University of Minnesota College of Science, Literature, and the Arts.⁴⁷ The "General College" has grown out of the conviction of a state that its welfare depends upon the development of social, political, and economic intelligence in all its citizens; that the educational responsibility of the state extends to persons not included among the intellectual elite. This college is not necessarily a terminal institution for those students who can profit from further work in the regular college and university. Regardless of the future of this particular venture, the "General College" must be considered a significant effort in the direction of the further democratization of education.

Opposition to the junior college, at times, has been strong. This opposition has stemmed from many sources. The junior-college movement has been fought by those groups which have historically opposed the extension and popularization of public education. It has been opposed also by those who feared that the breakup of the traditional four-year college would mark the end of opportunity for the splendid experiences that this institution has provided. Although many universities have supported the movement, many others have opposed it on the ground of low scholarship or incompetent faculties. As already noted, some higher institutions welcomed relief from the heavy load of first- and second-year students but many others have opposed junior colleges because they threatened to reduce the enrollments of the established four-year institutions.

In spite of opposition and difficulties attending the establishment of new enterprises, the junior colleges have performed their accepted functions with a measure of success. Their greatest accomplishment has been the extension of education to many persons who otherwise would have lacked the opportunities which this institution afforded.

⁴⁷ Ivol Spafford and others, *Building a Curriculum for General Education*, pp. 1-9. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c. 1943.

THE COLLEGE IN THE 6-4-4 PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

As the reorganization of education continues, more effective institutional arrangements may lead to the elimination of the present junior college. For many years a number of leading educators and policy-forming agencies have pointed to the superiority of the 6-4-4 over the more common 6-3-3-2 plan of organization. The first-mentioned plan provides for the division of secondary education into two equal units, one a four-year high school embracing grades seven through ten and the other a "college" of equal length, made up of grades eleven through fourteen.⁴⁸

Koos names George A. Merrill, a leader in vocational education in California, as the first person on record to advocate the 6-4-4 plan (1908).⁴⁹ It has not been without champions since Merrill's time. In 1915, long before the organization of a single system on the 6-4-4 basis, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools clearly and concisely recommended this arrangement.⁵⁰ As early as 1923, Koos questioned the practicability of a three-unit system which, he argued, introduces unnecessary problems of administration and articulation. Concerning the reorganization of secondary education, Koos wrote four years later:

A much less unwieldy procedure seems to be the division of the full eight year secondary-school period into two units of four years each, and their administration after a manner similar to that being followed with respect to our present-day junior and senior high schools.⁵¹

Probably the first system to reorganize on the 6-4-4 plan and to continue this scheme of organization to the present is Pasadena, California, which completed the reorganization of its schools in 1928.⁵² The movement toward the 6-4-4 plan was not rapid during the depression years, but even so Koos found that before the advent of the second World War ten widely scattered systems had adopted the plan.⁵³ These systems were not entirely alike, and those to be

⁴⁸ Spaulding, Frederick, and Koos, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-415.

⁴⁹ From the manuscript of a report of an investigation by Leonard V. Koos. The report, to be published by Ginn and Company, was ready for publication at the time this section was written.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools*, pp. 28-29. Published by the Association, 1915.

⁵¹ Leonard V. Koos, *The American Secondary School*, p. 244. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

⁵² Koos, manuscript, *op. cit.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

established in the future may differ from each other even more. Among the advocates of the 6-4-4 plan there is disagreement with respect to the function of the upper unit. Some persons would restrict the college to a program of general education so defined as to omit from the curriculum any course which might have any specific bearing on the problem of making a living. Others would provide, in the new colleges, courses frankly vocational and pre-vocational as well as purely academic ones; and there are those who would organize two-year or longer terminal courses within the college.⁵⁴

Reorganization at the University of Chicago. The reorganization of the "College" of the University of Chicago, to include the last two years of the four-year high-school program and the first two years of the traditional college course, is perhaps the most ambitious and widely publicized of all efforts to effect a thorough reorganization of the program for the final years of general education. The influence which the Chicago Plan will exert upon the movement toward reorganization throughout the nation may be limited. The "College" is the upper unit of a reorganized 6-4-4 system embracing the elementary and secondary schools, but there may be difficulty in maintaining its close orientation with the lower units. It is also likely that it will continue to receive a majority of its students at the beginning of the third year (grade XIII) rather than at the beginning of the first. Furthermore, it is a private institution admitting highly selected students. In spite of these limitations, however, experience gained through the development of the Chicago program should be valuable to those who are seeking more effective arrangements for providing education of pre-university level.

Arguments advanced for the 6-4-4 plan. From a recent investigation of the four-year college as the upper unit of the 6-4-4 organization, Koos concluded that this plan of organization is superior for the following reasons:

The evidence shows that, even in this early stage of the movement, it [the 6-4-4 plan] encourages continuity (or vertical integration) of the curriculum, stabilizes by achieving a longer program, facilitates continuous guidance, favors financial economy, econo-

⁵⁴ *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*, pp. 13-15. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1938. This publication refers to the units of the 6-4-4 as the elementary school, the lower secondary, and the upper secondary.

mizes through co-operative use of facilities, encourages enrichment of the curriculum, improves retention of pupils, joins two levels of education belonging together, strengthens the program of student activities, facilitates effective use of the staff, raises standards of work in Grades XI-XII, accords with socio-economic trends, and achieves an improved junior high school.⁵⁵

In summary, the case for the organization embracing the six-year elementary school, the four-year high school, and the four-year college rests upon the arguments that it increases the effectiveness of the instructional program; that it is more economical than the more common plans; and that it promotes democratization of education, particularly at the upper levels. In short, it is said that by means of this plan, "our educational system will be more effectively geared to the needs of our society."⁵⁶

REORGANIZATION AT THE LEVEL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The efforts of colleges and universities to define general education and to provide programs at the junior-college level constitute only one evidence of their concern for the improvement of education — particularly at the higher secondary and university levels. Internal ferment within higher education as exemplified in new developments at Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, St. Johns, Rollins, Columbia, Princeton, Harvard, and other colleges and universities indicates dissatisfaction with the more or less traditional programs of higher education and suggests that far-reaching changes are imminent. Some of these efforts, aimed at the improvement of methods of selecting students, the organization of programs for orienting freshmen, and the improvement of teaching, do not necessarily involve modifications in structural organization. On the other hand, attempts at better integration of the curriculum or at improved provisions for especially gifted students have led to organizational change.

Probably the most striking departure above the level of the junior college is the concentration of the curriculum into a few divisions, reducing somewhat the affliction of departmentalism and better integrating the work of the various departments. For example, the University of Chicago plan, now attracting wide attention, provides a program of work above the traditional junior-college level divided administratively into four divisions. Students completing the "col-

⁵⁵ Koos, manuscript, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Koos, manuscript, *op. cit.*

lege" are awarded the bachelor's degree and those who desire and are qualified to pursue advanced work enter one of the four divisions — social sciences, physical sciences, biological sciences, and humanities — or one of the professional schools.

Higher education has been the most reluctant of the three levels to change its purposes, modify its content and methods, and alter its structural organization. It is apparent, however, that the needs of modern civilization require that scientific knowledge and social understandings be not only more fully developed but also more widely diffused. The university and the college can, if they do not become less fluid with respect to function and organization, assert and maintain a bold leadership in the task of solving the problems faced by the American people in a new and uncharted age.

Structure and function in human institutions are always closely related. Such has been the case with respect to school, college, and university in the United States. As the purpose of education has moved in the direction of a cultural democracy and as attempts have been made to frame programs to meet the changing and varied needs of the people, the structural organization of education has been repeatedly modified in the hope that each unit in the system would perform its own peculiar function more adequately and that a closer articulation and co-ordination of the total program would be achieved.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 19

1. The structure of any institution is always affected by the functions it performs. Show how the changing functions of school and college in this country have affected the structural organization of the educational system.
2. How did the adoption of the graded system affect the curriculum?
3. Account for the rise of the junior high school. The junior college.
4. Indicate the causes for the expansion of the American secondary school downward to include the seventh and eighth grades and upward to include the junior college.
5. Indicate the major objectives you would advocate for the junior-college program.
6. How does the rise of the public junior college affect the problem of school-district reorganization?

7. Do you favor free, public, junior colleges?
8. Indicate the type of structural organization of American education you approve. Defend your position.
9. Do you think that general education should end with the completion of the work of the junior college?

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Chapter 20 ~ Charting the Future Course

THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS of this volume have presented a partial documentation of the thesis that institutionalized education is always anchored in the civilization of which it is a part. The history of education in the United States reveals a ceaseless flow and counter-flow of consequence between society and school. The location of political and economic power, the extent to which the state has been regarded as an instrument of power, the arrangement of social classes, the dignity and worth accorded the individual, esthetic standards, and moral commitments — all these have had their influence on the structure and purpose of American education. The counter-flow of consequence from school to society has been no less significant. Our achievements and failures as a civilization have been profoundly conditioned by what did or did not go on in the classrooms of our lower schools and higher institutions.

It must not be supposed, however, that education is always caught in the iron grip of the present, that it has no obligation to the future. Quite the contrary is true. In any civilization that has a sense of direction, that has moral commitments, the school has an important role to play in the processes of social transition. Certainly, in an age such as ours, when the economic, political, and ethical foundations of society are undergoing profound changes, teachers have a responsibility for the shape of things to come which they cannot in good conscience evade. They need to know where they are going and why, and they need a set of values that will give them a sense of direction at all stages of the journey.

Unless we have confidence that the winds of destiny will somehow blow our craft into the haven of desire, or unless we are convinced that time spins the web of life according to its fancy, we must, perforce, give thought to the future. It is not possible, of

course, to order the more distant future according to some present plan, but it is possible for a people through intelligence and determination to build into their civilization the essential elements of their value system and realize the way of life they deem good. The educator of today, if he is to rise above mere improvisation and *ad hoc* solutions, must have vision of tomorrow's world. It is this vision that gives a sense of direction and serves as a touchstone to both policy and program. The challenge to the teachers of our generation is to catch the vision of a society in which the highest hopes and aspirations in the American tradition are realized in the lives of men, and to plan and carry into effect the kind of educational program that will contribute most to the realization of this more humane world.

THE PROSPECT OF TOMORROW'S WORLD

If education is to find its sense of direction in the kind of civilization we hope to build, we must, of course, reach some agreement upon the core values that will serve as the touchstone of human behavior. Moreover, these values need to be defined in fairly concrete terms; we do not get very far along by giving allegiance to such abstractions as the true, the beautiful, and the good. We shall have to be about something more definite than the contemplation of the attributes of wisdom and virtue. It is equally important that we be willing to perform the arduous task of arriving at an understanding of the conflicting social forces of our day and that we have the moral courage to undertake to channel these forces experimentally into the institutional forms best suited to the realization of accepted values.

TOWARD A MORE PERFECT DEMOCRACY

The unique contribution of American civilization is not to be found in the relatively high level of material well-being we have attained, nor in the forms of political institutions we have developed, nor yet in our esthetic or intellectual accomplishments. It lies rather in our conception of the nature and destiny of man. Peopled in the main by common men from other nations and far removed during its earlier history from the aristocratic traditions of the old world, America has afforded a unique opportunity for an experi-

ment in democratic living. Attempts to establish a stratified social structure have not been lacking, nor have they been wholly without success, but the American people have achieved a conception of democracy which, at its best, combines the highest idealism of the Graeco-Roman world and of the Hebraic-Christian ethic. No one would deny that accomplishment has fallen far short of purpose, that America is full of sharp contradictions, that profession of faith and overt act are often far apart. But it may be said to our credit that we have not renounced the faith, that we are not shameless in our violation of it, that we still believe that as a nation we have set our feet along the path that leads to an all-inclusive cultural democracy.

If we are to strive for a more perfect democracy, if we are to make democratic ideals the touchstone of social policy, the measure of men and institutions, we shall have to understand clearly what the basic assumptions of democracy are. The assumptions on the validity of which democracy stands or falls may be formulated as follows:¹

(1) Men may be accorded political freedom; they are capable of governing themselves, of managing their own affairs; they may be trusted to achieve their own destiny. Democratic government must rest upon the assumption that citizens will be informed with respect to matters of public policy and that they will have enough good will toward one another and enough loyalty to the common weal to compromise their differences without resort to force. The sense of justice, tolerance, and fair dealing among men is such that they may be relied upon to employ the instruments of conference and deliberation, debate and compromise, to build the political state upon the solid rock of common consent.

(2) Men must be accorded intellectual freedom in the interest both of the individual and of society. Tyranny over the mind of man is tyranny at its worst; democracy is an idle dream if "forbidden" signs are to be erected along any of the highways and byways that lead through all the depth and breadth of human experience. The quest for truth must be untrammelled and men must be free to speak the truth as they see it. And a corollary of freedom of intellect is tolerance of spirit. Men cannot be intellectually free in any real sense unless they are tolerant of one another's sentiments and

¹ See in this connection Charles E. Merriam, *What Is Democracy?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941; Avery Craven, *Democracy in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941; Carl L. Becker, *Modern Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.

opinions. The right to seek the truth where he will, to form his own convictions and to convey them to whom he may, to formulate his own value system so long as it does not conflict with the rights of others, to petition, protest, and debate, and the right to be accorded a tolerant hearing by his peers — these are rights of the citizen in the democratic state.

(3) Men have the capacity of association on a fraternal basis. Democracy is far more than a form of political organization; it is a great faith, a faith in the humanity of man. It is an assumption of democracy that man is not by nature depraved; that he is in fact capable of achieving a humaneness, a dignity, and a worth which all should respect.

(4) Citizens will submit to restraint in the interest of the common good. Liberty and rights inescapably have their counterparts in self-restraint and obligation. A democratic society will not long endure if men insist on pursuing their selfish ends in clear opposition to the public interest. It is an assumption of democracy that citizens, when the public interest requires it, will unite in restricting freedom of action by legal enactment. Government is an instrument of social policy and its authority must be commensurate with the responsibility the people by common consent see fit to place upon it.

(5) The gains of civilization will be mass gains. During the long centuries of man's past, the greater gains of civilized life have accrued to a small directive class, to those who were able to control the state and other instruments of power to exploit the labor of their fellow men. It is an assumption of democracy that this condition will not persist, that men will share their common heritage, each according to his effort and capacity. Class monopoly of the conquests of mind, of educational opportunity, of the benefits of technological advance has no place in a democratic society. Democracy presupposes the realization of the ideal of the equal chance.

(6) Men may look to the long future with hope for the perfectibility of human personality and institutions. Democracy has faith in the nature and capacity of man. Progress is attainable because man, through reason, can explore and release his potentialities and perfect the institutions required to improve the quality of human living.

These assumptions lie at the base of the American conception of life. In trying to weave them into the fabric of our civilization, our

defects and failures have been many but it is also true that our success has been inspiring. The challenge of the future is clear: We have set our hand to the plow and we can do nothing less than follow the furrow to the end.

TOWARD SECURITY AND EQUALITY

During the long past most men have been haunted by the fear or stung by the reality of insecurity. Through the centuries one basic fact persisted and men could not escape its all pervasive influence no matter where they might take up their abode. This basic fact was an economy of scarcity; men had not learned how to produce enough goods and services to go around. Poverty, hunger, and insecurity have not been conducive of good will among men; they have been the source of selfishness and brutality, of inhumanity and oppression. If one has to snatch the bone from his neighbor's hand in order to survive, one usually snatches the bone. Not only that, one is likely to justify his act by arguing that, after all, his neighbor was an inferior fellow, not worthy of too much consideration. Since men have been unequal in capacity and ruthlessness, some have been able to force others into slavery and serfdom. Caste and class have their origin in an economy of scarcity and have been sustained by a monopoly of opportunity and wealth.

But the future holds a brighter prospect. It appears that we are only in the beginning stages of a technological revolution that is sweeping us into a world different from that we have known. Technology is making possible an economy of relative plenty. It is clear that we have the capacity to produce enough to go around, at least to the point of providing a reasonable security and a comparatively high level of living for all. Technology inescapably means mass production and mass production can have no other basis than mass consumption. Fortunately, an economy characterized by a high degree of technology has to operate fairly equitably or it will bog down in depression. Over any long period of time, the gains that accrue from technological advance have to be mass gains or the whole economy is disrupted.

An economy of plenty may be expected to change fundamentally the historic pattern of human association. As Merriam aptly puts it, "It is easier to be good neighbors when there is enough to go

around.”² An economy of plenty would mean much more than a general improvement of living standards; it would go far to destroy the foundations of caste and class; it would hasten the day when men would associate with one another on a more fraternal basis. A class-structured society stems in part from the differences in the innate capacities of men, but it is more largely the product of a monopoly of possessions and opportunity. When most men are able to acquire economic goods adequate to their needs and when the avenues leading to cultural and intellectual advance are barred only by lack of ability or effort, snobbishness and exclusiveness will be less common. This is not to say that there will be no differences in the status of men; it is to say that distinctions would be based more commonly on personal merit and attainment.

Technological gains in and of themselves, however, insure nothing more than greater capacity to produce; they do not insure more security or greater equality of possessions or opportunity. The forces unleashed by technology may be mobilized for abundance; they may be so channeled as to disrupt the economy and defeat the ends of democracy. Experience in the United States thus far does not indicate the outcome. No one familiar with the record would seriously contend that the gains of technology have been, to an adequate degree, mass gains. We have, in fact, developed a society in which the concentration of economic power, wealth, and income is fraught with great danger. In a technological society, with its concentration of economic power, it turns out that economic freedom is incompatible with equality and security. Freedom to regulate one's economic life has long been regarded as essential in a democracy, but economic freedom may, and usually does, mean wealth, security, and opportunity for a few and poverty, insecurity, and lack of opportunity for the many. Some degree of governmental regulation of the economy — some surrender of individual freedom in private enterprise to the state — appears to be essential if technological gains are to be translated into a more abundant life for all. But if men surrender their economic freedom to gain security and greater equality, will they not in the end lose their political and intellectual freedom? Here is a dilemma which must be resolved or else democracy perishes. The masses of men are fully aware of the benefits that would accrue to themselves if the gains of technology were translated into

² Merriam, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

mass gains and they will be content with nothing less. As Carl Becker has forcefully put it:

The very technology which gives peculiar form and pressure to the oppression of common men in our time has freed common men from the necessity of submitting to it. The time has gone by when common men could be persuaded to believe that destitution is in accord with God's will, or to rely upon the virtues of *noblesse oblige* to ease their necessities. Through education and the schools, through the press and the radio, common men are made aware of their rights, aware of the man-made frustration of their hopes, aware of their power to organize for the defense of their interests. Any civilization of our time, however brilliant or agreeable it may appear to its beneficiaries or to posterity, which fails to satisfy the desires of common men for decent living will be wrecked by the power of common men to destroy what seems to them no longer worth preserving. The ultimate task of democracy may be to establish a brilliant civilization; but its immediate task is the less exalted one of surviving in any form, and the condition of its survival is that it shall, even at the sacrifice of some of the freedoms and amenities of civilization as we have known it, provide for the essential material need of common men.³

To resolve this conflict between freedom in the area of economic life and equality, and to resolve it through democratic processes, constitutes one of the most difficult problems democratic leadership must solve. The solution lies in the direction of moral restraint rather than legal compulsion. If men do not have a genuine devotion to the public welfare and if they are unwilling to subordinate selfish interest to it, if they refuse to temper freedom by the spirit of mutual concern, if they fail to recognize their common interest in the good society, they will drive themselves to the extremity of the totalitarian state. We are grimly determined that this shall not happen in America; it is our task, through conference and discussion, through experiment and compromise, through moral restraint and necessary government action, to develop an economic order in which common men will be more secure and participate on more equal terms in the common affairs of life.

TOWARD HIGHER ETHICAL AND ESTHETIC STANDARDS

Man does not live by bread alone; material well-being, important

³ Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

as it is, is not the goal of life. We may achieve an economy of plenty, we may live with security in ease and comfort, we may bring it about that the doors of opportunity open with more or less the same ease to all, but the quality of individual living and of our whole civilization may be very poor. The temptation to sell one's birthright for a mess of pottage is a temptation that always stalks men and nations: Esau has not been alone in yielding to it. Contemporary American civilization has been excoriated, not without some justice, for its crass materialism, its worship of money, its high regard for the gadgets that contribute to the comfort and ease of life. Ours has been described as an "Age without Standards," moral, intellectual, or esthetic. We are, it is said, in the midst of "a spiritual revolution — the weakening or dissolution of the traditions and beliefs which for many centuries have ruled Western civilization and held it together."⁴ In short, we are, it is said, a world adrift, without compass and without goal; such character as we possess is rooted in habit rather than in any fundamental philosophy of life.

No civilization is without its defects. The criticisms voiced of our own are not wholly without justification. They do, however, present only a partial view. The fact that we are less given to philosophical speculation and more to scientific enquiry, that we rely less on the "eternal verities" and more on the accumulated capital of human experience, that we are less bound by the traditions and beliefs of the past and more concerned with the reality of the present and the hope of the future cannot be taken to mean that we are without character or purpose. It cannot be denied that our generation is giving the ideals of democracy a more positive content both in individual behavior and social program. Those who labor long and hard to increase our knowledge of the world of nature and of man, to devise and carry out programs of social action designed to free common men from insecurity, poverty, and fear, and to make them equal participants in the cultural accumulations of the race, are not to be told that they are confused, devoid of a value system, and acting without purpose.

All this is not to say that we can remain content with our value system. The measure of a civilization is its moral commitments, its sense of good and evil. From the record of human experience

⁴ Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*, p. 15. Cambridge: The University Press, 1943.

through the ages and from the findings of scientific investigation, it will be within our power to define and redefine a system of values that will enable men to release the potentialities of personality and to live together with greater justice and good will. This we shall propose to do.

A great civilization is one that respects human sensitivities, that gives importance to proper etiquette and the amenities of life, that stresses grace of style, refinement of taste, and beauty of form and expression. In the past, culture in its more restricted sense has been almost exclusively the possession of the few who had the leisure and wealth to acquire it. Now we are faced with the important fact that as democracy becomes more of a reality the esthetic standards of common men assume an increased importance. The fact is that in the future common men are going to attend the party whether invited or not, and their standards of taste and their sense of the fitness of things may be at considerable variance from past standards. In the future, the task will be to translate esthetic standards from the museum and art gallery to the home and market-place, from the better residential districts to the slums, from creative artists and scholars to the man in the street.

In the industrial age that lies ahead we can build a civilization with its values rooted in materialism and in the satisfactions of the moment, or we can build into it the tested values of human experience — the wisdom, goodness, and beauty that man has found essential for the enrichment of life.

TOWARD GIVING THOUGHT TO TOMORROW

One of the essential differences between the age that appears to be drawing to a close and the one that is opening is the difference of concept with respect to the ways and means of human progress. The idea of progress, formulated shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century, developed in a society in which an emerging capitalist class was struggling to free itself from the regulations and restraints of mercantilism. Eager to conduct his business as he would, the capitalist championed most of the freedoms associated with democratic liberalism; he sought freedom of restraint, whether in the area of government, economy, or conscience. The spirit of individualism and *laissez faire* which dominated the capitalistic culture gave the concept of progress much of its essential con-

tent. If man could contrive through scientific research to bring Nature into his service, if the individual was left free to pursue his economic interests as he would, and if the government pursued a hands-off policy in relation to the economy, except when the capitalist himself sought a favor, there would be satisfactory progress. The over-all policy system of the capitalistic societies of the nineteenth century gave little place, therefore, to plan and design; it relied on the processes of automatic adjustment.

But reliance upon individual initiative and upon more or less automatic adjustment in the broad area of societal relationships did not work satisfactorily. In a society and a world becoming increasingly more complex and interrelated, a policy of drift and automatic adjustment had to be abandoned for one of plan and design. As events turned out, the absence of design — refusal to plan a world order — repeatedly ended in armed conflict. Nor did failure to plan, to try to shape the course of events, work much better in the area of internal national affairs. The fact is that the effects of technology have so modified the material aspects of our culture that institutional reorganization is imperative. Change in the physical environment has forced all the great social institutions — family, community, religion, economy, and government — to modify their functions and in some instances to change their structure. Experience now makes it clear that in the future we shall have to cultivate the spirit of social invention and contrivance in the whole area of social relations. We shall have to recognize the imperative of social technology, the requirements of a positive social policy, the necessity of constructing and reconstructing our social institutions according to experimental designs. We shall have to give thought to tomorrow.

THE REORIENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES

No other age has ever laid at the door of educational statesmanship a greater challenge. If educational statesmanship is to rise to the occasion, if schools and higher institutions are to meet their social obligations, it will be necessary to redefine and to reorient educational values. No generation of educators has needed more sorely than ours to see clearly the task of education and to see it whole. But no generation has been more given to the exploitation of the partial view. In the face of a situation which calls for unity

of purpose and community of action, we have permitted ourselves to become divided into opposing schools of thought, and each in his own camp has magnified unduly the values of his particular philosophy. The result is that American education is characterized by much confusion and conflict, and this is true in the area of fundamental purpose as well as in the area of ways and means. We are in need of a configuration of educational values in which the part will not be mistaken for the whole and in which the whole will contain all the essential parts.

INDIVIDUAL GROWTH AND CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Any such configuration of values will certainly assign a place of large importance to the needs of the growing, maturing individual. Some of these needs grow out of his nature as a human being. In guiding the child through all the intricate processes of development that lead to physical and emotional maturity and excellence, the school needs to draw upon all pertinent knowledge with respect to human growth, whether found in psychology, psychiatry, medicine, biology, or other sciences. Knowledge from these sources indicates, however, that the "inherent" needs of the individual are materially less than formerly supposed. As Sherman puts it:

Many educators have also proposed programs of education on the basis of inherent needs. A careful evaluation of the nature of these supposed needs has shown, however, that they are mainly reformulations of the instincts which the nineteenth-century psychologists believed were inherited. . . . We must regard with doubt and suspicion, therefore, the statements of some educators that a child develops in a "natural" way, and that the function of the educational process is merely to enhance this "naturalness."⁵

This is not to say, of course, that physical growth does not take place in conformity with observable conditions; it merely means that personality as an end product owes less to inheritance than to formal or informal training.

In processing the individual, then, the school has to give special consideration to the demands of the environment, to the culture into

⁵ Mandel Sherman, "Education and the Process of Individual Adjustment," *Education in a Democracy* (Newton Edwards, Editor), pp. 65-66. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

which the child is born and develops. Personality does not develop and does not operate apart from a social context; self does not exist apart from society. At birth the child begins the long and arduous task of adjusting himself to his culture: to the intricate and often baffling patterns of human relationships, to the mores and values of his own particular family, to the institutions basic to civilized life generally, and to the institutional forms and arrangements of his own society. It is the task of the school to develop the intelligence of the child; it is also its task to weave the strands of the core values of the culture into the structure of his personality. Experiences need to be provided that will develop in the individual the motivation, the desires, the attitudes, the sensitivities, the initiative, and the creative interests that will best enable him to adjust to his world of social reality. The school of the future will be called upon to give more attention to the development of the individual who possesses emotional stability even in the face of novel and difficult situations and who has initiative and versatility. This can be done, in part at least, by equipping him with a body of generalized experience which will help him meet new conditions and enable him in some degree to subordinate emotion to reason.

This emphasis on personality development, on the importance of inducting the individual into his culture in such ways as to avoid the development of destructive anxieties and conflicts, is what is really meant when it is said that the teacher should teach children and not subjects. In far too many schools today little attention is given to the problems of individual growth and cultural adjustment. On the other hand, in some quarters it is held that "the harmonious development of personality" should be the almost exclusive goal of all educative endeavor. Those who take such a view are mistaking an essential part for the whole. The development of personality is an important responsibility of the schools, but it is by no means the whole responsibility.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE CAPITAL OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE

As mankind has traveled the long and devious road from barbarism to civilization it has accumulated a body of ideas, knowledge, values, and skills which constitutes the capital of human experience. Decisions with respect to the use that will be made of this accumulation of experience in the educational program are of prime im-

portance. Three important issues are involved: (1) To what extent is racial experience to be drawn upon? (2) How shall the essential elements in this experience be identified? (3) What organization shall these elements be given?

Within recent years the very term "cultural heritage" has fallen into disrepute in many quarters; there has been a definite tendency to discount the intellectual content of education. Dissatisfied with the selection of the elements in human experience that have gone so largely to make up the curriculum in the past, and rebellious against the kind of organization these elements have been given in the traditional school subjects, many of our contemporaries have come to discount the value of organized past experience for the youth of today. Instead of facing the hard intellectual job of making a more satisfactory identification and of working out a more effective organization, many have preferred to orient education around the interests and needs of children and youth as they arise in the problems of daily living. However appealing the arguments for this kind of program may be, it must be evaluated very largely in terms of its effectiveness in leading to an understanding of the accomplishments of civilization. Although emphasis upon the immediate and the contemporary is always essential, and especially so when the contemporary is pregnant with crisis, education is chiefly concerned with enduring values. Man cannot escape his past; civilization is a continuum; no new generation can start *de novo* without relapse into barbarism and savagery. The accumulated capital of human experience cannot be written off; in one way or another, it must be made an essential part of any successful program of education.

Men will always differ with respect to those elements of human experience which have most meaning for the present, but in our own day these differences of opinion have been especially marked. To some, the classical and religious traditions are carriers of the most essential values and knowledge; some find in the metaphysics of a hundred or more great books the ideas and values which they think may give life meaning and direction; still others assign a higher worth to the generalized experiences of mankind and to the findings of scientific investigation. None of these points of view is without some merit, but it appears that the last affords the greatest hope for an effective educational program. The whole of Western culture is

not embraced within the religious and classical heritage, as some seem to suppose.⁶ Nor will the study of metaphysics alone give one an adequate knowledge of human experience. Moreover, the cultural heritage which is of value to each succeeding generation is not rigid and fixed. Each generation adds to it and reinterprets and reintegrates it in terms of its own needs. What is required is a body of values, of generalized experience, garnered from the whole of human experience and a knowledge of the success and failure of the institutional arrangements mankind has employed to carry value systems into practical operation.

The problem of how to organize race experience most effectively is also one that besets us today. The logical organization of knowledge according to traditional subjects is under attack. The classification of knowledge into such subjects as English, history, science, or mathematics is, it is said, no longer defensible, at least for teaching purposes. Those who would cast the traditional subjects aside are not wholly agreed among themselves with respect to what should be substituted in their place. Some insist on what they call a "functional" rather than a logical organization of knowledge. They contend that subjects as we have known them tend to destroy the unity of experience. Problems of human living through the ages have been much the same and it is around these problems that knowledge should be oriented. History, mathematics, science, and the rest, according to this view, should give place to a curriculum organized around the major functions of social life such as "protection and conservation of life, property, and natural resources," "production of goods and services and distribution of the returns of production," and "expression of esthetic impulses."

Others would discard subjects both old and new because they insist upon an "experience curriculum"; the important thing in education is not the mastery of any body of content previously organized, but the experiencing of the individual as he struggles to solve his problems. Education is through and for experience and the experience involved is that of the individual learner rather than any systematic organization of the experience of the race. As the individual proceeds to solve his problems by the use of whatever subject matter may serve his purpose, he will, it is presumed, build

⁶ See Walter Lippman, "Education vs. Western Civilization," *American Scholar*, X (Spring, 1941), 184-93.

up patterns of generalized experience — fundamental generalizations — that will enable him to function as a competent person and an informed citizen. Just what subject matter will be drawn upon to help the individual solve his problems after “subjects” have been discarded and forgotten is not made clear. What will happen to human experience when it is no longer reduced to some kind of systematic organization is a fair question.

Even the most ardent champion of the traditional organization of knowledge cannot defend the way knowledge has been fractionalized and splintered by the multiplication of subjects and courses. All are agreed on the need for greater integration, for larger configurations of meaning, for seeing more clearly the interrelationship between the various existing classifications of knowledge. It is not impossible that the historic classifications of knowledge are outmoded as the most effective carriers of human experience. And yet, if school subjects are to be abandoned and departmental lines in colleges and universities effaced, some centers of orientation must be devised to take their place. Certainly the student cannot be expected to attack the whole continent of knowledge simultaneously on all fronts and subdue it in one grand effort. We should not permit the recoil from overspecialization to throw us into confusion. It is a fair question to ask, just what are those about who propose the abandonment rather than the reorganization of subjects and departments? What new orientations do they propose: the problems of children and youth, the metaphysics of the great books, the major functions of social life?

School subjects, it must be remembered, are social institutions designed to make the achievements of civilization available to the individual in a systematic and economical way. The arrangement of the subjects may be defective, the elements included in them may have been unwisely selected, and the organization of their content may not be defensible. Granted that many subjects taught in school and college today suffer from these defects, the question still remains, shall we attempt to remedy these defects, or shall we seek new orientations of the kind already suggested? No categorical answer can be given to this question, but we can encourage experimentation with new types of orientation, and guide our future policy by the results.

THE SCHOOL AS THE CARRIER OF CORE VALUES AND COMMON KNOWLEDGE

Every society is held together by the acceptance on the part of its members of a body of core values. A society is possible only because the individuals that form it have a common sense of reality and are bound together by common loyalties. It is important to recognize that social institutions are made possible by the existence in the society of a body of core values and common traits. Systems of social relationships attain the status of institutions only when they are accepted as being in conformity with the essential value premises of the society.

In every culture, as Linton has observed, there is a common core of universally accepted traits. Surrounding this common core is a zone in which traits are shared by certain individuals but not accepted by all. The common core may be regarded as the area of the Universals and the surrounding zone as the area of Alternates. The common core gives the culture form and stability; the outer zone makes possible social experimentation and change. If the common core becomes too small, the members of the society cannot co-operate through institutional forms and the society disintegrates into a mere aggregation. Says Linton:

Actually, all cultures consist of two parts, a solid, well integrated, and fairly stable core . . . and a fluid, largely unintegrated, and constantly changing zone of Alternatives which surround this core. It is the core which gives a culture its form and basic patterns at each point in its history, while the presence of the fluid zone gives it its capacity for growth and adaptation. If we study any culture continuum we will be able to detect a constant process of give-and-take between these two parts, with traits moving from one to the other. New traits, beginning as Individual Peculiarities, gain adherents, rise to the status of Alternatives, and finally pass into the core as they achieve general recognition. Old ones, as soon as they are brought into competition with new ones, are drawn into the zone of Alternatives and, if they are inferior, finally drop out of the culture. . . .

The proportion which each of these two parts of a culture bears to its total content may vary greatly at different points in its history. In general, the more rapid the contemporary rate of change, the higher the proportion of Alternatives. . . . When a culture is changing very rapidly, as our own is at present, the Alternatives may become so numerous that they quite overshadow the Universals. . . .

Each new trait, as soon as it is accepted by any part of the society, draws certain traits which were formerly Universals . . . out of the core of the culture into the fluid zone. As the content of the core is reduced, the culture increasingly loses pattern and coherence.

Such a fluid, disorganized condition within culture has inevitable repercussions upon the society which bears it. It is the common adherence of a society's members to the elements which form the core of their culture which makes it possible for them to function as a society. Without a wide community of ideas and habits the members of the group will not react to particular stimuli as a unit, nor will they be able to co-operate effectively. . . . When there are very few elements of culture in which all the members of a society participate, i.e., when the proportional size of the culture core has been greatly reduced, the group tends to revert to the condition of an aggregate. The society is no longer able to feel or act as a unit. Its members may continue to live together, but many forms of social intercourse will be hampered by the impossibility of predicting the behavior of individuals on any basis other than that of their known personalities. Even economic co-operation will be seriously interfered with, due to the lack of fixed standards of integrity and fair dealing. It is obvious that this condition puts the society at a marked disadvantage, and it is probable that there is a point below which participation cannot fall without a resulting collapse of both the society and the culture. . . .

In modern civilizations, therefore, the core of culture is being progressively reduced. Our own civilization, as it presents itself to the individual, is mainly an assortment of Alternatives between which he may or frequently must choose. We are rapidly approaching the point where there will no longer be enough items on which all members of the society agree to provide the culture with form and pattern.⁷

The acceptance of common value premises and the existence of common loyalties, important as they are, are not enough to insure a high degree of social integration. It is perhaps of no less importance that members of society share a body of common experience and knowledge. The individuals composing a society may accept its core values and work toward the same general goals, but lacking a common experience and knowledge they may differ violently with respect to the policies required to arrive at their common ends.

⁷ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 282-84. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937.

Wise decisions in a democracy with respect to matters of public and social policy usually require a common knowledge of essential facts.

It is an important function of institutionalized education to bring youth to the acceptance of the core values of the culture. These values, which with us are the values implicit in the democratic way of life, dictate the spirit in which men meet and work together, serve as a touchstone to statecraft, and can be made the criteria for passing judgment on all proposals. The schools and colleges of this country have no more important responsibility than that of providing the experiences that will develop in children and youth a deep loyalty to the principles of democratic liberalism. But values and principles, to be of much consequence, must find expression in social institutions: in government, with all its facets of policy and action; in the economy, with its intricate processes of production and distribution of goods and services; in the community, in the church, and in the home, with all their problems of human association and co-operation. The fundamental assumptions of democracy are little affected by time and circumstance, but the social institutions through which democracy is made a reality must change as conditions require. If citizens are to co-operate effectively in the shaping and reshaping of their social institutions as carriers of values and policy, they must share a body of common knowledge and experience. It is a function of school and college in America to create an environment in which young people will get an integrated view of their culture, come to accept the basic assumptions of democratic behavior, and acquire a body of common knowledge essential for effective citizenship.

EDUCATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CITIZEN

The requirements of social technology — the necessity of social policy in community, nation, and world — are making it essential that education be given a new orientation, a new center of interest. In the future, school and college alike will have to give more attention to the education of the citizen, to the cultivation in him of that breadth and precision of knowledge of the workings of political, economic, and social arrangements essential for intelligent participation in policy formation. The individual may be well adjusted to his world of primary social relationships in home and community; he may be fortunate enough to possess a personality free of disruptive anxieties and neuroses; he may be sober, virtuous, honest,

hard-working, and democratic and just in his dealings with others; he may have attained a high level of personal culture — he may have attained all these ends and yet he may fall far short of being a good and effective citizen. It is an assumption of democracy that the citizen will be informed about the matters committed to his decision, not only in the local community but in the larger community of nation and world; that his interests will embrace the whole society of which he is a part; and that he will be enough concerned with the public weal to participate in the making of social policy. Failing to meet these requirements, the individual will not be an effective citizen no matter what other qualities he may possess.

The fruits of education in the United States have been largely private and personal rather than public and social. The program of education has contributed much to personal culture and prestige, much to professional and vocational efficiency, but far too little to an understanding of the forces that have been transforming the nature of our civilization. We have had in mind primarily the education of the competent individual rather than the effective citizen. And the education of the two must not be confused. As Bertrand Russell has said:

. . . in practical daily life the education which results from regarding a child as an individual is very different from that which results from regarding him as a future citizen. The cultivation of the individual mind is not, on the face of it, the same thing as the production of a useful citizen.⁸

Certainly the citizen of tomorrow will need to be equipped with at least a fair knowledge of the history of civilization as well as of the moving forces and conditions of his own day.

It is not difficult to understand why education in this country has placed great emphasis upon bringing the individual to moral and intellectual maturity to the considerable neglect of education for effective citizenship. Operating in a society that accepted the principle of individualism and which made no serious attempt to plan or control its future, the school, in the nature of the case, could play only a minor role as an instrument of social criticism. Individualism and *laissez faire* have had their way with education as with

⁸ Bertrand Russell, *Education and the Social Order*, p. 10. London: G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1932.

other institutions. Moreover, for many generations American education was nurtured in the humanistic and religious traditions, in both of which the individual came very near being the measure of all things. Humanist and theologian alike were disposed to render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's — to eschew consideration of matters of broad social policy.⁹ And finally, in more recent years, the whole scientific movement in education has tended to keep the goals of education more or less identical with individual growth and development. The scientific study of education has been oriented far too much around the concept of education as psychological process and far too little around the concept of education as public and social policy.

Even yet, despite the more recent emphasis upon the study of society, a proper balance has not been struck between the education of the individual and the education of the citizen. First of all, certain current emphases in education tend to lead us away from a program that prepares youth to face many of the realities of the modern world. The professional students of education are concerned primarily with individual development, with the problems that fall, in the main, within the area of individual experience. Many students of education are interested primarily in its mechanics, but even those who are concerned with essential values tend to devote themselves to the study of individual behavior. Be they psychologists, psychiatrists, or philosophers, they tend to center attention on such matters as mental processes, individual differences, the development of personality, the interests and "felt" needs of children, the whole child, the role of experience in education, the cultivation of intellect, frustration and anxiety, developmental tasks of children, the peer culture, or the acculturation of the child in terms of social class. Certainly these are important matters with which we should be concerned but one should not be so preoccupied with them that in actual practice we accord little value to the concept of education as social engineering, as preparation for policy formation at the societal level. The professional educator in America today is dangerously near being like an astronomer who trains his telescope on a single planet with no great awareness that it is a part of a solar system; he is so preoccupied with the individual learner that he

⁹ This was not true, of course, of early New England.

tends to lose sight of the social order of which the learner is an essential part.

The education of the effective citizen is threatened even more by the insistence that education be oriented around the interests and felt needs of children and youth. There is danger in the dictum that subject matter, or the content of learning, should be restricted to what one needs to solve one's problems unless care be taken to insure that one's problems extend far beyond the restricted world of primary social relationships. No one would deny the importance of interest in the learning process and all desire to make education functional, but the possible range of interest of youth is extremely wide and what is functional must be broadly interpreted. To suppose that the individual, without a great deal of guidance and direction, will unerringly identify those elements in human experience essential to a workable understanding of the society in which he lives is sheer romanticism. Guidance by their elders is the birth-right of youth and this guidance will embrace the selection of a large part of the experiences that go to make up what we regard as a formal education.

Two other current emphases also tend to deploy young people from the kind of education most essential to give them an understanding of the society of their own day. One of these is the insistence that a good education consists, in the main, of the cultivation of intellect and an understanding of the great books; the other, closely related, insists upon a return to the religious and classical traditions in education. Training in logical thinking is, of course, essential in any program of education, as is also a knowledge of the conceptions of life entertained by the great minds of the past. But training of intellect and contemplation of what wise men in the past have had to say about goodness, truth, and beauty are not enough; it is also essential that the good citizen comprehend in concrete terms the accomplishments of civilization, the successes and failures of mankind as it has struggled to achieve the good life, the structure and operation of the institutions of his own society — their strength and their weakness.

Although the education of the superior individual and the education of the effective citizen are in some respects different, they are not necessarily opposed. They are in fact but different parts of an essential whole; it is not a case of choosing one or the other, but a

case of choosing both. It is a truism, of course, that there cannot be a great society unless it is made up of great individuals; it is no less true that in the modern world the quality of the society depends very largely upon the institutional arrangements and the policies relied upon to carry into effect accepted purposes and ideals. The more complex our society, the more dependent we are on institutional arrangements. For the children of today the quality of individual living tomorrow will depend much on the personal qualities they bring to the task of building a life. It will also be profoundly conditioned by the kind of world they build for themselves to live in. A superior individual and a competent citizen — these are the common end of the educational enterprise.

The history of education in the United States, when viewed in relation to the social forces that have influenced it, discloses the importance the American people have attached to their educational institutions as a means of realizing the way of life they have from time to time deemed best. Through school, college, and university some reality has been given to the ideal of the equal chance. Free education, it has been thought, would contribute much to the achievement of social mobility in a society devoid of sharp class distinctions. On a raw continent where the hardships of daily life threatened to snuff out the light of learning, school and college in the early days managed to keep alive much of the idealism and humanism in the Western tradition. Men have never lost sight of the obligation that education bears to the public weal. The ideal of free inquiry and expression, though not always fully realized, has been cherished as a priceless heritage. It may be confessed that ideals have not always, if ever, been realized, that accomplishment has fallen short of purpose, but even so as a people we have refused to accept defeat or to renounce faith in honest purpose and trained intelligence as means of solving the problems of human living.

The history of education in the United States is a record from which those who undertake to chart the future course may draw wisdom, inspiration, and hope. To those who have the privilege and opportunity to carry on the work begun, the challenge of the future is to provide a freer and more universal access to education and to build a program that will make adequate use of the accumulated capital of human experience, give intelligent guidance and direction to the individual as he attempts to adjust to his culture,

cultivate the acceptance of a body of core values, and develop in both youth and adults an understanding of the society in which they live — an understanding that is adequate for participation in the making of public policy. Above all, the challenge to those who teach will be to develop in men the moral courage, the strength of will, and the social insight required of them to resolve the conflicts of their day and to work out co-operatively the design of a more just and humane society.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 20

1. Are the changing conditions of our time such as to make it desirable, and even necessary, that we reconsider the function and purpose of education?
2. Do you agree that American education should find its sense of direction in the kind of civilization we hope to build? To what extent has this been a conscious goal of education in the past?
3. If we accept the point of view that education should get its sense of direction from the kind of social order we desire to build, what are the core values we should seek to build into our civilization?
4. Is there a need for a reorientation of educational values in the United States? If so, indicate what you consider the essential educational values should be.
5. Draw up a statement of what you consider the most essential functions of education in a democracy.
6. Assuming that the curriculum should be functional, to what extent should it (1) consist of logically organized race experience, (2) be organized around the major functions of social life, (3) find its orientation in the problems of children and youth?
7. Do you think that the school should seek to develop the acceptance of core values? If so, indicate what you think these values are.
8. Indicate to what extent you think it is the proper function of the school (1) to maintain the social order as it exists, (2) to accept the existing social order as a starting point and to appraise critically its functioning with the view of helping to shape its future course, (3) to plan an essentially new social order and develop in youth an acceptance of it.

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